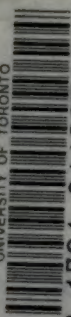
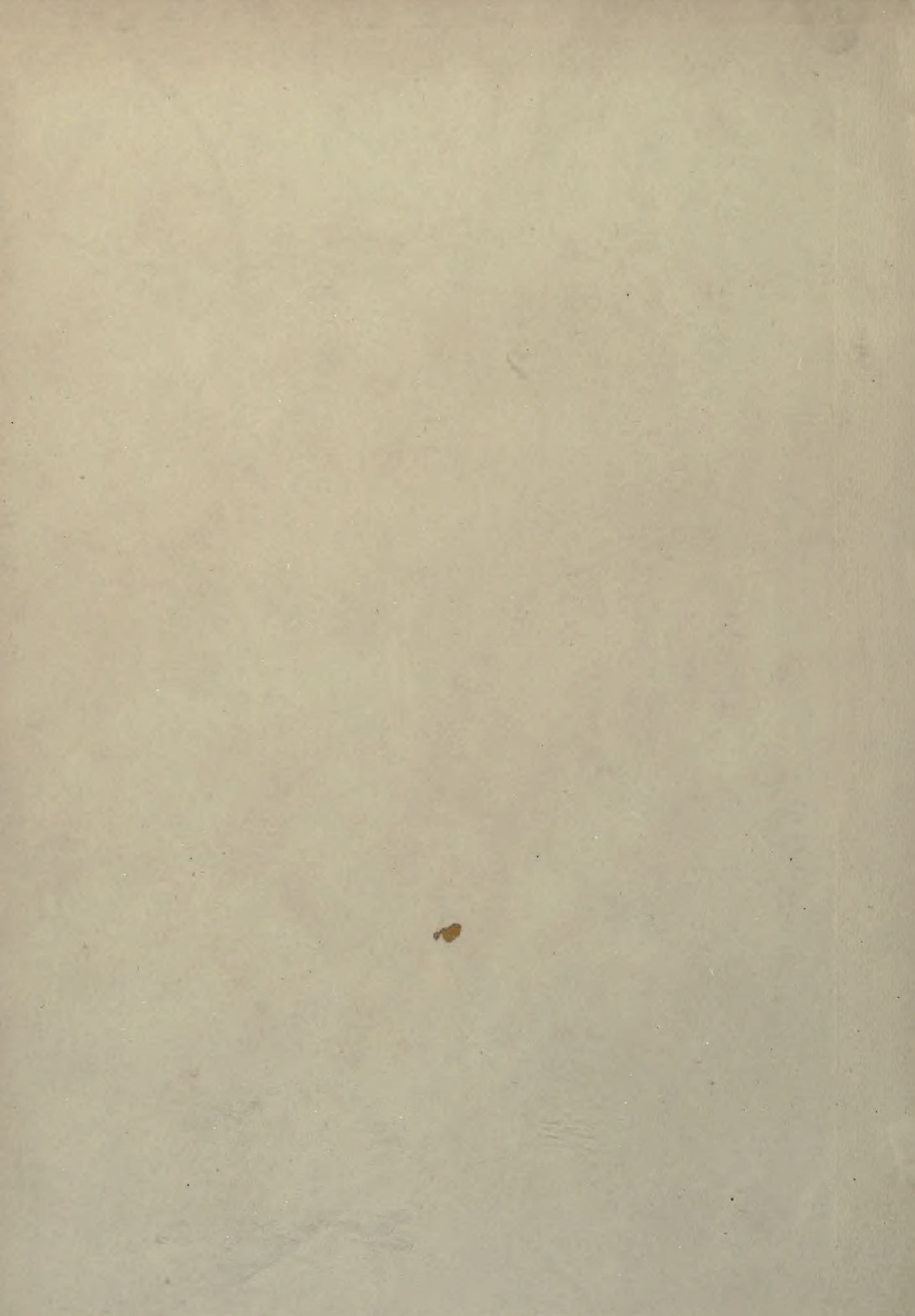


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REPORTS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPEDITION
TO
TORRES STRAITS.

VOLUME V.
SOCIOLOGY, MAGIC AND RELIGION OF THE
WESTERN ISLANDERS.

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CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1904



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PREFACE.

DURING the years 1888-89 I spent some eight months in Torres Straits investigating the marine zoology of that district, and having become interested in the natives I devoted my spare time to recording many of their present and past customs and beliefs. Some of the results of these studies have already been published. Later I proposed to publish a Memoir on the Ethnography of the Islands of Torres Straits, but on going over my material I found it was too deficient to make into a satisfactory monograph. I then determined to go once more to Torres Straits in order to collect more data, with a view to making, with the aid of colleagues, as complete a study of the people as was practicable.

I would like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my colleagues and of myself our profound grief at the death of Mr Anthony Wilkin at Cairo in the spring of 1901. The reports in this Volume published under his name only imperfectly indicate the loss caused to Anthropology by his untimely death, and doubtless they would have gained considerably in value could they have been corrected by the author.

Perhaps a few words are necessary to explain why we visited a district apparently so insignificant as Torres Straits. As explained above, I had a good deal of unpublished material on the ethnography of the people and it would naturally take less time to gain a good insight into the life of a people about whom a fair amount was known than to begin afresh on a new people. From what I knew of my old friends and acquaintances I was sure that we could at once get to work instead of having to lose more or less time while entering into friendly relations with a people who, after all, might prove to be suspicious and refractory. Our experience fully justified the good impression I had formed of the willingness of the Torres Straits islanders to impart information and to render personal assistance.

For the special work we had to do it was necessary to visit a people who were amenable and with whom communication was easy; but, on the other hand, who were not far removed from their primitive past. This peculiar combination was found in these people.

This region has some ethnological importance as it is on the frontier between two large land areas inhabited respectively by Papuans and Australians, and it was a matter of some interest to determine whether any mixture had taken place there and also to endeavour to find out if any traces could be found in the islands or on the adjacent coast of New Guinea of a migration of the Australian stock from North to South. The islanders are as a matter of fact distinctly Papuan.

The present volume deals with the Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders of Torres Straits, these terms being employed in their widest sense. The Western

Islanders are distributed over many islands which to a certain extent are arranged in groups, and owing also to the influence of New Guinea on the one hand and of Australia on the other some diversity is apparent in the social life of the natives of the different groups. As by far the greatest amount of our time was spent in Mabuiag the present volume will deal mainly with that island. On the whole this is advantageous, as the natives of Mabuiag may be regarded as very typical members of the Western group, who perhaps have been but little affected by the great land areas to the north and south. The data we collected in other islands usually follow the description of the Mabuiag customs. I spent the month of October in Mabuiag in 1888, and Dr Rivers, Messrs Ray, Seligmann, Wilkin and myself spent about five weeks there during September and October in 1898. For about thirty years the natives have been more or less under missionary influence, with the result that most of them are professed Christians. For a somewhat greater space of time this island has been one of the head-quarters of pearl-shellers, and consequently the natives have had considerable intercourse with Europeans. All the men, except the very oldest, are conversant with English, and there has been a rapid change in the social life of the people. We were but just in time to record the memory of the vanished past. The change that has come over the people together with the shortness of our stay in the various islands must be our excuse for the manifold imperfections of this volume.

The reports of the expedition will consist of six volumes, each of which will contain memoirs on related subjects. It is proposed to publish the various reports as they are completed.

The Series will consist of the following volumes:

- Vol. I. Physical Anthropology.
- Vol. II. Physiology and Psychology.
- Vol. III. Linguistics.
- Vol. IV. Technology.
- Vol. V. Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders.
- Vol. VI. Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Eastern Islanders.

The following is the system of spelling which has been adopted in these memoirs:

<i>a</i> as in "father"	|	<i>ō</i> as in "on"
<i>ā</i> as in "at"		<i>ō</i> as <i>aw</i> in "law"
<i>e</i> as <i>a</i> in "date"		<i>u</i> as <i>oo</i> in "soon"
<i>ē</i> as in "debt"		<i>ū</i> as in "up"
<i>i</i> as <i>ee</i> in "feet"		<i>ai</i> as in "aisle"
<i>ī</i> as in "it"		<i>au</i> as <i>ow</i> in "cow"
<i>o</i> as in "own"		

The consonants are sounded as in English:

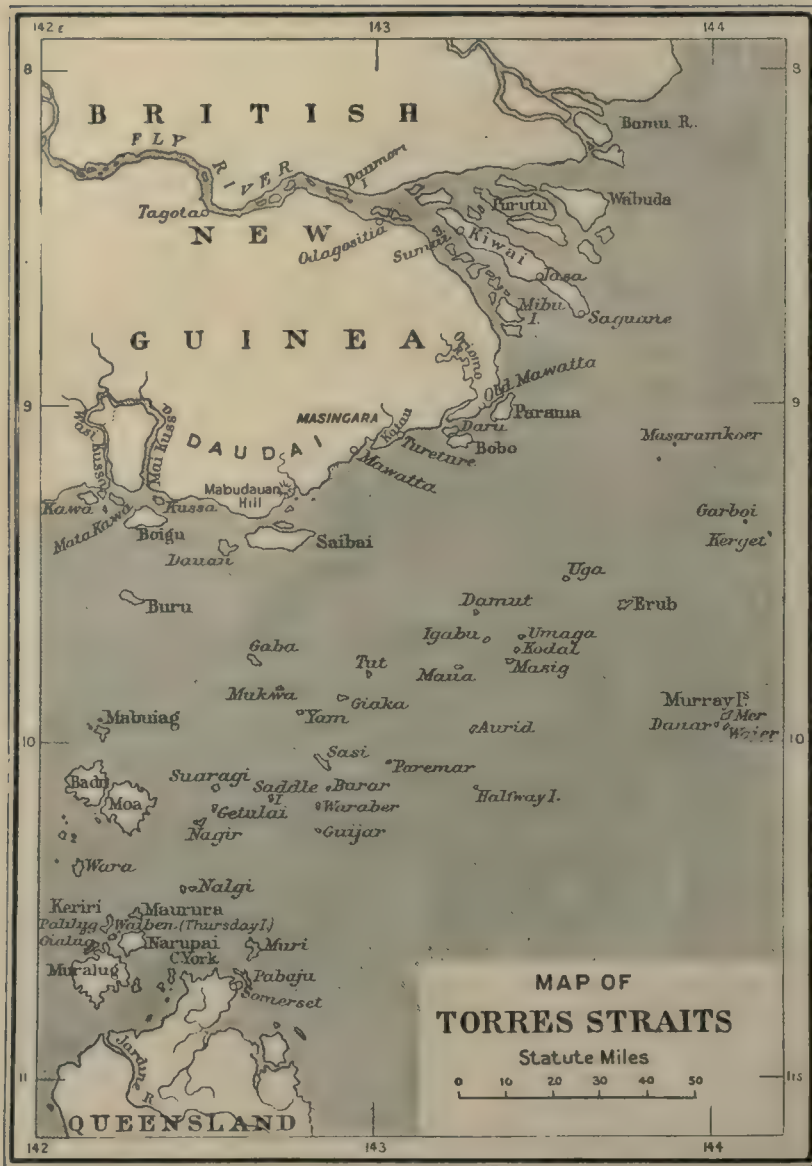
<i>ng</i> as in "sing"		<i>ngg</i> as in "finger"
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A. C. HADDON.

MARCH, 1904.

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ERRATA.

- p. 24. Line 12 from bottom, for 'her' read 'his.'
- p. 25. " 19 " top " " " " (cf. pp. 108, 114).
- p. 49. Folk-tale 27, add 'Kuda was the first person to make an earth-oven, *amai*, and she taught everybody how to make it.'
- p. 106. First line of footnote 2, after 'mangrove' add (fig. 27, p. 195).
- p. 115. Last line but one, for *gapa* read *gapu*.
- p. 173. Line 9 from bottom, for 'but' read 'and.'
- " " 8 " " " 'south' read 'north.'
- " " 5 reverse 'southern' and 'northern.'
- p. 196. Last line, add 'Many kinds of fish are forbidden to women in Muralug, the hawkbill turtle and its eggs are forbidden to women suckling, and no female, until beyond child-bearing, is permitted to eat of Torres Straits pigeon. Macgillivray, II. p. 10, and *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. p. 309.'
- p. 206. Line 10 from bottom, for 'all some' read 'all same.'
- p. 217. Line 12, insert (Pl. XX. fig. 3).
- p. 229. Line 14. This statement is not quite correct; for other occasions of continence see pp. 270, 271.
- Table 3. Web should be Wet.
- " " Pedigul " " PIDAGU.
- Table 3 A. MANUA " " MANAU.
- " " Pogadua " " Pogodua.
- " 5. Paibis " " Paibid.
- " 8. Talalu " " Tatalu.
- " 9 A. KEPEAI " " KEPENAI.
- " 10. YAMAKUNI and Gawai had the following children after Rusui:—Morarid who married SAMAKA (2); Irad, who married Charlie, a Fiji man, and had no children; Kudsub and ADADA, both of whom died in infancy.
- " 13. SAMARA should be SAMARI.
- " " The totems of Kotosai should be *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, *Umai*.

This Report is the first complete volume as yet published; the companion Report, Vol. VI., is being compiled and may be published this year. Volume III. (Linguistics) is well forward. Of Vol. II. (Physiology and Psychology) two parts have been published, containing the following subjects: Part 1. Introduction and Vision, by W. H. R. Rivers; Appendix, by C. G. Seligmann. Part 2. Hearing, Smell and Taste, by C. S. Myers; Cutaneous Sensations, Muscular Sense and Variations of Blood-pressure, by W. McDougall; Reaction-times, by C. S. Myers.

A full Index will be published on the completion of the whole series.

INTRODUCTION.

By A. C. HADDON.

FROM a geographical point of view the islands of Torres Straits are conveniently divided into three groups by the lines of longitude $142^{\circ} 48' \text{ E.}$ and $143^{\circ} 30' \text{ E.}$ ¹ The western group contains high and low islands, the former consist of old igneous rocks and are a continuation of the Queensland axis. The hills support a comparatively meagre vegetation, and the general appearance of the islands is somewhat barren, as water is usually rather scarce. The low islands vary in size from small sandbanks to Saibai, which is fourteen and a half miles in length. The central group consists entirely of low islands, none of which are of large size; they may be described as vegetated sandbanks. The eastern group contains a few sandbanks or 'cays,' some of which are partially covered with vegetation, and eight volcanic islands, most of which are very fertile.

The line of longitude $143^{\circ} 30' \text{ E.}$ also divides the islands of Torres Straits from an ethnological point of view into two groups, each of which is inhabited by a distinct people. As there was no native name for these people, I have previously² spoken of them as the Western Tribe and the Eastern Tribe. The term Tribe is here replaced by that of Group, implying by this peoples who speak the same language, with slight dialectic differences in various islands. Although both the Western and the Eastern Group were in the same stage of technical culture, there were appreciable differences in their social and religious customs. The only communication between the two Groups appears to have been through the natives of the small sparsely inhabited islands of Damut, Umaga, Kodai and Masig, who practically acted as intermediaries. The Masig language was half Western and half Eastern. Damut, Aurid and Paremar were closely associated with Tutu, but even in the latter island some Eastern words were employed.

As will be seen later on, the totemic clan system enabled a certain amount of friendly intercourse to take place between inhabitants of the different Western Islands even during the time of more or less open hostility. This sentiment and the practical exigencies of trade and occasional intermarriage constituted the warp that, so to speak, bound the isolating tendencies of insular and savage life into a loose social fabric. There was no tribal organisation nor sentiment that affected the Western Islanders as a whole.

The natives of all the islands recognised the inhabitants of each of the following groups of islands as being distinctly allied: (1) the Prince of Wales group (Muralug,

¹ A. C. Haddon, W. J. Sollas, and G. A. J. Cole, "On the Geology of Torres Straits," *Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.* xxx. 1894, p. 419.

² *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xix. 1890, p. 299.

Narupai, Maurura, etc.), and Moa; (2) Badu and Mabuig; (3) Boigu, Dauan and Saibai; and (4) the remaining islands which are included within a line drawn between Gebar, Damut, Umaga, Aurid, Guijar and Nagir. As it is convenient that distinct names should be given to these groups, they may severally be termed (1) Kauralaig¹; (2) Malulaig; (3) Saibailaig; and (4) Kulkalaig. I have selected what may be regarded as the most common appellation for each group; but it must be remembered that in the different groups other names are sometimes employed. For example, the Mabuig folk are termed Gumulaig, from one village in the island, and the Badu people are always called Badulgal, Badulega, or some similar term after the island as a whole, which never is the case for Mabuig. I obtained a common term (Maluigal)² for both the Mabuig and Badu people from Saibai only, evidently as the Mabuig people are in the sea as regards Saibai; but Mr Ray was told by Tom of Mabuig that the Gumulgal were Mabuig and Badu, 'because Gumu was the place of Kwoiam' (p. 67). The terms Kowrarega and Kulkalega were first recorded by Macgillivray in 1849 (Vol. II. 1852, p. 2), and I adopted the terms Kauralaig and Kulkalaig, which I found current in the same sense in 1888 (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. 1890, p. 301). Tom of Mabuig called the natives of Muralug, Kaiwalgal, and I then found that Muralug is called Kaiwa, Kawa, or Kauwa by the Mabuig people and Muri by the Moa people. In the Vocabulary³ *kaura* (Muralug), *kaiwa* or *kawa* (Mabuig) signifies an island, as well as the external ear, and *kulka* is blood. But *kulka*, as Mr Ray was definitely informed, is used also of the dawn, as e.g. *ar kulka*, the dawn (*ar*) reddens: hence Kulkalaig means Eastern people.

It will be convenient to take this opportunity to define certain terms which will be in constant use in this volume.

Augud. The English equivalent for *augūd* is 'totem,' employing that term in its generally received sense; it is the 'clan totem' of Frazer⁴. In the appropriate places I

¹ The termination *laig* is compounded of the two affixes *lai* and *g*. Of these *lai* (usually abbreviated to *l* in Mabuig and to *li* in Muralug) is used to form adjectives from nouns, as e.g. *Gumul garka*, a Gumu man, *kulal baradar*, a stony place. The suffix *-g* makes this adjective into a personal noun, *Gumu-l-aig*, a Gumu person, and this form is always used when the adjective is used predicatively, as e.g. *Nui Gumulaig*, he is a Gumu (person). The suffix *g* is never used of things, for which *-nga* is used in a similar way. *Ina kulal baradar*, this stony ground, *Ina baradar kulaluga*, this ground (is) stony (thing). As indicated in the Grammar, the plural is not indicated in nouns unless the evidence of number is especially prominent. A few persons would be *Gumulaig*, *Badulaig*, etc., but for a large number the plural suffix *al* would be used, and the *ai* suppressed, *Gumulgal*, *Badulgal*.

'*Garka*' or '*garkai*' signifies a 'person, being, individual.' It can be used with '*ipi*,' 'female' or 'wife' as *ipi-garka*, a woman. With *kuiku*, head, *dana*, eye, *mudau* of the house, *buai*, family, is formed the compounds *kuikugarka*, head person, king, *danagarka* (eyeing-person), master, lord, governor, *mudaugarka*, person of the house, servant, *buai-garka*, head of the household. In *garka*, *ka* or *kai* is an abbreviation of *kazi*, which reappears in the plural *garkazil*, *ipikazil*, etc. The *gar* is a particle of emphasis or exclusion, *garka*, *garkazi*, a real person, perhaps in contrast to such another *kazi*, as *magikazi*, a child, or *markai* (for *marikazi*) ghostly persons. S. H. RAY.

² *Igalaig* was given to me by a Mabuig man as the Saibai equivalent for *tokoiap*, with the plural *igalgal*, but *Maluigal* is probably for *Malulgal*, the people of the sea. A friend, mate, or companion is *tubud* (pl. *tubudal*), and *boai* or *buai*, a kinsman or relation, member of the same family irrespective of sex. The people who live in one place are also called *buai*. S. H. RAY.

³ S. H. RAY and A. C. HADDON, "A Study of the Languages of Torres Straits, with Vocabularies and Grammatical Notes." *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* (3rd Ser.), II. 1893, p. 463; IV. 1897, p. 119.

⁴ J. G. FRAZER, *Totemism*, 1887, p. 2.

shall point out the instances in which the term *augūd* has been locally extended beyond the usual idea of totem.

Clan. A clan is that body of people which has the same totem or group of totems.

Family. The term family has been avoided as far as possible, but where used it signifies a portion of a clan that is descended from a common ancestor.

Kwod. In every inhabited island there was a certain area set apart for the use of the men which was known as a *kwod*. Some islands appear to have had but a single *kwod*, others had several; for example, in Mabuiag alone a *kwod* was located at Gumu, Panai, Dabungai, Aubait, Wagedugam, and Kwoikusigai (I do not know where this place is), besides one on the neighbouring small island of Widul, and there may have been others belonging to the Mabuiag men. Each of these so far as I could learn was the *kwod* of a particular clan, whereas the great *kwod* on the adjacent sacred islet of Pulu was what might be called the national *kwod* of the Gumulaig.

The *kwod* corresponds to the club-houses, *gamal*, that are so widely spread over Melanesia, and which in British New Guinea are variously called *darimo* in Kiwai, *eravo* (*erabo*, *eramo*, *elumo*) in the Papuan Gulf district, *rave* at Namau, *marea* in the Mekeo district, and *dubu* in the Central district, and other names elsewhere. Speaking in general terms, these places are tabooed to women and to the uninitiated, they are used as dwellings or meeting places of the men, and in them various ceremonies are held; they constitute the social, political and religious centres in the public life of the men.

Pulu. This islet is so important a spot in the social life of the Gumulaig that it deserves a special description. It is a small rocky island on the reef on the western side of Mabuiag. On the side furthest from Mabuiag is the little bay of Mumugubut, where boats can easily land. This is a pretty sandy cove surrounded by granitic rocks, which are fissured and undercut in an extraordinary manner. To the left is a large somewhat top-shaped rock perched on a smoothed dome of granite; as its shape resembles that of the fruit of a New Guinea palm that is often washed up on the shores of these islands, the natives call the rock by the same name, *zeibu*. To the right (Pl. III. fig. 1), projecting from massive boulders, is a gigantic Γ-shaped rock, which is called Kwoiam's throwing-stick. Kwoiam implanted his weapon here after the slaughter of a number of Badu men who had humbugged him, he had followed these men from Mabuiag, and landing elsewhere on the island, walked across to the back of this bay. Natives point out a rock lying on the ground against which Kwoiam pressed his foot when preparing to throw his spear against his sleeping foes, but concluding this spot was not suitable he made a détour inland, took up a position whence he commanded a better view of the unconscious Badu men. He again prepared to hurl his spear, pressing hard with his right foot against the ground, which immediately became a shelf of rock to give him a better purchase for his foot. A little inland from the bay are a number of large slabs of rock which represent the bodies of the men killed and decapitated by Kwoiam (Pl. III. fig. 2).

A short way inland from the beach is a cleft in the rocks, which in some places is very narrow, but in others widens out to leave two or three various-sized but small open spaces, which were formerly utilised as the retiring-rooms of the men engaged in the ceremonies. One compartment was the cooking place, another the dressing-room; and in this latter was a great overhanging rock, under the shelter of which were kept the sacred objects. No women were allowed to come near this spot.

Beyond is a small level tract of ground which is bounded by an open bay on one side, and rocks and scrub elsewhere. The southerly end of this area was the *kwod*.

The panoramic drawing on Plate I. was partly made from a rough sketch taken from the south-westerly end of the *kwod*, facing a north-easterly direction. The drawing has been modified in order to bring into one picture all the essential features of the landscape and *kwod*. In the distance can be seen the islands of Widul and Aipus, and the most westerly point of Mabuiag, Walilmaidan; the hill and the strip of shore that are visible are both called Kalalag.

To the left, at high-water mark, is a large rock with an overhanging smooth surface facing the *kwod* (Pl. II. fig. 1). On this surface are some nearly effaced paintings in red of various animals and other objects, such as a cassowary, spoon-bill (*tapur*), curlew (*karuri*), crayfish (*kaiar*) canoe and dugong-platform. There are also some handprints made by placing the outstretched palm and fingers on the rock, and spitting powdered charcoal mixed with water round the hand. The handprint thus appears light against a black background. I was informed the men used to sit on a mat under the shelter of a stone as a protection from the sun, and then might make the pictographs, which I understand had no serious meaning. The legendary origin of this stone, Mangizi-kula, 'The stone that fell,' will be found among the Folk-tales (p. 22).

Beyond the *kwod* near the centre of the sketch is the dancing ground or *sugu*¹, where there is a Y-shaped post (*kag*) which marks the old funeral platform (*sara*).

This was the dancing ground for the war dance, and when the dance was over the heads of the slain enemies were suspended from the *kag*. Then an earth-oven was made in order to readily remove the skin and flesh, and the skulls were replaced on the *kag*. The warriors did not object to the odour from the heads, but sniffed it down, it being quite different, I was assured, from that of a decomposing corpse. The skulls were finally removed to Augudalkula, the cave of skulls that will presently be described.

In front of the *kag*, that is a few feet nearer to the sea, are a couple of stones one of which has a deep notch. In front and behind these stones are one or two broken large *Fusus* shells. It was on each side of this stone that Tabepa, the spirit lover of Uga, erected two sticks, on which he suspended the presents for his bride's parents, and on the smoothed sand in front of this stone that they left their footprints (cf. Folk-tales, "Uga," p. 84, Pl. II. fig. 2). These stones were called '*adi*,' which I took to mean something ancient or sacred, about which there is some legend.

Near the centre of the *kwod* is a large oblong heap, about 10 feet in length, composed of dugong bones, and surrounded by several upright stones. This is the *kai sibo*i. At short distances from this were the fireplaces of the five chief clans. These were so arranged that the *Sam* (cassowary), *Kodal* (crocodile), and *Tabu* (snake) fireplaces were comparatively close together at its westerly end, whereas the *Kaigas* (shovel-nosed skate) fireplace was to the north and the *Dangal* (dugong) fireplace was to the north-east. The first three clans were the people of the big *augud* (cf. p. 172).

At the back of the *kwod* towards the east were two heaps of *Fusus* shells, one on each side of a boulder, the more westerly one was slightly the larger, and was called *kai mat*, the other being the *mūgi mat*. A short distance from these to the south-east are

¹ A clear space between houses in a village is also called *sugu*.

two small heaps of *Fusus* shells, the *kai augudau kupar* and the *mūgi augūdau kupar*, that is, "the large navel of the *augud*," and "the small navel of the *augud*."

To the south of this is a double row of dugong ribs called *mūgi siboī*. As there was some shade here owing to it being at the border of the *kwod* close to the trees, the men used to sit by the *mūgi siboī* when the sun was hot, but when it was cool they went and sat by the *kai siboī*. Near these latter shrines is a stone, at one end of which are a few *Fusus* shells; this was stated not to be a shrine.

It was here that the most important ceremonies were performed, the *kwod* being the place where the *markai* or death-dance was held, and subsequently the initiation of the lads.

On some rocks beyond the *kwod* (those seen in front of Kalalag in the sketch) are a few simple pictographs. One group consists of two *mūri* dancing, while a third beats a drum; one pictograph, according to Gizu, represents a waterspout (*baiu*), which is the harpoon of the *mūri* (p. 359), one man who probably did not know, called it a centipede (*sag*).



FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

Pictographs on rocks in Pulu.

FIG. 1. Group of three *Mūri* dancing, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

FIG. 2. Group of two *Mūri*, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

FIG. 3. Waterspout, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

Some distance from the *kwod*, about the centre of the island, in the midst of scrub among the big rocks that crop up all over the island is a large rock, the western face of which overhangs its base, and thus forms a small cave which is known as Augud-alkula, 'The stone having an *augud*' (Pl. XXI. fig. 1). Formerly the cave had a greater height, but it was filled up by the missionaries (p. 368).

Near the entrance to the cave are two heaps of *Fusus* shells, that to the northern side of the entrance is oblong, running N.W.—S.E., this is the *kai mat*, the smaller heap, *mūgi mat*, lies to the south of the former, and is roughly circular in contour.

The ceremonies connected with the cave and the shell shrines will be described in the section dealing with Religion, under the heading of Hero-cult.

I regret extremely that owing to circumstances over which he had no control Mr Ray was unable to assist me with regard to the translation of numerous native phrases and

songs in the earlier part of the volume, and my knowledge of the language was inadequate to enable me to give full translations of them. I hope that this may be partially remedied when Mr Ray is able to publish his volume on the linguistics of these people.

Allusion has previously been made to slight dialectic differences in the language spoken by the people of various islands; but there is, in addition, considerable variation in pronunciation in the same island, and even by the same individual. The following sounds are used interchangeably, *u* and *o*, *ă* and *ũ*, *oi* and *ai*, *ui* and *õ*, *k* and *g*, *d* and *t*, *b* and *p*, *f* and *p*, *s*, *dz* and *z*. The discrepancies of various writers in the transliteration of native names and words may usually be accounted for in this way. We have often had to effect a compromise in this matter, one of us would generally hear a particular sound which to another of us appeared somewhat different¹. Occasionally in this volume alternative pronunciations are given, and inadvertently variants of the spelling may be printed in different places. As a general rule accents and stress marks are omitted; but these are usually indicated when a name or word is mentioned for the first time, and they will be inserted in the index.

The plural number is indicated in various ways in native syntax. In this volume the plural form is occasionally stated, but usually the singular is alone given; for example the plural of *augud* is *augudal*, but for the sake of simplicity the word *augud* is used for 'totem' or 'totems,' never is an English plural employed (*auguds*).

Owing to the large amount of material that has to be published in this volume we have had to omit any discussion of the data or of the problems which they suggest. In only a few instances have allusions been made to similar customs elsewhere. When we deal with the Sociology and Religion of the Eastern Islanders we hope to draw some comparison between the two tribes, and also, if space permits, between the islanders and the Papuans of the mainland on the one hand, and the Australians on the other.

It is now my pleasing duty to tender our thanks to the Authorities of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew for naming the plants we brought home. The specimens were mostly so fragmentary and in such poor condition that we were agreeably surprised at the result. We have also to thank Mr John Cowling, of Mabuiag, for the considerable assistance he has rendered us, not only when we were on that island, but in sending to us valuable information in answer to questions which we posted out to him. Our indebtedness to our native helpers is obvious; but to Waria, the chief of Mabuiag, we owe much, as, in addition to what he has told us orally, he has sent a large quantity of manuscript, mainly of genealogies and folk-tales, which he has written at his own initiative. Pasi of Dauar (cf. Vol. VI.) wrote for Mr Ray some short tales in his own language, but they are in the somewhat crabbed style of the Gospels, and his manuscript has only 49 pages as against Waria's 281 pages. With this exception, this is, so far as I am aware, the first time that a Papuan has written an account of the history and mythology of his people.

We would like to repeat here our thanks to the Honourable John Douglas, C.M.G., the Government Resident, for the great services he rendered to the Expedition as a whole and for much kindness shown to us individually.

¹ For example, Mr Ray prefers *augăd*, *măgi*, *mări* to *augđd*, *mđgi*, *mđri*.



SKETCH MAP OF MABUIAG.

I. FOLK-TALES.

By A. C. HADDON.

IN collecting these folk-tales I could not take down the actual native words, having limited time and insufficient knowledge of the language, but I have given a faithful rendering of the tales as told to me in broken English. I have nowhere embellished the accounts, and I have given most of the conversations and remarks of people in the very words my informants used; thus preserving, as far as possible, the freshness and quaintness of the original narrative. I believe that in many cases the native idiom was bodily translated into the "Pigeon English."

As to the age of the tales I can form no idea. One point is noteworthy, that not in a single instance did I ever hear of any reference to a white man nor of anything belonging to white men; for example, a knife was always '*upi*,' the old bamboo knife, never '*gi*' or '*gi turik*' ('knife'; *turik* also meant 'iron'). It is safe to assert that thirty-five years ago there was no intelligent intercourse with white men; this period may practically be reduced to twenty-five years, and in some islands to even less.

I usually checked the genuineness of the legends by inquiry of other men than the original informants; not unfrequently old men were present, who were often referred to. My narrators were, almost without exception, middle-aged men, and I was always careful to impress on them the importance of giving me the story as they had heard it from the old men. Experience showed me that they were as conservative as children of traditional phrases and modes of expression. Therefore I can confidently claim that this collection of tales really represents the traditional folk-lore of the last generation, and the stories therefore may be of any age previous to the influence of Europeans and South Sea men. Further evidence as to the trustworthiness of the narratives is proved by the fact that after an interval of ten years I obtained other versions of the tales that previously had been told to me. There were very few cases of discrepancies, and these were usually of a trivial character; it was, however, very gratifying to hear the majority of the incidents told in precisely the same manner, and sometimes the exact phrases were employed. A comparison of the present version of the tales with that published by me in 1890 (*Folk-Lore*, Vol. I. pp. 47—81, 172—198) will substantiate these remarks. In some instances I have been able to add considerably to the incidents of a tale. My friend Waria, the chief of Mabuiag, has written out

for me in his native language several tales of which I give the version as told to me in jargon-English. It is a source of great regret to me that Mr Ray has been unable to find time to translate these tales, as it would have been most instructive to have been in a position to compare the two accounts. So far as I have been able to skim through them I find that the two versions are in close accord.

I have taken great trouble in satisfying myself as to the sense of the narratives, and in confirming incidental allusions to customs now passed away. There are, however, a certain number of phrases and customs the meanings of which are obscure to me.

These tales are printed here as trustworthy documents, and they will frequently be drawn upon as evidence for the occurrence of certain customs or beliefs. No one who has had experience in this class of evidence will deny scientific value to most of the incidents of these tales because of the miraculous that is interwoven with them. A little common sense will suffice to prevent the reader from going very far wrong.

To save trouble to students I have added a classification of the tales, with a very brief outline of the plot of each, and I have in addition given a summary of the anthropological incidents in each tale.

Several of these tales will be found to be variants of tales that are current among the Eastern Tribe. When I publish the latter in Vol. VI. I shall point out the similarities between the legends of the two tribes and discuss the significance of these variants.

LIST OF FOLK-TALES.

Nature Myths: 1. Sun, Moon and Night; (*Constellation Myths*, 2—4) 2. Dògai Metakorab and Bu; 3. Dògai I.; 4. The two Dògai of Muralug; 5. The Origin of Fire; 6. How Fire was brought to Kiwai; 7. The Origin of Kiwai and its Inhabitants; (*Myths about Stones*, 8—13) 8. The Origin of Hammond Rock; 9. The Story of the Six Blind Brothers; 10. Dògai Zug; 11. The Stone that fell from the Sky; 12. (another version); 13. The Miraculous Birth of a Stone; 14. The Birth of Kusa Kap, the Mythical Bird; 15. The Story of Siwi, or the Origin of Mosquitos and Flies; 16. The First Man of Saibai.

Culture Myths: 17. Sida, the Bestower of Vegetable Food; 18. (a Saibai version); 19. (a Kiwai version); 20. The Sad End of Yawar, the Gardener; 21. Gelam; 22. Sesere, the Dugong Hunter; 23. How Bia introduced fishing with the Sucker-fish into the Islands; 24. The Story of Upi; 25. Naga, the Instructor of Death Dances; 26. Naga, the Master of Ceremonies in Nagir; 27. Waiat; 28. Tabu; 29. The Story of Kari, the Dancer; 30. Aukum and Tiai.

Totem Myths: 31. The Story of Nori, the Snake; 32. The Origin-Myth of the Hammer-headed Shark and Crocodile Totems of Yam; 33. The Saga of Kwoiam.

Spirit Myths: 34. Uga, the Mortal Girl who married a Spirit Man; 35. Tabepa, the Mortal Man who married a Spirit Girl; 36. Drak; 37. The Story of Mutuk.

Tales about Dògais: 38. The Dògai of Karapar; 39. Dògai Saurokeki and Aipozar, the Lazy Man.

Narratives about People: 40. The Story of Greedy Gwoba; 41. Amipuru; 42. Yadzebub; 43. Sara and Baugai; 44. The Stranding of the first Coconut on Muralug.

Comic Tales: 45. The Story of Amdua; 46. The Mangrove and the Crab.

Nature Myths.**1. SUN, MOON, AND NIGHT.**

Plenty men sit down and yarn at Kadau (a village in the island of Dauar). All man he yarn about Sun, and Moon, and Night. All man speak, "Sun, Moon, and Night he all the same one." One man called Kabi he speak, "No good you talk all the same; suppose you look. You see, Sun he come up, that time Moon he go down. Moon he come up, and Sun he go down."

Then all man too much wild; some man he speak, "Very good, we kill Kabi; he talk no good." Kabi he hear, he afraid. Kabi he then speak, "You fellow, look, I go to-morrow; I go place belong Sun, and Moon, and Night."

At small daylight (daybreak) he go in his canoe, his woman stop behind. He go across to Saibai.

All man in Saibai speak, "Where you go, Kabi?" He speak, "I go to look place where Sun he stop."

Him go—go—go. All islands he come up. He go big deep water. He catch him place where Sun he stop.

Kabi he look, Sun he come out house belong him. Kabi he think, "Sun he no good, as Sun he no got good things on." Kabi pulled canoe on beach and sat down. Sun then he come out of door of house belong him and look at Kabi. Sun then he go inside house belong him and put on all flash things—one big pearl-shell he put on breast and one big shell on body.

Sun he walk along and come close to Kabi. Kabi he very much afraid; he think inside, "Big man he come now. I think he kill me." Sun he speak, "Kabi, come on, you and me go house."

Sun he carry canoe belong Kabi in his one hand, all same as boy carry canoe belong play; then he put canoe on top of his house.

Then Sun he speak, "Kabi, what name you come here for?"

Kabi he speak, "All man he growl for you; he all speak, 'Sun, and Moon, and Night he one.' Me, one fellow, speak, 'No, Sun he one, Moon he one, and Night he one.' Then all man he wild."

Sun he speak, "All right, you come house."

Kabi he speak, "What you say? Sun, Moon, you all same one?"

Sun he speak, "Me one, Moon another one."

Then Sun and Moon he bring Kabi kaikai (food). Sun he give kaikai belong Sun—bananas, yams, taro, sweet potatoes, coconuts. Moon he give him all the same.

Sun he speak, "All kaikai belong we fellow. Sun, Moon, and Night he all the same. We all help to make them. Sun and Moon he stop one house."

Sun he take canoe belong Kabi, and put it in the water; then they put all kaikai in canoe. Kabi he get afraid when he think of the long journey he got to take.

Sun he speak, "Kabi, I make rope fast along your head, then you and me go together; I tow you. When you come to place belong you, you shake rope; by-and-by when you loose rope, you shake it, then that time I pull up."

Kabi he then start in his canoe. Three big waves come; one wave lift him half-way, the next lift him along to Saibai, the next wave lift his canoe to Dauar.

Kabi he then go ashore and tell all the people, "I been to place where Sun and Moon he stop. You hear me now when I speak. He no one fellow, he two fellow. Sun he pull me here."

Then Kabi got all people in one place. He speak, "You see this rope fast on top of my head. You look when I take this rope off my head. You look he go up to Sun."

Then all the people believe Kabi when he speak, "Sun, Moon, and Darkness each got their own work to do."

This tale was given to me by my friend Robert Bruce, who wrote it down verbatim at Dauan on Oct. 25, 1893. He says it was told twice to him by Samuka the oldest man on the island and the last descendant of Kābi. The tale was handed down from father to son and Samuka "is the last of his race that will tell it." The young people know hardly anything about this tale and were quite interested each time Samuka told it, a crowd always assembled to hear it.

2. DÒGAI METAKORAB AND BU.

Once upon a time a man named Nadai, living on the leeward, a western side of the island of Boigu, went into the bush to collect the eggs of the mound-bird (*surka*),

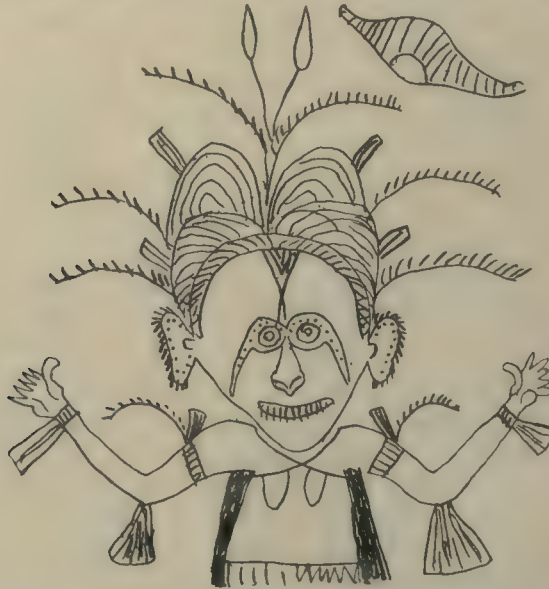


FIG. 4. Dògai Metakorab and Bu. (Drawn by Gizu; Bu is represented by the large *Fusus* shell which has the same name.)

a bird (*Megapodius*) that lays its eggs in a great mound of earth which it scratches up with its strong feet.

He found a large mound, and dug into it till he came to what he thought was

an egg. He tried to pull it up, but it stuck fast; then he tried to get another, but neither would that come away. It so happened that a Dògai¹ named Metakorab was sleeping under the mound, and she was wearing several large white cowry shells, and it was these that Nadai was pulling at, mistaking them for eggs.

Nadai at last caught hold of the shell, which was tied on to the Dògai's chin, and giving a tremendous pull he dragged the Dògai out of the ground. He was so terrified at her appearance, that he fled back to the village of Suam and called out to the inhabitants to arm themselves and kill the Dògai who was sure to follow after him.

By-and-by a fly² came, and behind it came the Dògai; but the men no sooner saw her terrible face than they threw down their weapons and ran away in a fright.

Then Nadai went on to the next village, Pali, but the same thing happened again. So he went on first to Kowai and then to Gūnilai on the eastern side, but it always happened as before.

At last Nadai came to a village called Kerpai, on the north side of the island, and he begged the people to stand firm and attack the Dògai. They armed themselves, but when the fly came, and after it the Dògai, they all took to their heels, as the others had done before, with the exception of one man named Bu. He remained in the *kwod*, and armed himself with a bow and an arrow, *sūkūri*, that is used for shooting wild pigs. When the Dògai arrived, Bu shot her in the abdomen and the bamboo blade of the arrow ripped her open, so she died. The Kerpai men killed Bu by gouging out his eyes.

Both are now in the sky; the Dògai goes first, and is continually followed by Bu.

Dògai Metakorab is a constellation composed of Altair which is known as *gamu* (body) and a star on each side called *get* (hand). Bu is Delphin.

3. DÒGAI I.

(Told by Waria, Chief of Mabuiag.)

A long time ago, when Wagedugam on the lee side of Mabuiag was inhabited, it was the duty of the men of that village to hunt the dugong while the boys and girls caught fish. It was also the old-time fashion for sweethearts, *mudaig kaz*, to eat together, and a girl who had caught fish told her mother to keep the poor fish, but to cook the best fish for her and her sweetheart to eat.

One day a number of boys and girls went fishing and on their return after giving the fish to their respective mothers with the usual injunction they went to play hockey on the sand beach, the boys playing against the girls. When they had finished playing they all went home.

A certain girl asked her mother for the fish and her mother gave her some inferior fish. The girl looked at it and said, "Oh! bad looking fish. I told you 'look out good fish for me'." And the girl began to cry. This was about sunset and the

¹ A *dògai* is a female bogey.

² I have no explanation of the fly episode.

girl continued to cry, cry, cry. A number of women came when it was bed-time and every one wanted to sleep, and tried to stop the girl's crying, but the girl kept on crying.

At last they all got tired and went to their own houses to sleep, and left only the mother and grandmother of the girl in the house.

All the young men put baskets over their heads and quietly creeping to the house in the dark like Dògai, suddenly shouted "U" and as noiselessly retired.

The grandmother and mother cried out in their fright "Sh! a Dògai has come." At this instant a Dògai shivered and said "Someone in Wagedugam has mentioned my name."

After a short time the mother fell asleep and only the grandmother remained awake to take care of the girl, and she gave her good advice, saying, "Better we go to sleep, no more cry." By-and-by the grandmother nodded with sleep while the girl was still sobbing on her lap.

When the Dògai first heard herself mentioned she ran towards Wagedugam and stopped to listen. At this time the mother and grandmother were still awake and said to the girl "Dògai is coming," and the Dògai said, "Oh! they call my name." The Dògai ran and ran and stopped once more to listen. Again the mother and grandmother threatened the girl with the Dògai if she would not cease crying, and the Dògai hearing her name mentioned ran and ran. By this time the mother was asleep and when the Dògai reached the house the grandmother was nodding.

The Dògai entered the house and ran off with the girl. The grandmother suddenly awoke and jumped up crying, "Ohai! Dògai has taken the girl." And the Dògai cried "I, I," as she ran.

Everyone awoke at the noise and the Dògai ran. As she ran the Dògai pulled the artificially elongated lobe of one of the girl's ears and eventually pulled it off, and the girl screamed with pain and all in the village heard her. Then the Dògai pulled off the other lobe and the girl screamed with pain and all in the village heard her. The Dògai ran and ran. Next the Dògai pulled out one of the girl's eyes, and the girl screamed with pain and all in the village heard her. A little further on the Dògai gouged out the other eye, and the girl screamed with pain and all in the village heard her. The Dògai then, as if she were an octopus, twined round the girl and rubbed her so that all her black skin peeled off and she had the appearance of the child of a white man. The Dògai then carried her as a mother carries her child.

The next morning all the men returned from the reefs in their canoes from hunting the dugong, and when the mother saw the canoes returning she said to her husband's sister, "I'll go first and get some dugong meat to eat in the bush, and the father will say, 'Where's our girl?' and he will give me enough meat for the girl; but he will be so tired and sleepy after having swam about so much after the dugong that he will at once go and lie down to sleep." So the mother took a bamboo knife, obtained the meat and went into the bush.

The father's sister came and said to him, "I've now come to carry up all the dugong meat. The mother has gone into the bush as she is afraid of you. Dògai took away your girl last night."

The father felt very sorry, he went on shore and took some red paint and carried it to the *kwōd*. Two men stepped forward named Manalbau and Sasalkazi and taking the paint they ruddled themselves all over. They said they would kill the Dògai. So all the men set out headed by Manalbau and Sasalkazi.

They found the Dògai sitting down with extended legs and the girl in her arms. Creeping behind the Dògai they thrust a dugong harpoon into her side and the Dògai gave a great jump, throwing away the girl at the same time. The Dògai immediately began working her way into the ground. The men quickly tied the rope of the dugong harpoon round one arm of the Dògai and hauled away at it and hauled and hauled and they pulled the arm off the Dògai and took it home.

The boys then started to play with the arm and threw it in the sea and tried who could hit it with a spear. They left off playing at this game in the early evening.

The father of the girl sent his sister to bring his wife from the bush with the message, "Don't be frightened, we are young yet, by-and-by we get some more children. Come back home now."



FIG. 5. Dògai I. (Drawn by Gizu; to the left is represented the tree on which the arm is hanging, the tendons are shooting out from the Dògai to the arm.)

Some young men took the Dògai's arm and fastened it to the top of a large *buk* tree; but the old men told them to throw it into the sea so that a shark might eat it. A young man said, "We hung it up in the tree, to-morrow we will play with it again." But all the old men said, "No, by-and-by the Dògai will come and

take away her arm, you had much better throw it in the sea for a shark to eat it." But the young men would not believe the old men.

While all were asleep that night the Dògai came, saying to herself, "I try to look for my hand," and she went and went till at last a long distance off she saw her arm on the top of the *buk* tree. The Dògai had caused a deep sleep to fall on all the men, and as she approached the tree she saw her arm shining with phosphorescent light.

The Dògai scratched the raw stump of her arm and repeatedly sang as she continued scratching:

"Zugu nguzu zugua ngapa mariu a kawa utua."

Arm my arm hither come and people sleep.

When she came close to the tree tendons shot out from her body to the arm and others passed from the arm to the stump and then with a loud snap the arm was joined to the body.

The noise woke all the men. "Oh! the Dògai has taken away her arm"; the big men said, "Well, we told you to throw it into the water so that a shark might eat it and you fellows would not believe us. If you had thrown it in the sea it would have been all right."

The constellation of Dògai I. is the star Vega with the adjoining group of small stars which represent one arm held out.

4. THE TWO DÒGAI OF MURALUG.

(Told by Tuigana, Chief of Muralug.)

Gilukerni, a native of Muralug, walked about to look for fish (*Morbaigorābīnā*). One day he was going along the sand-beach to leeward of the island, and opposite to Gialug (Friday Island). Two Dògai, who lived close by, perceived him, and one said, "That man belong to you and me—come, we take him." The Dògai decked themselves up 'flash,' caught Gilukerni, and carried him into the bush, where they put him in a cave in a rock, which served as their home.

They then left him, walked about, worked in their yam garden, and caught some fish. On returning home they found that Gilukerni had run away. He swam to Gialug, where certain of his people lived, and persuaded some friends to return with him to Muralug, and, taking a couple of stone clubs with them, they killed both the Dògai. They pulled an arm off one of the Dògai, but not from the other; both then appeared in the sky as stars. Hence the constellation *Mūgi Dògai* ("small Dògai") is only composed of two stars (body and arm), while the *Kai Dògai* ("large Dògai") constellation has three stars.

These constellations are probably the same as those referred to in the two preceding tales. The constellation *Mūgi Dògai* was also called *Dògai waruleg* (*Waurulaig* or *Warulaig*), it heralded the coming of the South-East Monsoon. *Kai Dògai* was also called *Dògai kukileg* (or *kukilaig*) as it inaugurated the North-West Monsoon. I was informed "when Dògai come up from East, then time to make *kap*" (ceremonial dance).

5. THE ORIGIN OF FIRE.

Eguon, described as a large bat, is fabled to have introduced fire to Mawata. A legend goes that a tribe once inhabited Nalgi (Double Island), one of whose members showed fire to come from the left hand, between the thumb and forefinger, whereupon dissension arose and the people were all transformed into animals, birds, reptiles, fish (including dugong and turtle). Eguon found his way to Mawata, the others to different places in the Straits and New Guinea. There appears to have been some friendly arrangement amongst the snakes whereby some took to the land and others to the water.

This legend was originally published by Mr E. Beardmore in his paper on "The Natives of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea" (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. 1890, p. 462). I have quoted this as it is primarily a Torres Straits tale. The plucking of the first fire from between the thumb and forefinger is a widely spread myth in the Straits.

6. HOW FIRE WAS BROUGHT TO KIWAI.

At first it was not known how to make fire, and all the animals, and then the birds tried in turn to bring it across from the mainland. Eventually the black cockatoo succeeded, but dropped it at Iasa, as he burnt himself with it; and he bears the mark of his accident to this day in the red scar round his bill.

7. THE ORIGIN OF KIWAI AND ITS INHABITANTS.

The natives say that Kiwai was first a small sandbank, but grew large; eventually trees and other vegetation sprang up on it. The first man came from a bird's egg. The bird left the egg in the nest, and a maggot came out of it, which developed into a man.

Although these two legends do not belong, strictly speaking, to Torres Straits, I have thought it desirable to republish them. I obtained them from the late Rev. James Chalmers (Tamate) and printed them in my book (*Head-Hunters, Black, White and Brown*, 1901, p. 108). The native account of the origin of Kiwai island is strictly accurate from a scientific point of view, it is a delta island and is subject to increase and decrease, the southern portion is now being washed away.

8. THE ORIGIN OF HAMMOND ROCK.

The first man created was a great giant named Adi, who, while fishing off Hammond Island, was caught by the rising tide and drowned, Hammond Rock springing up immediately after to mark the spot. His wives, who were watching him at the time, resolved to drown themselves, and were changed into some dry rocks upon an adjacent reef, named after them Ipile, or 'the Wives.'

This is the only tradition which Macgillivray collected, he obtained it from the Kauralaig ("Kowraregas") of Muralug (*Voyage of the "Rattlesnake,"* ii. p. 30).

I also obtained this tale in 1888 from a Muralug man. Unfortunately I did not copy it down accurately at the time, and so I cannot compare the two versions. I was informed that the man's name was Waubin. The small rock, Kaimilaig, off Turtle Head, Numri (Round Island), Palilug (Mecca Reef) and Ipili Reef are his wives. These rocks and islets lie off the northern shore of Hammond Island. The story itself is *adi* and the man too is *adi*, but it appears to me highly improbable that this was also the man's name.

9. THE STORY OF THE SIX BLIND BROTHERS.

(As told by Malakula of Badu.)

On the south side of the Moa lived six blind brothers who had a canoe between them. Each of them wore two white feathers stuck in his hair above his ears. The eldest said, "We will go and catch some fish." So they got ready, hoisted up the two mat sails and started for the fishing ground off the near side of a small island named Bopu. A Dògai lived on the far side of that islet. When the men were close to the reef which surrounds Bopu the feathers in their hair began to move, and the captain said, "I think we are now close to the reef as my feathers moved. Lower the sails and I will go forward." So he took a *tul*, or pronged fish-spear, and stood in the bow of the canoe. When the feathers moved he knew it was time to strike—so he heaved the spear and struck a fish. After spearing a fish he retired to the fire on the platform in the centre of the canoe to warm himself. A second man then went forward and caught two fish and retired, others advanced in their turn and obtained an increasing number of fish. Having decided that they now had plenty of fish they went to catch some crayfish. They paddled on a bit but the feathers did not move. At length they came to a certain rock and the feathers moved. Then one man said, "Look under that stone, there are plenty of crayfish there." One man was left in the canoe, the other five dived after the crayfish and brought up a number. Then they said they would go line-fishing, so they heaved over the anchor-stone and lowered their lines after tying the bait on to the hooks, and they caught a number of fish. They eviscerated the fish and hung them up to dry. In time the canoe was full of fish—and they agreed that it was 'close up sundown' and so it was time to go home. The eldest brother lifted the anchor, the sails were raised and they started. After going a long way one remarked that he thought the island was a long way off yet, and his feathers moved. After an interval he said he thought it was then close to, and the right feather remained quiet while the left shook. This showed him the direction in which to steer, so he said they had now 'better keep up.'

The Dògai had watched the six brothers, and she took some pandanus leaves and made several small and one large basket. She threw the latter on her back, slinging it by means of the handle on her forehead, and put the small baskets on the top of the big one, then she took a short piece of wood and walked on the water to the canoe. The Dògai put the piece of wood in front of the canoe so that it suddenly

stopped and jerked all the men backwards. "Hulloa," holloed out the captain, "I think we are fast on a reef. Lower the sails." In the meantime the Dògai entered the canoe and while the men were busying themselves forward with the sails she picked up fish from the canoe and all those which were suspended on the string to dry. Then she got out of the canoe and removed the wood from the bow and returned ashore. The captain gave orders to take the bamboos, which are always carried lashed to the sides of canoes, and push off from the reef. "'Ulloa! there's deep water here, I can't touch the bottom." So they took their paddles and rowed on. After a time they wondered whether they were yet on the reef. "We have not got there yet," said one—another replied, "I think the reef is close to now," and his feathers moved—"I think we are on the reef now," and the feathers again moved. They ceased paddling, took the bamboo poles and punted the canoe. When they came to Bopu one man who was hungry felt for his fish and not finding them called out, "Who has taken my fish?" and turning to his neighbour, "I think you have taken my fish." He denied, and then all felt about for their fish—only to find them all gone save a few small ones which the Dògai did not think worth taking. Having arrived at the beach they took down the sails and taking the bamboos in which they carried water in one hand and inserting the forefinger of the other through the gills of the remaining fish they went home. After collecting firewood, they cooked and ate their fish and agreed to go out the next day.

The blind men were awakened next morning by the calls of the wild fowl (*surka*, Scrub Turkey). They rolled up their mats and went on to the reef. One said, "Reef got no fish?" The feathers nodded and the men knew there were no fish to be caught that morning on the reef, so they returned, and while some were getting firewood others rigged up the sails, and away they sailed. After a time one said, "I think we are close to the reef now," and his feather moved: later—"I think we are on the reef now," and the feather again waved. After the sails were lowered the youngest brother went forward to fish. He said, "I think there are no fish here, let us go a little further," which they did. By-and-by his feather moved and he speared first one and then another and another till he had seven fish, at last he went to the fire to warm himself. Another man came forward and speared eight fish and the last man obtained twelve fish—but they did not eat any. Then they went for crayfish and had some line-fishing. The remainder of the day was a repetition of the previous day, the Dògai again stealing all their fish except a few small ones.

That night the brothers had a great talk, and the youngest brother thought to himself that he would not go on the morrow and that he would pretend to be sick. When the others were asleep he caught two lice and put them in an *akul* shell and told them to speak the truth and to tell him who stole the fish. Then he slept, but was awakened by the lice speaking to him. They said that a Dògai who lived at Bopu took all the fish, and they advised him to stop behind the next day, and after his brothers had started, he should go to the sand-beach where he would find the track of a turtle, by prodding with a stick he would find where she had deposited her eggs. He was to bring a number away with him and was to return by the mangrove swamp, and not by the beach, lest the Dògai should see him. On his return he was to boil a couple of eggs and while they were still hot he was to break them on his eyes and

to rush into the sea and open his eyes under the water. He would then be able to see. He pushed the lice away, saying that they were not speaking the truth—then bringing them back said, "Now speak the truth." Nothing more was said, so he put the shell under the grass of the wall of the house and went to sleep.

Next morning, when the *surka* called out, the five elder brothers got up, but the youngest groaned as if he were ill. When his brothers had gone fishing he went to the sand-beach and his feathers informed him by their movements where the turtle had laid her eggs; having found the eggs, he tied them up in some grass, returned home by the mangroves and boiled a couple of eggs in an *alup* shell. Following out the further instructions he found on opening his eyes in the sea that his eyesight was restored and with joy he looked around. He soon saw his brothers in their canoe catching fish—next he saw the Dògai come along and place the wood under the bow of the canoe and steal the fish. On their return home he told his brothers all that had happened—how that he could see them but they could not see him, and told that he had seen the Dògai stealing their fish. At first they could not believe him but were at length persuaded to do as he had done, and to the great delight of all they too could see clearly. They agreed to go out fishing the next day, but previously to starting each provided himself with a club made of mangrove wood, with the exception of the eldest brother who had a spear. At first they used their eyes, but when on the reef near Bopu they pretended to be blind; they had previously put the feathers in their hair so as to carry out the deception. They caught plenty of fish, and when the Dògai came as before they merely peeped at her between their closed eyelids, they acted in every respect as if they were blind and allowed themselves to be jerked backwards when the wood was placed under the bow. When the Dògai was picking up the fish she was attacked by the crew and killed. They all were turned into stone. The Dògai is a pinnacle of rock and beside her are two stones, the basket and the log of wood, and six rocks stand for the six blind brothers.

10. DÒGAI ZUG.

(Told by Kirer, of Badu.)

South of Badu there are two islands, Zurāt and Kwoberkēlbai, much resorted to by turtle, great numbers of which were caught by the inhabitants.

On Kwoberkēlbai lived a man named Gabakwoikai, and one morning the men at the village told him they had seen turtle-tracks on the beach at Zurāt¹. "All right," he replied, "I will go." So he started off, but instead of taking a canoe, he sat on the centre-board (*walunga*) of a canoe and paddled himself across to Zurāt. He soon found the eggs, dug them up, and rolled them in a bundle of grass, leaving them on the shore while he went to look for some *aubau* fruit.

The Dògai who lived on the other side of the island had plaited a basket for herself and had gone to sleep for a week, so that plenty of fruit might ripen and

¹ Probably this islet belonged to him and therefore the other men could not take the turtle eggs.

fall ready for her to pick up, and it chanced that she awoke on the same day and went to gather her harvest. Gabakwoikai having picked up all the fallen fruit, climbed up into the tree to gather more, and he did not see the Dògai's approach. The latter not finding fruit lying on the ground as she expected, exclaimed, "Ulloa! where all fruit go to?" Gabakwoikai, hearing the Dògai's voice, looked and saw a hideous, big-bodied woman with long legs but small feet, and ears so enormous that she could sleep on the one, whilst the other covered her like a mat. The Dògai, hearing him say in great fear, "What I do now?" looked up and saw him in the tree. "Who tell you come here? place no belong to you—fruit belong to me—you steal—bring down all the fruit." Gabakwoikai said, "You think I bloody fool take fruit for you. I can't, my belly no got *kaikai* (food)." "Give me the unripe ones, so I fill my basket," replied the Dògai; so the man dropped one, and it fell close to her; she stretched out her hand for it. Gabakwoikai threw another, and the Dògai took two steps to get it; a third was thrown still further, so that the Dògai had to take four steps; having picked it up she returned to the tree. Gabakwoikai then heaved one on to the top of a tree near the Dògai's house, and whilst she went for it he clambered down the tree and ran to the shore, carrying the fruit. On arriving at the beach he picked up the eggs and paddled away on his board.

The Dògai, returning to the tree, found that Gabakwoikai had gone, and followed his footprints; the latter, seeing he was pursued, said, "He (*sic* = she) come now." The Dògai, arriving on the beach, called after him, "You come, come now"; to which he replied, "Think I bloody fool go along you? I go back!" The men at Kwoberkèlbai, looking across the strait, exclaimed, "Ulloa! Gabakwoikai run; Dògai frighten him." Gabakwoikai returned home, gave the eggs to the old men, then put some red paint in the *kwod*; his brothers-in-law took some, saying, "All right, we go and kill Dògai." All took their dugong harpoons and fish-spears, leaving their bows and arrows behind.

The Dògai was in her house asleep when the men arrived. Gabakwoikai said, "Dògai wants to sleep"; he then took a dugong harpoon, whilst all the rest sat on her house, aimed it at her, but managed only to spear her arm with the dart to which the rope was attached. The Dògai jumped up and ran away to windward, the men holding by the rope just as if she were a dugong. The Dògai sank into the ground and made water—the spot is to this day a water-hole or well—but soon emerged and ran away again. The Dògai sank a second time, more deeply, in soft ground. "What we do now?" said the men; "Dògai go a long way." They took a turn of the rope round a tree and pulled; they tugged so vigorously that the arm of the Dògai was torn off. Shouting in triumph, the men returned to the beach, flung the arm into the sea, and the tide being low, it projected above the level of the water, and is still to be seen as a rock on the reef named Dògai Zug. The men then returned home, but the Dògai died in the ground.

11. THE STONE THAT FELL FROM THE SKY.

(Told by Waria of Mabuia.)

Once upon a time, when the Mabuia people were camping in Pulu, the boys and girls, in spite of the prohibition of their parents, were fond of continually twirling round on the beach with their arms extended (*gugabidē tiai*). They played in this way every night, but one day a great rock fell from the sky as a punishment, and killed every man, woman, and child on the island, with the exception of two sweethearts, who fled and crossed over to Mabuia at Kalalag. They bit a piece of a *kowai* tree that grew there, and 'that medicine stop that stone.' This pair of lovers became the progenitors of the present population. Parents still tell their children never to play this game (*gugabidē tiai*) at night, lest a similar catastrophe should recur. The rock is called Menguzi kula, or 'the stone that fell.'

12. THE STONE FROM THE SKY.

(Told by Waria.)

At a 'big town' in Pulu in the evenings the boys and girls used to play till very late, and to this the elders took objection and put a stop to it; on the last evening when they were playing, one young man and his sweetheart took themselves to the bush to have a little enjoyment on their own account, when they saw a stone fall and go right through the ground, by-and-by another much larger one fell and it began to move about and devour the people; after it had 'eaten' them all up including the canoes as well, these two thought it policy to run away to Mabuia. After landing on Mabuia they ran up to a tree and bit the bark which was very sour, and they thought the sourness would keep away the stone from heaven, the name of this tree is *kowai*, here they listened all night and when the noise had ceased on Pulu they came out, but remained on Mabuia; in the course of time the woman had twins, a boy and a girl; when these two grew up the father thought they had best marry to increase the population, by-and-by they also had twins, and the mother had two more; this kept on through several generations, always twins, a boy and a girl, and always brother and sister marrying, until there were plenty of people.

The name of this stone is Menguzi kula, it stopped quiet ever afterwards and there is no more to add except whenever the boys and girls are inclined to do bad, the old men remind them that by-and-by if they are not good the stone from Pulu will come and eat them up.

This is the legendary history of the rock in the *kwod* at Pulu, the overhanging face of which is covered with pictographs (cf. *Introduction*, p. 4). The first version was told to me by Waria, the second version was sent to me by Mr Cowling, who also obtained it from Waria.

13. THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH OF A STONE.

Saibai god from Sumaiut—a stone given birth to by a virgin of Sumaiut, the moon being the father. Its power was first tried upon Kiwai and proved successful. It was stolen from Sumaiut by some Saibai men and given up to the teacher in 1882.

This is all the information I have, the note was given to me by the Rev. Dr S. Macfarlane. Sumai, often erroneously called Sumaiut, is a village in Kiwai Island, the Kiwai of the tale is probably Iasa, which is sometimes called Kiwai.

14. THE BIRTH OF KUSA KAP, THE MYTHICAL BIRD.

(Told by Nagu (now Wairu) of Badu.)

One day Maiwasa of Dauan went along the reef looking for the feeding ground of a dugong; with him walked his wife, Bukari, a fine, well-favoured woman, who wore a notable pair of large ear-pendants (*muti*) ornamented with seeds (*kusa*). Now it happened that a Dògai named Gidzu lived in a large *dani* tree near by, and she cast longing glances at Maiwasa, saying to herself, "Why, that woman go along my man, that man belong to me."

Maiwasa was successful in his search, and erected a dugong platform or *nešt* on that part of the reef where he found the grass eaten by a dugong; he spent that night on his *nešt*, but speared nothing.

The next day Maiwasa went a long way on the reef at low water to look for marks of the dugong, and Bukari took a *pat*, or short simple spear, with which to catch fish.

Gidzu took a large drum, *warup*, and going to a dry place on the rocks, transformed herself into an octopus (*sugu*), and waited in this form for the coming of Bukari. Meanwhile Maiwasa wandered a long way off, and could not see what his wife was doing.

Bukari, looking in crevices and under stones in her search for fish, came at length upon the octopus and attempted to spear it, whereupon the Dògai resumed her usual form, put her big drum completely over Bukari, and, after changing faces with her, set her adrift on the sea in the drum.

Gidzu then went to look for Maiwasa, who called out on seeing her, "Come on, we must go home now, the tide is rising," and Gidzu followed; when she moved or bent down she broke wind. "Hulloa!" cried Maiwasa, "what kind of woman is that? Bukari was not like that before." Gidzu lived with Maiwasa as his wife for some time, but though like Bukari in features, she differed from her in many details, and the sudden change in his wife greatly perplexed Maiwasa, who at length concluded that she was a Dògai.

The *warup* containing Bukari drifted away towards Boigu, and was cast up on the sand beach of Baiibai, a small island close to Boigu; on stranding, Bukari came out of the drum, and looking round, saw Dauan to windward, and exclaimed, "I am

a long way off from my man." On this islet there was neither food nor water, and feeling hungry, she pulled two seeds from one of her ear-pendants and ate them.

She continued to eat two seeds every morning and evening till she had finished one ear-pendant, and she wondered what she could do next, for there was no water to drink. When commencing on the second ear she discovered she was pregnant, and by the time she had eaten nearly all the seeds she laid an egg like that of the sea eagle (*nagalŭg*). Instead of throwing it away she sat on it, and after a short time a bird was hatched, whom his mother named "Kusa Kap," or 'fruit of the seeds,' 'as no man made him.' Kusa Kap immediately but unsuccessfully attempted to fly.

When all the seeds were finished Bukari had nothing to eat and "was all bone," but soon the bird-son learnt to fly, and the first thing he did was to catch a small fish and give it to his mother, who exclaimed, "Hulloa! I have a fish now"; the bird sang out, "Go on, you eat that"; but Bukari, saying, "He no cooked," gave it back to the bird, who ate it up and then slept, as it was evening.

Early next morning Kusa Kap hulloa'ed and flew away, caught a fish, and brought it to his mother, who exclaimed, "Hulloa! got another fish now," but again refused to eat it, as it was not cooked. The bird looked at his mother, and observed that though she was 'all bone' she would not eat the raw fish, but, as before, returned it to her son, who then ate it. At daybreak the bird hulloa'ed again; by this time he had grown to a large size. When out looking for fish he saw a dugong floating; he again brought a fish home to his mother, but with the same result as before.

The following day Kusa Kap hulloa'ed at sunrise; he was now grown a gigantic bird. Bukari took a piece of string and tied a small seed to his leg; he then flew away, caught a dugong, and carrying it by its claws, dropped it at his mother's feet. Bukari said, "We haven't a bamboo knife"; but the bird stood on the back of the dugong, cut it open with his beak, and removed the bones and viscera, and cut the meat up into small pieces. Leaving the dugong, he flew away and caught another, which he also brought to his mother, who delightedly exclaimed, "Hulloa! got another now—piccaninny along me gets big food now." Kusa Kap then cut up the second dugong with his beak as before.

Early next morning Bukari told the bird to go to Daudai (the neighbouring coast of New Guinea), to ask two of her uncles living there for some fire with which to cook, and for some water to drink, instructing him, when he found their house, to sit down close beside them, and to catch hold of a burning stick in the fire, and also of a pair of coco-nut water-bottles, and "when they see the seed on your leg they will know who sent you."

Away flew Kusa Kap, and all befell as Bukari said; the uncles filled up all their water-bottles and slung them over his wings, and gave him a bamboo knife and a burning stick (*moi*), which he carried in his claws and brought to his mother, and he said to himself, "Now Bukari will have a better class inside." Kusa Kap then caught another dugong which was pregnant, gave it to his mother and cut it up for her, and this time she was able to cook the meat and eat as much as she needed.

Next day Kusa Kap caught another dugong, which his mother told him to take

to his uncles, and at the same time return the coco-nuts for more water. He did so, and his uncles filled up the water-bottles and gave him another bamboo knife to take to his mother. The bird then caught another dugong, which he gave to the uncles; he had grown so large that he looked 'all along same as island in the sky.'

Next day Bukari asked Kusa Kap to go to Dauan to look after her husband, telling him, "When you see my man you sit down close beside him; he will savvy that *kusa* as belonging to my *muti* (ear-pendant); when he savvy you go, fly to canoe, catch hold of rope and mast and mat-sail; he will savvy you come from me and will follow you." So Kusa Kap flew off to Dauan, and all happened as Bukari expected. Maiwasa took some of his countrymen in the canoe and followed Kusa Kap in his flight. On reaching Baiibai, Kusa Kap flew to his mother and sat down beside her; as they neared the beach Maiwasa and his friends wondered who had killed all these dugong—the bones strewed the beach 'thick like (drift) wood on beach.'

Directly they landed Bukari ran up to Maiwasa, and catching hold of him, asked what woman was that who had stayed along with him. She then told him all her adventures, including the laying of the egg and the hatching of Kusa Kap, being at the same time careful to explain that "no man make him along of me." Next morning they put all the dugong into the canoe, and Bukari told Kusa Kap to go to Daudai and remain with her uncles, but added that she herself would go home to Dauan, and Bukari wept at parting from her bird-son.

The canoe then started for Dauan, but first sailed close to Saibai before making that island; on nearing the shore Bukari went aft and took a lump of wood which was in the canoe, then the sails were lowered, and the canoe was run fast on to the beach. Gidzu meanwhile was stopping in Maiwasa's house, and had no idea that Bukari had been found and had now returned. When she saw Maiwasa's canoe nearing the shore she went down to welcome him home, but when she reached the canoe, Bukari, who had been crouching down, sprang up and killed Gidzu by a blow with the lump of wood across the bridge of her nose.

In this tale we have the original source of the rumour which d'Albertis records in his book *New Guinea: What I did and what I saw*. "They [the captain and engineer of the *Ellangowan*, the mission steamer, Dr James of the Macleay expedition and his companion] told me of the discovery of the river Baxter [Mai Kūsa], and of a bird of a huge species, which measures twenty-two feet between the tips of its wings. The engineer, however, diminished these dimensions, as stated by Mr Stone, to sixteen feet. They compare the flapping of its wings to the noise made by a steam-engine, and assure me they had heard from the natives that it has often been seen to carry a dugong up into the air. Some of my companions were offended because I expressed my doubts of the credibility of this story." (November 7, 1875, Vol. I. p. 387.) Later on he writes: "As to the gigantic bird of Baxter, on the Maicussar River, I have ascertained that it was a *Buceros ruficollis* [the red-necked hornbill], which makes a peculiar noise in flying. This sound, especially when several birds fly together, resembles the noise of a steam-engine; and I succeeded in convincing two or three discoverers of the great bird, who are now on board the *Ellangowan*, of that

fact." (I. p. 33). Accounts of this remarkable bird also appeared in Australian papers about the month of October in 1875.

It is interesting that we are able to trace a double origin for the marvellous bird tale. The basis of the rumour was evidently due to the imperfect apprehension by the leaders of the expedition of the local legend which the natives (probably Saibai men) told to them. It will be remembered that the island of Boigu lies off the mouth of the Mai Kūsa. D'Albertis may be credited with having discovered that the real element in the rumour was due to the introduction of a realistic observation of nature lore.

15. THE STORY OF SIWI, OR THE ORIGIN OF MOSQUITOS AND FLIES.

(Told by Waria of Mabuiag.)

Siwi and his wife Garke had one son. Siwi was a fisherman and he used to fasten his hooks on to his beard and whiskers and when he got any bait he fastened it on to the hooks which were in his beard and whiskers.

When he had baited the hooks, he dived into the sea and the fish came and nibbled at the bait and Siwi shook his head and caught a lot of fish. He kept on diving and every time he came up with his beard full of fish. When he had filled his canoe with fish he returned home.

When he came ashore Siwi and Garke distributed the fish, giving the best fish to their son and keeping the inferior fish for themselves.

Time after time Siwi went fishing in the same fashion and every time he and his wife gave the best fish to their son.

One time Siwi's boy accompanied him, and Siwi as usual caught plenty of fish and he gave his son the good fish to eat in the canoe.

At last he caught a very large, good fish. The son called out, "Oh father! that's my fish." "No," replied the father, "I don't want to give it to you. I want to give it to mother, because I have already given you plenty." The boy now began to cry, and he cried, and he cried. As they started to come home he continued crying, and crying, and crying. The father said, "Oh! don't you cry, I want mother to see that fish first. I'll give it to you by-and-by. I want to show it to mother and when she has said 'Thank you' she will then give it to you."

The boy cried, and he cried, and he cried, all the way to the shore. The mother came to meet them and said, "What's up? What have you done to the boy?" The father said, "No, I have not done anything. I have given him plenty of fish. I told him right enough that I wanted his mother to see this fish first and that when she had said 'Thank you' he would then have it; but he cried, and cried, and cried." To which his wife replied, "Why didn't you give it to him? You've brought back all that lot of fish, who's going to eat them?"

The mother gave the fish to the boy and told him to go; she was now very angry and said to her husband, "You take all these fish and go to the house. I don't want them. You don't give your child good fish." The poor man had to cook his own dinner that evening.

Next morning the father went to look for fish and his wife made five large baskets. He caught plenty of fish. When he came ashore his wife did not meet him. 'Well, poor fellow, he anchored his canoe and took all the fish on shore and he had to cook them himself.' Then he slept.

Next morning he again went fishing. The mother was 'wild like hell,' and said, "I would like to do something to you"; she looked out to sea and said, "Oh! he's catching fish": Garke then made all kinds of mosquitos (*iwi*), sand-flies (*dingiri*), a larger fly (*bug*), a large fly called *padig*, and the *būgi* fly, and she filled the five baskets she had made the previous day, each with one kind of fly.

That woman looked and saw her husband catching fish and then she upset all those baskets of flies and the air was black like a rain cloud with flies. The wind was in the north and it blew the cloud of flies out to sea. When they came close to Siwi, the 'poor fellow' felt some of them biting him. "What's that biting?" he said, smacking himself all over, "What is it?"

He hauled up his anchor and went away home. The flies poured on him like rain and he rubbed his body and limbs to free himself of them. When he got tired of this he dived down saying, "I think there are no mosquitos at the bottom of the sea"; but some of the mosquitos dived down too.

As soon as he came to the surface of the water he put the canoe over his head, and protected himself from the mosquitos. Then he thought there were no mosquitos left and got into the canoe and began to pole it; but plenty of mosquitos came and once more he dived and scratched himself when at the bottom of the water. And he repeated this again.

Garke saw what was going on and exclaimed, "Poor fellow! I am a fool. Whatever did I do it for?"

As soon as Siwi came inshore he rushed from the canoe, not even waiting to let go the anchor, and 'him he run, he go, run, run, run, go right up hill, try his best, run this way and that way, he short of wind and mosquitos go on biting him, he fight them and go up hill and he fall down; he die, because he short of wind. Poor fellow, he try his best, but he fall down and die.'

The wife and their son came behind Siwi. She followed her husband and saw the poor fellow where he lay down. The unhappy widow cried and went back to the house, then she came out and stood up close by the hill, where she turned into a stone.

16. THE FIRST MAN OF SAIBAI.

Miloāl was the name of the first man who lived on Saibai. He lived in a hole in the ground. During daylight he left his hole and got inside a shell which he made whistle or sound very loud and shrill. One day two men came from the bush to the side of the island where this Miloāl was. One of the men was called 'Paipai,' the other 'Nima.' This day Miloāl did not hide in his shell but spoke to those two men. Paipai and Nima asked, "Where you come from?" Miloāl for answer asked, "Where you come from?" They said, "We come from bush." Miloāl then asked, "Where

you go?" They answered, "We want to go to Katau (that is Mawata, which was supposed to be an island then) but we have got no canoe. Have you got a canoe that we may go to Katau in?" Miloäl said he had no canoe but told them they would soon have one if they did as he told them. He gave them an old coco-nut, telling them to husk it, then to break it in two and to eat what is eatable, to throw away the top part of nut and keep the bottom part in which there is no eyehole. This they were to scrape and polish, then place in a basket which he gave them. This basket they were to carry hanging from their shoulder. When they came to water they were to place the shell in it and they would find it big enough then to carry both of them. This they did and found it would carry both of them. Miloäl was an old man with long white hair and beard.

This tale was given to me by Mr Robert Bruce, who obtained it in June, 1893, from some old men of Saibai. He adds, "The natives of Saibai have often filled up the hole in which they say he still lives, but it always breaks out again in small holes with the earth heaped up in little mounds round each." Mr Bruce rightly suggests that the crater-like, little mounds of earth are made by land crabs.

Culture Myths.

17. SIDA, THE BESTOWER OF VEGETABLE FOOD.

(Told by Waria and Gizu.)

Sida came from Pab, on the mainland of New Guinea beyond Boigu. He flew away as a frigate-bird (*waumer* or *womer*) which wore a pearl-shell, *mai*, round its neck.

Sida flew to Gebar (Two Brothers Island) and said to the people there, "I want a woman." They all gave him an old woman whose breasts hung down. Sida loaded himself with various kinds of food, coco-nuts, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, sago, and *duar*, *kupar*, *uzu*, *gobegobe* and other fruit. He threw some of these on Gebar and went to a high hill into the middle of the island and where he put his feet there is to this day a black stone. He looked around him and seeing Yam island in the far distance, he said, "I think I go there to look for some missus."

So Sida went to Yam and asked the people to give him a wife. They all gave him an old woman, as the Gebar people had previously done. He again threw away some fruit and flowers of certain trees.

Then Sida went to Masig and asked for a woman. They all gave him a bad-looking woman, and he said, "I think I'll go round to Iub (Erub or Darnley Island)."

When he reached Iub they treated him in the same manner and gave him an old woman whose breasts hung down. Sida threw down some coco-nuts and *uzu*, and a few other fruits.

Finally Sida came to Moie (Mer or Murray Island). The Miriam people gave him Pëker, a fine looking girl, 'breasts belong her stand up.' She said to him, "I think you no do something along me here, we go to windward." So they went along the

beach till they came to a spot where the ground was steep. They lay with their heads downwards and 'he try to do bad.' "No," she cried, "you must not do it that way." So they turned round 'and do bad,' and immediately coco-nuts and every kind of vegetable food and various fruits sprang up.

All the Murray Islanders jumped with joy and cried, "You and me place come better now."

Sida said to Pëker, "I think I go to Kiwai to-morrow"; but she replied, "No good you go, all people give me to you; best thing you and me stop in one place." Sida replied, "I go to Kiwai now."

Sida went to Kiwai and was immediately seen by all the Kiwai men who were then dancing. One of these men, Mauri by name, was a young bachelor and he was very anxious to marry a fine young girl named Sagaru. As soon as he heard that Sida had come he jumped about, being beside himself with anger, and said, "By-and-by Sagaru like that man."

It was shortly before sunset and the Kiwai men were beating their drums. Sida tried one drum, but the drum instead of sounding "boom," "boom," said "Sagaru," "Sagaru." Mauri soon heard it and cried, "Who hit that drum? Break that drum." Whenever the Kiwai men beat the drum and danced just before sundown Sagaru always stopped in her house. When Sida came Sagaru said to him, "You and me go and get a dead coco-nut leaf to burn so as to get a light."

At sundown all the men came and Sida who was behind them all sang, "*Wadaima Sidaima Sagaru Sidaima.....bu, bu, bu.*" 'I get you this night.' He knew that this would be so as he had a love charm ('he got medicine belong girl'). Most of the men carried *sabigarigu*¹.

When Sida came his *sabigarigu* broke and flew underneath Sagaru's petticoat. Sagaru then caught hold of Sida's hand for they were 'sweethearts now.'

The dance was immediately stopped and a row sprang up. The men ranged themselves into two sides, some took the part of Sida and others that of Mauri. Sagaru was still by the side of Sida and Mauri took a stone club and coming up to them hit Sida on the nose and killed him.

The men said, "There's a canoe close by, we'll put him inside." This canoe was of the kind known as *guguba wake*, but the spirit (*mari*) of Sida did not like this canoe, so they took another kind called *kim*, but the *mari* did not like it either, 'can't go inside.' Seeing this the men said, "I think you and me put him in a straight canoe," *karar mad*, so they put him inside and the canoe opened out wide for Sida and was convenient for him. Sida was laid in the bow of the canoe with a mat made of strips of pandanus leaf (*kai*) over him, and sent adrift down the creek.

There lived beside the creek two women who were joined together back to back, *gururid garōidamin*, they each had a separate head and their own pair of legs. When they went in one direction they walked with one pair of legs, and when they wanted to return they employed the other pair of legs. They carried their basket between their two heads. When the canoe drifted close to the women's house, they shivered,

¹ A *sabigarigu* is a dance ornament consisting of an oval piece of tortoise-shell attached to a long handle, the edge of the disc is fringed with the black-tipped, white feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon.

knowing this to be a sign, they looked out and said, "Ulloa! a canoe has come, this is the first time we have seen a canoe in this place." They approached it and seeing the mat, they lifted it up and said, "There's a fine young man lying down. That fine boy belong you and me. I think we both try to make him alive."

They put Sida between their two heads and carried him ashore and then carried him to their house, where they laid him on a mat. They got some *witi* wood and broke it into small pieces and made a big fire with it; after they had rested awhile they took Sida and threw him on to the fire. A young fellow walked out, "Good day," he said to the women. "Come along my boy," they replied, "you've just been born."

The women knocked down some young and ripe coco-nuts to wash him with their water. When they had finished washing him, they twisted his hair into long ringlets and decorated him with ornaments and then left him in the house while they went to get some food, bananas, sugar-cane, yams, taro, and such like, and they made a good dinner for him. That night Sida slept in the house while the women slept on the ground outside.

Next morning they said to him, "All right, you stop here and we will go and look for food." The young fellow was sorry that the women worked so hard for him. They made an earth-oven and when the food was cooked they gave him his breakfast inside the house, while they fed outside. Sida took a long stick like a canoe paddle and said to the women, "You stand still and I'll hit you two." He hit hard between the two heads and split them in two so that they fell down different ways. So now for the first time they saw one another and they were glad to see each other. They went to Sida and kissed him, saying, "You're a good boy, you belong to us two."

The women returned to their garden, but Sida went round another way and climbed on to a *sara* (platform for a corpse) that stood close by the garden. The women, as they walked and talked, came near the *sara* and Sida said to himself, "Hold on a bit, I watch you two come close to me." When the women came close to the *sara*, Sida thought, "Now you two see me." The women did see Sida, and crying out "*I, I*" they ran home.

Sida jumped off the *sara* and ran home, reaching there before the women and lying down on his back pretended to be asleep. The two women said, "Sida!" he replied, "Yes, I'm here." Then they said, "We saw a *sara*."

Next morning they again went into the bush and Sida ran round another way. He dressed himself up like a *markai* and stood up when they came close to him. They looked up and seeing what they thought was the ghost of a dead man they cried out, "*I, I*," and turned back and ran home.

Sida also ran home and got there before the women and lay down as before. When the women rushed into the house they cried, "Sida, get up! a ghost ran after us." Sida ran out in front of them and said, "Why do you call out? I'm the ghost this time, I am going to leave you." The two women were sorry and said, "Hey! turn back, why do you leave us?"

Sida ran away. Immediately he saw the ground open and he jumped down and the earth closed over him. 'Finish.'

Sida is evidently the great culture hero for vegetable food in this district. He started from west of Boigu, visited the Western and then the Eastern islands of Torres Straits and finally went to the mouth of the Fly river. I collected one version of the legend at Mabuiag and another from a native of Kiwai. Mr Robert Bruce has a Saibai variant and in volume VI. of these Reports I shall give the Miriam version.

18. SIDA.

(*Saibai version.*)

One man named Sida came from Sadoa, where the Togeru men come from. He came to Boigu. All Boigu man he sing out when he see Sida—"What name this fellow he come?" Sida he speak all Boigu men, "What for you fellow talk big? More better you fellow talk small fellow; you fellow talk too much crooked—more better you talk straight."

Sida had visited the Boigu men one time before this and given them a talk (language). On this second visit the Boigu men gave him a woman: they gave him an old woman. Sida then was very angry because they did not give him a young woman, but he did not say anything to them. 'When night came, Sida and woman go sleep, but Sida he no want old woman—he no like—so him he look daylight a long time. By-and-by, when daylight he come, Sida he speak all Boigu man,' "Now I make all yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, coco-nuts that I bring you from Sadoa will grow here no more. Now you will eat nothing but dugong and turtle. You keep your woman—I no want old woman—you make fool of me. I go Saibai now," he said. He then changed himself into man-of-war hawk (*waumer*) and flew to Saibai. When he got there he changed himself again to a man. The people of Saibai were glad to see him and gave him a nice-looking young woman. Sida slept with the girl and in the morning he called all the Saibai people and told them he was going to give them what he had taken away from the Boigu people, and he gave them plenty of food. That is the reason Saibai has so much food growing there now.

Sida sleep one more night on Saibai. Then he make himself small and got inside *waumer* again and flew across to Dauan. They gave him an old woman; he slept one night and in the morning he was very angry, saying to the people, "You no got plenty man here and yet you gave me an old woman. Now all you people eat water and fish—I give you nothing."

Then Sida he look Gebar. He then make himself small and go inside *waumer* and fly to sandbeach of Gebar. He make himself into a man again and walk along. All man he watch Sida coming and speak, "What name this fellow he come?" Sida when he came up to where all man stand he speak all the same. "Talk belong you fellow he all wrong—he no good." 'Sida he talk plenty bad belong man. He make all man feel no good. When Sida he go sleep they give him a very old woman. Sida he then

¹ "What is it that is coming?"

tell all people'—because he was wild at them giving him a very old woman—"You fellow no eat good food all the same as Saibai man. You eat dugong, turtle, fish and water. No coco-nuts, yams, taro or bananas. Suppose you fellow see canoe come from Boigu, Dauan or Saibai you fellow no stop sandbeach. You be afraid—you all run away bush and hide yourselves."

Sida then leave the old woman and go inside bird and fly away for Tutu. When he came to Tutu he became a man again. All the Tutu people had heard about Sida but had never seen him: yet they knew who he was and did not care to see him, so they gave him a very ugly old woman. In the morning he told all the people, "Now I tell you people, you will have no water, no bananas, coco-nuts or yams; you will have no wood to make fire. You will have to go all the time to Saibai and Mawata to look for good food, because you did not look out for me good and gave me an old woman instead of a girl when I came look you." After which he started for Damut as a bird. All Damut man he look and sing out, "Hallo, Sida he come!" The people had never seen Sida yet they knew some great one was expected and believed this to be the great Sida. They all offered him a young woman. He slept one night and in the morning he told the people that their talk was all wrong, they no talk straight proper. He then told them he would leave them plenty of food—coco-nuts, yams, sweet potatoes and bananas. He then gave back the girl and flew away again, this time to Erub. When Erub man see him come they all sing out, 'Look, Sida he come.' When Sida got to where all people were he said to them, "You fellow not talk straight: you talk another way¹." 'Sida he speak he want a woman. They gave him a good-looking young girl. That night Sida he speak all man,' "I leave you plenty of food, all the same I give Saibai." He then gave them back girl and started to fly to Mer.

All the people look at him coming. Sida he land at a place called Ulag. Sida he speak, "I like a woman." All man he give him young girl. Sida he carried a bag slung round his neck all the time he was flying around: inside his bag he carried plenty of food. The girl he slept with that night was called Pakar. She was the best girl of the island, and in the morning the girl was dead. 'All people he no say nothing to Sida.' Sida gave the people all the food he had in his bag except taro and sago. He then fly away to Ugar. All man he look him come. Sida he speak he want a woman. They gave him Kienepkas (a middle-aged woman). In the morning he gave them some food from his bag. He then fly away to Mibu in the Fly River (Kuti). By-and-by Sida he get close to: he look two woman. They were fast back to back by skin. When one was walking one way the other was looking another way. Sida he watched them. He saw them go into the mangrove swamp looking for a small shell called *ui*. Sida he then left his bird and went inside one of those small shells. The woman that was dragging behind saw a shell that was larger than the usual and picked it up. Her sister who was going first wanted to get it, saying, "You give that shell to me." The sister did so. The first sister she think inside herself, "Sida he stop inside this shell; no good I cook him very hot, I cook him small hot then I swallow him

¹ The Eastern Tribe speak a different language from that of the Western Tribe.

down one time." 'Sida he make her think all the same. So she swallow the shell and in three nights and three days she got a family inside and child he come out. Sida he make woman think when he stop inside, 'Suppose me born you two call me 'Sida Sula'. When he was born again, he grew and became a man quick. When he looked at his two mothers he said, 'Hallo! my mothers not all the same as me. You another kind—two fellow he fast together—one day two women he go look for shells. Sula he go before them and hide in bush. He got a piece of *kaka* wood² and sharpened it. Then Sula he get behind a large tree that was close to the path which his mothers were coming by.' When the women were passing the tree he took his sharp heavy wood and cut down between the backs of the two women, cutting the skin and separating the two. When the women found they were separated one run one way and one the other way.

When they stopped running and saw who it was that had cut them, they said, "What for you fellow fight us two fellow?" Sula said, "You hold on," and lifting a handful of ground he smeared the backs of his two mothers where they were bleeding and made them all right one time. When the two women who were separated looked at each other they were full up wonder as they had never looked at each other's face before; so they put their arms round each other and cried because they were glad—their names were Kumu and Kasu.

'Plenty man he stop Kiwai. One canoe he come across from Kiwai with sisters of Sula's two mothers. When canoe came close to island all sisters in canoe he look. One says, "Ah! ha! What matter sister belong we fellow? Before, he fast together. Who cut them in two?" They anchored their canoe and came ashore, all singing out, "Who cut you fellow in two?" Kumu and Kasu say, "We two shake one tree in bush. One branch fall down and broke us in two." But the five sisters would not believe them but went back to the canoe and started for Kiwai. At night they all yarn and speak, "I think man he stop there. Very good first thing in the morning we go Mibu again and look sister belong we."

At Mibu, Sula he walk about beach. He see fish and shoot it with his bow and arrow. As he did so the string of his bow broke. When the five sisters arrived in their canoe and went ashore, one of them picked up the broken string of Sula's bow. Then they knew there was a man with their sister. They all went up to the house and the five sisters asked the other two, "You got a man here?" Two, he speak, "We no got a man." But the other sister that had found the broken string pulled it out of her basket, saying, "No good you speak you no got a man. Look what we find on sandbeach. Come, you fellow, show us man belong you. This thing belong man: no belong woman. No good you speak you no got man." Then they said, "Yes, we two fellow got a man called Sida Sula." When the five sisters heard that they

¹ (Suli or Sula means a drop, like water, a drop of water.) Sida's reason for doing this was that he had passed under the name of 'Sida' when he gave food and took away food from the other islands, and, as the people were bad and always fighting, they might kill him if they got the chance; but if he was born again of a woman and called 'Sula' they would not know he was the same man.

² (From the tree called *kaka*.) A very strong, hard wood which the women of the Fly River use at the present day, made in the shape of a sword with which they help the men when hard pressed in their fights.

were too much angry and started in their canoes again for Kiwai. Sida Sula he stand alongside a small *korua* tree. Then he sit on top of it, when it began to grow till it was a very high tree. Then Sida he bend the top of the tree right across¹ to Kiwai so that the top bent down to the house of his mother's sisters. Sida then made the top of the tree fast to the house. Then Sida came back and told his two mothers to look at the tree. "You two look. When you see this tree go straight, then your sisters and me we fight."

At night time Sida he go Kiwai. All Kiwai man he dance. Sida he go amongst them and danced with them. Another night they dance when a very good-looking girl joined the dance, who had not seen Sida Sula the night before; but Sida had looked at her and liked her too much that first night he dance. Maura [the biggest chief of Kiwai] and Sida dance together, two fellow looking too much flash and plenty man and woman he look. Maura he like this good-looking girl, Sagaru, too much and he want her; but Sagaru no like Maura: inside she feel she like Sida Sula. Sagaru sat down by the fire and Maura he come first, Sida he come behind. The girl seeing Maura looking at her took a piece of wood and spread out the fire and pushed sand and ashes over it so that the light did not shine on her face.

When Maura saw her do that he knew that she did not want him then, but he think all the time she like him too much. Sagaru rose from the fire and went underneath the house from one side while Sida went under the house from the other side and the two of them met. Two fellow he feel inside, he like other one too much. When daylight came all the people came to fight Sida Sula. While Sida fought the tree that was bent from Mibu to Kiwai kept singing out, 'U, U!' so that his two mothers heard the sound and knew that their Sida was fighting their people, even before the tree sprang straight. Five days Sida he fight all man. He too strong.

Girl Sagaru she run away to bush and sat on the branch of a small tree to rest. While she sat the tree grew up very high so that she could not get down again. Sida Sula he follow tracks belong girl. By and by he come to a water-hole where he lose all tracks. He walk about, walk about, but can find no track. He come back water-hole again where he see tracks belong girl last time. He too much tired: he like to drink water. He look in water-hole, plenty wood he stick up inside. Girl he sit up on tree above water-hole. Girl he hear Sida. She too much glad: she look down from tree. Sida he see face belong her in water. Sida he think girl he hide there, jumps in to bring her out, but pieces of the wood went through his forehead and eyes and killed him, so that he did not get the girl no more.

Sagaru seeing Sida Sula, the man she liked too much, lying in the water-hole got strong and came down the tree and into the water-hole, and pulled out Sida and cried over him because he was dead. The tree that was bent over to Kiwai from Mibu sprung back and his two mothers knew that Sida Sula was dead, so they cried for him plenty days.

The following is Mr Robert Bruce's note on this tale:—"So ends the tale of 'Sida' got from the two oldest men on the island of Saibai in July 1893, and translated to me by

¹ The distance across is five miles.

natives who were at school for six years on Murray Island and who spoke the Murray language and had fair English. I got the old men on two different occasions with different translators to tell me the story, so that it is correct. The middle-aged natives know almost nothing of the lore of their people. The young men and girls know nothing of those tales. While copying this out from the original, on board the *Mary*, which has a Saibai crew, it pleased them very much to hear parts of this story. They say their fathers never tell them any of those things. I do not think they have much chance to hear tales, the young men being so often from home."

19. SIDA.

(*Kiwai Version.*)

Sòpuse of Kiwai went to dig in the creek in order to cultivate sago, he thought to himself that he would make something. He made a hole in the ground beside the creek with which he had connection, then he swam to the creek and went to the village at Dropo and when he had eaten he went to sleep. Next morning he went to the creek to dig and in the afternoon repeated the performance of the previous day. This happened many times. At length Soiida came out of the ground; round about the place were two coco-nut palms, and numerous small bushes and trees, *wabari*, *gauri*, *busumu*, *papae*. Next time Sòpuse went to the creek he saw Soiida, but did not know that he had made him. He took Soiida to his house.

By and by news came from Kiwai that they were holding a *barari* dance. Soiida asked his father to make a drum for him, he put a lizard's (Vananus) skin on a bush and Sòpuse took some lumps of beeswax and put them on the skin¹ and called them by the same name, *Saguru*, as that of a certain Kiwai girl. At night time Sòpuse beat a drum and called her name, when she appeared he threw a lump of beeswax and hit the septum of her nose, she fell down through the house² and Soiida took a torch and went to look for her, when he found her he said to her, "You woman belong to me, by and by me marry you." "Yes," she replied, "me no like another man, me marry you." Soiida danced till daylight and then returned to Dropo. Next night he returned and danced and married Sagaru and then he remained at Kiwai.

The men fished in a small creek at Kiwai, but Soiida got only one *aser*, which is a very bony fish, Sagaru cooked it along with some sago and when it was finished went outside the house. Soiida returned and took the fish to the *darimo* (the men's house) leaving only a bone for Sagaru. When she returned she took the bone and bit it and broke her teeth and was very angry. When Soiida returned she asked why he had taken the fish and said she had nearly broken her teeth and that she was not a dog to eat bones. Both were very angry now, Soiida went to the bush and Sagaru took some *amer* (lime made from burnt shells) and painted her face with it and with

¹ The lizard's skin was for the head of the drum and it is customary to put small lumps of beeswax on to the skin of a drum to improve the sound.

² All the Dandai and Fly River houses are built on piles.

weri (the yellow earth from Saibai which becomes red when it is burnt) and put *hogoro* (shredded sago leaves) in her ears. At sundown Soiida returned and went to eat in the *darimo* where he slept, but Sagaru went away. Soiida took a lot of food from Gaima which he took in a canoe and threw it on to Gebar. Next he went to Boigu and thence to the Wasi Kusa where he saw two men who said to him, "Father I want to stop along with you." He gave permission and they made a house. Soiida obtained a wife and he made a fence round the house and cleared the ground inside, then he went to get some grass and then the two men asked a woman to come inside the fence, she refused, but at last they persuaded her and then they 'stole' her. She told Soiida what had happened and he was angry and killed her and cut her up in small pieces and burnt her in the grass.

Two or three months later a great crop of yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, coco-nuts, sago, *buii* grew up and they had a great dance and they got pigs, kangaroos, dogs and various kinds of birds and they danced and they danced. At daylight they went into the bush and swam in the river and walked about.

Soiida wanted to go to Murray Island and tried to get the pelican to carry him, but though it tried hard it could not fly; the same happened with the *waria* hawk, and then he tried all the other strong animals, turtle, and dugong, at last the *awauia* (pelican) was able to take him to Murray Island. At that time there was no food in Murray Island, but the morning after he had married Pēkai there was plenty of food.

This narrative was told to me by a native of Kiwai, who was a poor story-teller, and is evidently composed of merely fragments of a long culture myth; but it is of interest as being a Kiwai version of the adventures of Sida, about whom so much is told by the Eastern and Western Tribes of Torres Straits. From his miraculous birth Soiida, or Sida, was connected with vegetation, more especially with food plants. The incidents connected with Sagaru are totally different from the versions current in the islands.

Mr E. Beardmore has published (*Journ. Anth. Inst.*, XIX., 1890, p. 565) a legend entitled "The Story of Sidor: The first cause of Death," which is a Daudai (Mawata) variant. The fish incident is reversed and there are other incidents which do not appear in the tales I have collected.

20. THE SAD END OF YAWAR THE GARDENER.

(Told by Kirer and Kanai of Badu.)

Some Madub¹ men lived at Samun and others at Sake and Kuan, but Yawar had his garden on the side of the hill Giz, on the windward side of Badu, which lay between these places and Zauma, the small sand-beach where Yawar's three wives lived.

The yams of the Madub men grew only during the north-west season, whereas Yawar always had a good supply of yams, bananas and other garden produce.

¹ I do not know why these men were called 'Madub'; a *Madub*, in Badu and Mabuag, is a wooden human effigy which causes garden produce to grow.

One day, the Madub men sent two of their number to Yawar to ask him to come and show them how to make their gardens. The two men said to Yawar, "How you make a garden? When you make him, he grow quick; when we make him, he take long time—not till *Kuki* (the nor-west or rainy season) comes; best thing you learn us." "Very well, I will not go to Samun, I will teach you here," replied Yawar, "see you no forget; you Madub men put yam in ground, you see me, I make heap first, then I put yam in, now you savvy." And he showed them how he did it, until they understood it. The men returned home, but soon forgot what Yawar had told them; so that year their yams did not do well.

Then three men were sent to Yawar, and Yawar cut a flat stick and shovelled up the earth into a hillock, and explained fully his method of setting yams; but the men forgot everything on their way home. On their return they were asked, "You fellow got him?" (*i.e.*, "know how to do it"). "No," they replied, "we forget again."

Four men were next sent to Yawar, and he said to them, "How many times am I to teach you?" and again he carefully instructed them. The men forgot all the information as they were travelling homewards.

Five men and then six men were sent to Yawar and the same thing happened each time, and Yawar said, "You fellow big enough man, what for you forget?"

The three wives of Yawar went on to the reef to get crabs and Yawar put into his basket two yams, two sweet potatoes and two of everything else that grew in his garden.

The Madub men cut hooked sticks like throwing-sticks, which they suspended from their collar-bones, and they set out for Giz and went into Yawar's garden and waited for him. Yawar came to work in his garden, he had not noticed them, they came like spirits. On their arrival they hooked Yawar under the armpits and elsewhere and rolled him about like a cask. They uprooted trees so that now there are no trees in that place, only grass. Yawar cried out, "Very good, you leave me now, I have wives and children, no kill me."

The Madub men caused the rain to fall and a rainbow to appear and they took Yawar over the rainbow to Dadakul on Moa and lowered him there and a portion of him fell off which is a stone to this day. By means of another rainbow they went from Dadakul to Beugaiin, a hill in Moa, where they rolled Yawar down like a cask and informed him they would take him to Mer, and Yawar said, "No good you kill me, I got wives and children. I learn you good to make garden, and you forget; no fault belong me." Then they went up the rainbow to Sogán, a point of Moa, and again lowered Yawar. Then they went to Met, thence to Nagir, Getulai, Suaragi, Ulu (Saddle Island), Waraber, Paremar, Aurid, Masig, Erub, and Moie (the Mabuiag name for Mer). On their arrival at Murray Island they dragged him, raw and bleeding, up the steep smooth side of the hill Gelam.

Yawar took earth from Badu and took banana, yam, sugar-cane, *dua*, *wiwi*, *gugabe*, *usu*, taro, coco-nuts and water and threw them down in Moie.

The Madub went back by the rainbow. They pulled up the gardens of Yawar, took all his wives and went to the other side of Badu.

This legend accounts for the great fertility of Murray Island as compared with Badu.

Sida followed a more northerly route from west to east through the Straits than that along which Yawar was taken.

21. GELAM.

Once upon a time there lived at Moibulbul in Moa a woman named Usar who had a son named Gelam. One day Gelam made a bow and some arrows and went to a water-hole in the bush beside which he built a small hut of leafy boughs in which he hid himself. He shot a number of birds, and then made a fire by twirling one stick upon another, and he cooked and ate the best birds but he did not take any of them home to his mother. When he drunk some water he came home, his mother gave him plenty of yams and taro and other food.

This happened time after time but sometimes he gave his mother some thin birds, till one day his mother said to him, "My son, Gelam, long time you stop in bush, you go away morning and come back afternoon." He said, "I leave that food till the morning. I lazy, I walk about, I eat in bush, my belly full," and he did not eat his mother's food. She said to herself, "Why Gelam not want to eat my food? What food he eat in the bush?" Once he gave his mother two fat birds by mistake along with some poor ones and she cooked only those two and threw the rest away.

The following morning Usar said she would go on the reef to pick up shell-fish, and Gelam said he would go and shoot birds. When he had gone she went to her garden and picked a number of banana leaves and made them into a kind of petticoat and she hid this and some white mud (*dauma*) in a bush near her house. When Gelam came home she said to him, "'Ulloa my boy, you come! you take a long time in the bush," and she gave him some food. He replied, "I have eaten some birds in the bush." He went to sleep but his mother plaited a mat and did not sleep, but watched him all the night.

Just before the sun rose Gelam got up, and when Gelam went one way his mother went the other way and she covered herself all over with the white mud and rolled her hair into long ringlets and put on the banana-leaf dress. When she had thus dressed herself up as a Dògai she went quietly to Gelam's hut.

Gelam had bad luck that day; when a bird flew out from the bush he shot at it but missed it, this happened continually. He did not know what was the matter as he had always had good luck before. Then he heard a breathing noise behind him and he turned round and was terrified at what he saw and cried out to his mother that a Dògai was there, and she thought to herself, "You do not want to eat my food and now you call me by my name, Usar."

Gelam threw down his bow and arrows and ran away and his mother ran after him; a root of a tree tripped him and he fell down and cut himself; he got up and then he was entangled in some grass and fell down again, this happened time after time till he was bruised and cut and bleeding all over. Usar ran home, went into the water to wash but did not wash her ears thoroughly but left some mud there; she changed her petticoat and combed out her hair and sat down to her mat.

Usar pretended to be greatly alarmed when she saw Gelam come in, and she asked him what was the matter. He said that a Dògai came to the water-hole and ran after him, and he showed her how bruised he was; then his mother began to cry and told him what a bad boy he must have been for a Dògai to appear to him and she pitied herself for having such a wicked son and she referred to his past conduct.

Gelam laid down to rest on a mat and his mother began to cook some food, and as he lay watching Usar he saw some mud in her ears and he said to himself, "Ah! I think mother make a fool of me to-day; all right, mother, by-and-by I catch you." He thought he would go to Badu and stop there, then he thought he would go to Mabuia, but it struck him that these were so close to Moa that his mother would come to see him, so he thought he would go somewhere a long way off.

Next morning Usar said to Gelam, "You sleep, I go look along shell-fish." As soon as she was gone, Gelam jumped up and went into the bush and carved a life-sized model of a dugong out of a tree trunk, in the under side of which he hollowed out a large cavity. In this he placed some dirt for the liver, and made some string, like fishing-line, for the intestines, in fact he put into the model representatives of the various viscera of a dugong. Then he took it to the sea and getting inside it, he plunged into the water, but the wood was too light, so he threw the model over to Badu and went home. When his mother returned with the shell-fish and food from her garden she found Gelam lying on the mat. She cooked a lot of food for him and afterwards went on making her mat.

On the following morning Gelam said he would stop at home as he could not walk, being very sore. As soon as his mother had gone on the reef to get fish, or crabs, or whatever she could catch, Gelam went into the bush and made another model of a dugong, but this time he chose a *tulu* tree, which has heavy wood. When he had finished the dugong he put it in the sea and went inside and came up to breathe, making a "pew" noise just like a dugong; first he swam to the north, "pew," then he swam to the south, "pew," then to the south-east, "pew," then he dived and ate some sea-grass. Finally he hid it in the bush and went home.

Everything happened as previously. The following morning Usar went to her garden, but Gelam again said he could not go out as his leg was too sore. As soon as his mother had gone Gelam went to the dugong and put inside it all kinds of food, coco-nuts, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, yams, *ufle* or *kutai*, *igaru*, *dua*, *gugabe* and some red earth¹. When all was ready he went home and rested. Usar gave Gelam plenty of garden food to eat but he said he wanted some fish very badly and asked her to get some fish for him the next day. Usar went on making her mat.

Next morning Usar went on the reef to get some fish for Gelam and Gelam went into the bush and fetched out his dugong. He got inside and diving in the sea swam close behind his mother, as she walked along the edge of the reef. Then he spouted, "pew." She turned round and saw what she thought was a dugong. "Ah! that food along Gelam." She tried to spear it, but Gelam dived into deep water and came up to the surface some distance off. Then Usar picked up a stone and ran after him. Gelam waited till she was near and then dived down again. In this manner he made

¹ Soil, not red paint, *parma*. Red earth is a feature of the lava-soil of Murray Island.

his mother run up and down the reef, she trying to spear the dugong when close to, or to hurl a stone at it when further off, but Gelam always managed to slip away just as his mother was taking aim. Usar's feet were bleeding, having been cut by the sharp coral as she raced up and down the reef, and she was very tired.

At last Gelam made towards a shelving spot on the edge of the reef and his mother was making ready to strike him. Gelam rose from the water, put out his tongue at his mother and said, "I am no dugong, I am Gelam. Why did you make a fool of me the other day when you pretended to be a Dògai?" Usar denied it. Gelam pointed to the mud which was still in her ears and then she began to cry. Gelam said he had had enough of it and would go away altogether, and leave her. He would go to Moie (Murray Island) and leave nothing in Moa for his mother as she had made a fool of him. He also told her to look out to sea and watch him spouting.

Then Gelam swam away. When close to Nagir Usar saw him spout, when near Waraber he spouted again, he swam on and she cried and cried but did not see him spout again. At length Gelam came to Mer. At first the dugong faced the north, but Gelam did not like that, so he turned it round to face the south and he was satisfied. He planted the plants and fruits he had brought with him, as formerly they had no fruit in that island.

Gelam stopped in Mer, the dugong forms the long steep hill which to this day is known there as *Gelam paser*, or Gelam's hill, while his mother still stands in Moa as a rock looking out across the sea for her boy who never will return.

22. SESERE, THE DUGONG HUNTER.

(Told by Malakula.)

Once upon a time a man named Sesere lived by himself at a place called Seserenegegat, in the island of Badu. One day Sesere took his bow and arrow, and went on the reef at low tide to look for fish¹; walking along, he came to that portion of the reef which was opposite to the village of Tul, and there he found a pool containing numerous fish, all of which he shot. The men of Tul came up to Sesere and asked why he did not stop in his own place instead of coming to their reef². Then they took the fish away from him, broke his bow and arrow, throwing the pieces away, and, catching hold of his head, pushed him along. Sesere returned home.

Next morning Sesere again took a bow and arrow and went to the same pool in the Tul reef, and shot plenty fish. Once more the Tul men attacked him, and drove him home. Later in the day he walked on the reef, talking and grumbling to himself; looking about him, he noticed that the grass-like plant which grows on the reef had been bitten

¹ This is the only instance in which I heard of a bow and arrow being used for catching fish. I particularly inquired about this from Malakula and he assured me that it was so in the legend. Shooting fish with arrows is practised in the Papuan Gulf.

² Ownership of land also extends on to the adjoining reef, and all fish caught on that portion of a reef which lies off private property belongs, as a matter of right, to the owner of the soil; Sesere was therefore poaching.

so cleanly as if cut with some sharp instrument, and he fell to wondering what fish had eaten the grass, and whether that fish was good to eat. "I don't know what fish it was that ate it."

That evening Sesere went into the bush and picked a quantity of scented leaves, with some of which he thoroughly rubbed the skulls of his father and mother, and placed the skulls on the remainder. Then he lay down with the skulls close to his head, but before he went to sleep he told them what had happened to him on that and the previous day, and inquired what fish it was that ate the grass, and how he could catch it.

When he slept the skulls made a small noise, and spake to Sesere, telling him it was the dugong which ate the grass, that it was good to eat, and that if he wanted to catch it he must take six pieces of wood and stick them on the reef where he had seen the marks of the dugong, for it would return to its feeding ground until all the grass was eaten. Three poles were to be erected to windward and three to leeward, they were to be well lashed together, and the centre-board of his canoe was to be tied on to the top. When this was finished he was to go into the bush till he came to a tree on which a *topi* bird was perched and making its noise. There he would find a harpoon and rope. These he was to use for harpooning the dugong when it returned on the following night. As soon as the skulls had finished talking Sesere pushed them aside, saying, "Go, you two, you give me bad word"; then he said, "Come on," and putting them back again, "You speak good word." Nothing more happened¹, but Sesere did not go to sleep again, he waited till "small daylight," and when the wild-fowl called out he started for the bush, where he found the dugong-harpoon and two pieces of rope, to one of which a dart was affixed².

Further following out his instructions, Sesere built the platform, and at night sat on the top of it waiting for the dugong to come. When it came Sesere harpooned it. Leaving the harpoon with its rope on the platform, he hauled the dugong to the beach by means of the spare rope, where he cut it up, and dugong are cut up in the same way ever since. The platform, or *neēt*, is still erected according to the plan revealed to Sesere by the skulls of his parents. After he had cut up the dugong with his bamboo knife he cooked some of it in an earth-oven, and some he boiled in a large conch-shell (*bu³*) using a small clam-skull (*akul*) as a spoon.

Next day Sesere built the *neēt* in another place, further out from the shore than before. The Badu men saw him and wondered what it was. At sundown Sesere mounted the *neēt*, taking some dugong intestines to eat while waiting. At high water a dugong came; Sesere harpooned it and dragged it on to the beach; he returned to the *neēt*, ate some more food, stood up, and soon killed another dugong. Then he thought he had enough food, as he had caught a male and pregnant female. He cooked some meat on the beach and slept. At daybreak he smoked a large number of pieces of

¹ I do not know whether this pushing the oracle away in pretended distrust and then appealing to it again was a common practice. It occurs again in "The Story of the Six Blind Brothers" (p. 20), both tales, however, were narrated by the same clever story-teller.

² I certainly understood that Sesere found everything ready-made to hand in the bush.

³ This shell, *Semifusus probosciferus*, is used as a trumpet, a water-vessel and, according to this tale, as a saucepan, the bailer-shell (*alup*) *Melo diadema*, is the usual saucepan of the Straits.

meat over his fire and hung them on a tree to dry. The Badu men wanting to know what Sesere was doing, came up and said, "Hulloa! he got plenty food," and Sesere gave them some meat, but only the bad parts, saying, "I give you all my food"; to which they remarked, "Why, he gammon, he got plenty left."

The following night Sesere caught three dugong, and was so busy cutting them up and cooking the meat that he had no time for sleep. In the morning the Badu men made a wooden framework in the form of a dog, large enough for a man to get inside. They covered it over with the cloth-like sheath or spathe (*iwar*) which covers the base of the leaves of the coco-palm, and inserted into this natural cloth the brown fibres of the husk of an old coco-nut, so as to imitate hair. In order to test the disguise, the man inside the dog ran on all-fours along a sand-pit, and the sea-birds flew away screaming.

The dog was next sent to Sesere's house, so as to find out where he kept his best meat. When Sesere saw the dog running towards him he called out to it and said, "That's my dog now," and he threw it a piece of meat, which the man inside ate. The dog then went sniffing all over the house and round about outside, and it was not long before he found the best pieces of meat hanging up. When Sesere was not looking, as much of the latter as could be carried was hidden beneath the skin of the false dog, who then ran away heedless of the whistling of Sesere and deaf to his reproaches for its deserting him.

That day Sesere made the *neët* in another place, and at night he harpooned four dugong, two males and two females. The Badu men employed the day in making another dog, and the following morning two dogs went to Sesere, who received them kindly and gave them meat. When they had eaten their fill they began to steal the best meat, and Sesere exclaimed, "Why you take it? It belongs to all of us; if you stop here it is your meat as well as mine"; but the dogs ran off with all they could carry.

The next day another dog was constructed, and Sesere re-erected his *neët*. That night five dugong were captured, and going ashore with his prey he cut them up, and so busy was he that it was daylight before he had finished. Then the three dogs came to his house and were well treated by Sesere, who was repaid with the same treachery as before.

On the following occasion Sesere harpooned six dugong, and four dogs came to thieve. He now began to think about it and said to himself: "What name that [what is it], that a dog? I think he man. Dog sometime he come he steal, not all time." Once more he took some scented leaves, and after washing the skulls of his father and mother he rubbed them with scented leaves, and spoke to them, saying, "Please, father and mother, tell me whether they are dogs or men? If they are men, and you tell me to, I will kill them." "Yes," they replied, "Badu men inside, outside is coco-nut, the bones are wood. Suppose you like to kill them, take your bow and five poisoned arrows (*taiak kimus*), and put them in a corner. When the dogs come to-morrow morning you give them a little food, not too much, or they will run away with it." "Go away," exclaimed Sesere; "you two give me bad word," and he pushed the skulls away. Then he drew them back to him saying, "Come on—you are all right."

Sesere did not make a *neët* or go fishing that night, but brought all his gear to

the shore. Next morning five dogs came running towards him, and he called out to them and gave them each a piece of meat and observed them closely; then he went outside his house, put on his arm-guard (*kadig*), and seizing his bow and arrows shot four dogs dead. The fifth ran away wounded. The Badu men who were on the look-out exclaimed, "See there's only one dog, where are the rest?" The man said, "Sesere shot all the others, he shot me too"; then he fell down dead. Sesere took the coverings off the four he had killed and discovered the men, and having tied a rope round their necks, he dragged them off to the river.

On the following day the brothers of the slain men took some red paint and placed it in the middle of the kwod, saying, "To-morrow we will kill that man." The two best fighting men, Manalbau and Sasalkazi, took some of the red paint, and rubbing it over their bodies, said they would go.

Sesere told the skulls that he had killed four men from the big village, and asked whether he would live or be killed. They replied that there would be a big fight on the morrow, and that he would be killed; and they further instructed him, when he saw the men coming, to take a large *bu* shell, put it behind his house, and get into it when he was out of breath with fighting, and he would be transformed into a small black bird with a white breast.

In the morning Sesere straightened his arrows over the fire and painted himself black and white. The men marched to Saserenegegat in double file. Manalbau and Sasalkazi heading each row. They called out, "Where are you, Sesere?" Sesere slung a bundle of arrows (*konñl*) over his shoulder and sang out, "I am here." Then he changed himself into the bird, and flew on the top of Manalbau's head. Sasalkazi tried to kill Sesere, but he flew away, and the blow intended for the bird killed Manalbau. Then he flew on the head of Sasalkazi, who also was brained by a blow from a stone club aimed at Sesere; the latter kept on doing the same until all the men but one were slain by their friends. This man fled and informed the inhabitants of the three villages of Zaua, Baii, and Kaulkai what had happened, and then he died too¹. The men of these villages said that on the following day they would go and fight Sesere.

After the last man had run away, Sesere became a man again, tied a rope round the necks of the dead men, and dragged them off to the river. That night he asked the skulls whether all the men had finished fighting, and was told that the men of three villages would attack him on the morrow.

Next morning three rows of men marched upon Sesere, and when he saw them he thought he would be killed this time. He stood upon a flat stone and again painted himself. When close to the house, the men cried out, "Where's Sesere?" To which Sesere replied, "I'm here." Once more he turned into a bird, and perched upon the head of the foremost man, who bent down so as to enable his neighbour to strike at the bird; but Sesere escaped, and the blow killed the man instead. Again and again this occurred, the men struck wildly at Sesere, but always killed one of their friends. At last only two men were left; these ran away, and told the news of the fighting to the four villages of Wakaid, Dògai, Ngaur, and Upai, and when their tale was told they too fell down dead.

¹ There is no evidence that these men were even wounded; a similar instance of the bearer of bad news falling down dead when he had told his tale occurs in the story of Kwoiam.

That night Sesere again consulted the skulls, and said to them, "I think I finished them all this time." "No," replied the skulls, "plenty men come. When you are tired go inside the *bu-shell*."

After breakfast four rows of men came, one for each village, and Sesere changed himself into a bird and pursued the same course as before. When two rows of men had fallen, Sesere grew tired and flew into the shell, creeping round and round until he reached the top of the spire. The men began breaking the shell at the large end, and when they came to the extremity of the shell, Sesere in his bird-form was discovered. Sesere jumped away from the shell into the bush, and, still covered with the remnant of the shell, ran up a small hill as a human being, and said, "I am here," and again became a bird. "All right," shouted the men. "Your name is '*Sesere*.' Now you will always remain in the bush, and when you see men, you will always call out your own name." For the moment regaining his own form, Sesere replied, "All your women are '*Kobebe*,' and will live in the bush, and all you men are *Dri*."

The men and the women who had accompanied them went to Sesere's house, took his dugong harpoon, stuck it in the ground, and it grew into a large tree, the dart similarly developed into another tree, and the rope flourished as a creeper. They said that in future these would not be found ready to hand, as in Sesere's case, but men would have to hew the dugong harpoon out of the tree, cut and fashion their own darts, and plait their ropes from the long creepers. No sooner had they taken Sesere's dugong-meat and burnt his house than the women found themselves turned into birds, the men flew away screeching as cockatoos, and Sesere took flight as the black and white bird which, flitting from bush to bush, still may be heard chirruping out "Sesere, Sesere, Sesere."

23. HOW BIA INTRODUCED FISHING WITH THE SUCKER-FISH INTO THE ISLANDS.

(Told by the Chief of Badu.)

There lived at the village of Argan on the leeward-side of Badu a man named Bia. At that time the people of Badu did not know how to catch turtle by means of the sucker-fish (*gapu*) and they used to employ a black, toothless dog-fish, the *kumsar*, when they went for turtle. They heaved the *kumsar* out of the canoe and when the men dived down after it they found it had gone under a stone¹. But Bia had two wooden sucker-fish. When he went to look for turtle he threw out the sucker-fish and he caught the turtle, when he had finished he took the string off the sucker-fish and returned them to his basket.

However much the wind blew the sea remained calm, and Bia thought he would do something as the crew stood still. He took a white feather (*kaikai*) from his basket and threw it into the water and there was a heavy sea and the canoe moved up and down, and Bia said, "I think that looks better now."

Formerly the crayfish or spiny lobster (*kaier*) was quite smooth, and men found it very easy to bring them up from the bottom of the sea when they dived for them.

¹ I do not understand how the turtle were caught by the aid of the *kumsar*.

One day Bia said, "I think I will do something for the *kaier*," so he took the spines from off the leaf of the sago palm and put them on the back of the *kaier*.

One day when Bia was walking he put some stones in his basket along with his fish-lines and his sucker-fish, and as he walked along he played along the beach with a *dukun*, a simple toy spear made of the hard *dukun* wood, but he only played where there was a sand beach, and not where there were plenty of stones. He went round the point of Wam and saw a pool of water (*dan*) near Tudui, which he thought would be a fine place in which to leave a sucker-fish over night.

Then he hooked his throwing-stick on to the *dukun* and threw the spear with such force that it stuck fast into the ground; when he pulled it up, water gushed forth. "This is my water," he said, and to this day there is at Iaza a permanent spring of good water.

Bia left the beach and went along the bank of the river Alisankupai, there he again hurled his *dukun*, and it flew and it flew and glancing off a stone it transfixed his friend Itar of Graz, who was lying face downwards asleep on the sand under a *meke* tree at Makanakosa. Then Itar rolled along and urinated, and thence arose the brackish swamp called Kulargawat ("the salt water swamp of the stone"). Bia came up, and seeing the blood exclaimed, "Oh! I have speared someone." When he had followed the blood-spots he saw Itar and cried, "Oh mate! I have speared you, by-and-by you will spear me." Bia carried Itar to his place and said, "I think I will throw you in the sea." The rock which is there is called Konamuri and the reef, Maibadnatra. "I throw you in the sea—you go to the rock and when the people come to fish, you stop inside a crevice of the rock. When the people see your face they will not pull you out," and Itar swam away as a dog-fish (*Chiloscyllium*, "*Itar*"), which still bears the mark of Bia's spear-thrust.

Bia then walked on the surface of the sea southward, and when he was over a large reef he felt his basket was very heavy, so he shifted it and a stone fell out of it on to the reef. To this day men resort to this rock Koikut to fish, but they catch only sucker-fish.

Bia went on and on and was tired again, he shifted his basket and another stone fell out. "You are my stone, Tragangar," he said, "you stop here. When Badu men come to catch sucker-fish you must have plenty of sucker-fish for them, this is my place." The same accident happened time after time as the rocks called Biani, Matangangar and Kubailgangar.

Bia at length reached the other (south) side of Muralug, where he saw a hill that reminded him of Badu and as it previously had no name he called it Badu, which name it still bears. Then he came to the camp of the Kaiwalgal (Muralug natives) at Wierpui. Here he had a young girl named Waru ("Turtle") for a sweetheart.

Bia took a canoe and went fishing with a crew, they took a *kumsar* but Bia had two *gapu* (sucker-fish) and he caught many turtle. This was the first time people had seen how Bia caught turtle. During the next night Waru went to sleep with Bia. When Bia got on the top of Waru they both turned into turtles and could not separate but stuck to one another till break of day. At day-break the Muralug men saw those two and said, "Ulloa, those two misbehaved themselves last night. All right, we think

you two will go up the Ādai (Jardine river). Go right up to the head of the river and then stop in the bush. You stop there for ever. When *Surlal* time comes, when plenty of turtle are 'fast,' you too come outside, and when the people see you they will think there is going to be a prosperous turtle season (*Surlal*). When there is going to be a poor season, do not come outside, but stop in the bush."

The Muralug men saw Bia's basket which contained two sucker-fish and some stones and they said, "That is the way he always does it, that is how he catches turtle by means of *gapu*." They took all the stones and threw them into the sea to make a good place for *gapu*.

24. THE STORY OF UPI.

(Told by *Dakia of Badu*.)

Once upon a time a baby-boy named Upi lived in Badu. One day his mother, wanting to go into the bush to make her garden and not wishing to take Upi with her, put him in a basket, which she hung up in the house near the open door. A strong south-east wind was blowing, and after some time had elapsed a gust of wind blew down the basket and carried it outside the house on to some grass, and Upi rolled out. As the mother was digging she broke the stick used for that purpose, and at once she thought something amiss. "I leave my boy," she spoke to herself; "good, I go look, perhaps someone he take him." So she returned home, to find neither basket nor baby in the house. Crying all the while, she searched far and near outside the house, but could not find her boy; for it had so happened that a man and his wife had passed that way and taken the child.

The man, as usual, was walking in front, followed at a short space by the woman, when the former heard Upi cry. "What name that make a noise?" he exclaimed. Twice he heard the cry, but his wife heard nothing. On looking about he found Upi, and called out, "Hulloa! boy there in grass," and close by he found the basket, and putting Upi inside, the latter said to his wife, "You come along; I find boy belong you and me." Thus, having no son of their own, they adopted this one—"they sorry for boy."

The man and his wife returned home with Upi, but before they entered their house they left the baby in the bush. The man said, "By-and-by night he come, we go and take that boy."

The next morning they told the men of their village that they had found a boy and the man carried Upi about to show him to them. Two fighting men, Manalbau and Sasalkazi, said, "All right, you take him, we look." Later on they said, "We go play." Then they stuck two posts into the ground a foot or so apart. When this was done they said to the 'father,' "Give we boy first, we spear him." "No, I won't give you fellow, I take him back to the house." To which the two men replied, "S'pose you no give to we, we fight you." So the man was forced to give up the boy; but he and his wife said to them, "No good you spear eyes and belly, you spear arms and legs." The men made fast an arm and leg of Upi to each pole, and after spearing him they went into the bush to get some food. In the afternoon they again practised javelin-

throwing at Upi, who remained tied fast to the posts all day and during the night. He grew fast.

Next day the men went to the bush, and on their return in the afternoon took their javelins and throwing-stick and again threw spears at Upi. The father and mother said to the men, "No take large spear, take small one." The boy cried. That night the man and his wife took Upi away and washed and fed him, but tied him up again.

In the morning the men once more played and speared Upi; at noon they went into the bush, but in the afternoon they cast their javelins at the boy. Afterwards the foster-father went to have a look at Upi, who by this time had grown up into a big boy; the latter said, "You take rope off me, when you sleep I will go away." The man did so, and when all the men slept the boy went.

Whilst running through the bush Upi came to a small house, and, entering it, found two corpses (*markai*) inside. He took their skulls, washed them, and put 'bushes' on them, saying, "All men spear me, you two give me good road." They told him to go in a certain direction, where he would find a particular kind of bamboo (*upi*) growing. He was to go up to it and kick the base of the stem with his heel, and the bamboo would split, and he was to go inside the bamboo, and "by-and-by *upi* sorry for you." Upi replied, "All right, you two finish telling me? I go now"—'him, he go.' All happened as the skulls had foretold, and after entering the bamboo Upi came out again and made a fire close by.

The men at the village looked round the next morning, and, finding Upi had gone, told his adopted parents that they suspected them of taking him away, to which they replied, "We no take him out, he did it himself." The men took their bows and arrows and went into the bush to look for Upi. They tracked him by the blood-spots to the house where the dead bodies were; on going inside they saw that the skulls had been used for divining, and went on looking for Upi till they found him.

Manalbau and Sasalkazi said to Upi, "You see us, we kill you." "All right," replied Upi, "you two kill me." All the men came close. Upi struck the bamboo, went inside, and it closed up. The bamboo then jumped about, and its leaves 'fought' all the men and killed them; no man went home. The boy Upi remained inside but did not do anything; the bamboo *upi* did it all. The bamboo stood up, the blood from the slain men ran down its leaves and dripped into a couple of shells which were on the ground. The bamboo *upi* jumped up again, took the skin off all the men and put them to one side, and, cutting off their heads, deposited them close to the base 'head' of the bamboo *upi*. The leaves swept away the bodies of the men. To this day bamboos grow in clear spaces, with no bushes beneath them.

(I have something in my notes here about Upi getting outside the bamboo, and all the Dògai coming and wanting to kill him, and a round house with a central post was mentioned, but this part is now illegible; round houses are characteristic of the Eastern tribe.)

The remaining men of the village went to look for Upi, and said to him, "You fight men belong to us?" "Yes," he replied, "I been fight them fellow," and he went inside the bamboo, which jumped about and fought all the men, and the Dògai too.

'No one go home, all he dead.' Upi still remained within the bamboo while the blood was again collected.

When Upi came out he returned to the skulls and told them what had happened, and asked them, "What you say, finish?" "All right," they replied, "finish. You go and split all the *upi*, by-and-by the women will come, you take them all, they belong to you." When he had finished cutting up all the bamboos the women came, and he took them all and went home and told his foster-father, "You take all them women and put in your house, then you come on; we two go and look for my mother."

They went to Upi's mother's house, and found that she was away in the bush making her garden, but they stayed in the house, closed the entrance, and pretended to be asleep. When the mother returned she put down her basket outside and looked at the doorway and said, "Who shut my house?" She opened the door and entered her house. Upi looked up and said, "You my mother?" She said, "What your name?" "My name Upi." His mother caught hold of him and cried, and told Upi, "I been look round before, no find you; I could not cry, that my throat he fast." Upi said that they had come to take her to another house.

They looked at a house in the other village and said they would live there. Upi gave all the widows who had been mothers to his foster-father, but kept all the girls and young women for himself.

25. NAGA, THE INSTRUCTOR OF THE DEATH-DANCES.

(Told by Maino of Tutu.)

Naga and Waiat came from Katau River. Waiat acted as 'crew' for Naga. The two of them went to Yaru (Daru), where they performed a death-dance (make *markai*) and by-and-by they made a small toy canoe and floated it in the sea¹.

The canoe went, went, went, to Tutu all by itself. A man named Kebra found that small canoe and showed it to his brother Waier, and said "I see a canoe." "All right, my brother," said Waier, "I think more better you and me go to that reef to see where it came from ('which way he come')." By-and-by Kebra said, "Well brother, how can we go to find out where this canoe came from?" Waier said, "Well brother, you and me make fast two logs of wood side by side. We take two paddles and pull and go."

They went to Kaiwanau reef and gained Moon passage (Munaukōsa), crossed over and went to Wapar reef, and exclaimed "Which way we go now?"

The following day they went to Yaru and holding up the canoe they asked "To whom does this canoe belong?" Naga ran down to the beach and took that canoe and gave the two Tutu men a large proper canoe with mat sails, saying, "I give you a good canoe, we are good friends now. You two return to Tutu and by-and-by I will follow. You two fellows stay here for a little while and I will show you something," and he showed them the death-dance, and they said "Oh! that is good."

¹ This suggests a Soul-boat, such as occurs in many parts of the Indonesian Archipelago, but I do not know that it is a Daudai custom, cf. Sida, p. 29.

Kebra and Waier left Yaru after seeing the *markai* and returned to Tutu. After this Naga went round to Augar (Uga or Stephen Island) and showed the people on that island how to perform the death-dance, and then he went to Tutu.

One morning Kebra and Waier looked out to sea and saw Naga's canoe. "Ulloa," they cried, "he has come now." When they met they scraped hands¹. "Well, my two friends," said Naga, "where shall I stop now?" "You stop here in the *kwod* at Kupad," and he stopped there. Naga stood up and Waier and Kebra lay down.

26. NAGA, THE MASTER OF CEREMONIES IN NAGIR.

(Told by Kuduma of Nagir.)

Naga of Nagir knew how to make the *urui krar*, or masks in the form of animals, he instructed the men in singing and dancing and in everything relating to the *kwod*. Naga taught men how to 'make *taiiai*.' He was unmarried, and did not live in the *Taiiai kwod*, but in his own *kwod*.

Waiat of Mabuiag came to Nagir to learn how to beat the drum and Naga taught him. Then Waiat stole a famous mask. After this Naga gave a mask to the men of Tutu, another to those of Waraber, a third to those of Moa, and he kept one mask in Nagir. Naga gave *akul*² shells to all the islands, Muralug, Waraber, Tutu, Yaru, Moa, Badu, Mabuiag, Masig, Paremar, Aurid, so that the men in these islands might in future make their own masks.

Naga was very angry because Waiat stole his mask.

27. WAIAT.

(Told by Waria of Mabuiag.)

A woman named Kuda and her two young boys, Uimugiwal and Samgiwal, lived in a large village in the island of Widul along with the Bugbug, Goa, Toti Muzu Tomi and Mugu folk, and one old man named Waiat (or Naga or Izalu) lived by himself in a house in the bush³.

Every day at sunrise and sunset Kuda played with her sons, she placed white feathers in their hair, and each had a crescentic ornament (*gud*) to hold in their mouths. She put a plank on the north side of the island on which the two little fellows danced. When they stood up on the board their mother used to say to them:

"*Biagingu*⁴ *yawaik Marte*⁵ *gigub sigaima ngade pulngapange Sa-ul Ngurnu*⁶ *siaumūk palai ipal iamal Ngurnu siaumūk.*"

¹ This was the old method of salutation, it was spoken of in this tale as *palai noin get pudan*, "pluck his hand open." The natives now shake hands in our fashion.

² The valves of the *akul* (Cyrena) were used as knives in the making of masks and other objects.

³ Later on in the story he is said to have a wife and a daughter.

⁴ Biag is a rock in the sea where they catch fish with a line; Biagingu, 'from Biag.'

⁵ Marte is a small island.

⁶ Sa-ul and Ngurnu are points on Marte.

I was informed that the meaning of this song was as follows:

"When one sees Marte from Biag it resembles a man wearing a nose stick (*gigub*)¹, I thought my two boys stood on Marte, like Sa-ul and Ngurnu, but they are here close by me."

Waiat used to play by himself in the bush, he had a cane ring about a foot and a half across to which shell rattles (*goa* seeds) were fastened, to this he fastened a long rope which he threw over the branch of a tree. Then he lay down on his back under the tree and continually hauled up and let down the ring-rattle. When he hauled it up, he said "*oa goa*," when he let it down, he said "*u, u, u*."

Once Waiat took his canoe and went to the Fly River, then he went to Mer (Murray Island), and on his way back he came to the big reef (Kaimasa) in Two Brothers passage, there he saw his own island of Widul and he sang².

Waiat resumed his game and Kuda played with her boys. By-and-by Waiat heard a drum beating, and as he listened his hair stood on end, and he thought he would go and see what it was. One morning before the sun had risen he went and found Kuda playing with her two sons. Waiat watched the two boys dance and when Kuda had finished with them Waiat came out from the bushes where he was hiding. Kuda saw him coming, and, calling him by his other name, said, "Good morning, Naga, good morning," and she said to herself, "That's the first time I have seen him, he has never come before."

The old woman gave Waiat breakfast and afterwards he said to her, "Whatever I tell you you must believe. All the time I stop in the bush I play, but not very well, but whenever I hear your drum I play better. Well, I think that you had better lend me your two boys, it is not proper for you to have them any longer as you are a woman." Kuda said, "I do not want to let them go. I do not think you will look after them properly if I should give them to you." Waiat replied, "Ah! you must give them to me, I will take care of those two boys as well as you do." Kuda said, "All right, I will give them to you. When they play they want something to eat, I give them some food when they play and you must do the same."

Waiat said, "You give me your whiskers (for the old woman had whiskers on her face) and you give me a man's breast." And Kuda gave them to him, and Waiat gave his woman's breasts to Kuda, and said, "I look like a man now and you now look like a woman, you looked like a man before³. All right, you shift a little further up," and Kuda went a little further away and turned round, "I think I will sit here," she said. "No," said Waiat, "you had better go further away, I can see your eye." After repeating this three times, when Waiat was satisfied that Kuda was sufficiently far away, he said, "All right, you sit there and put a *pot* mat behind you⁴."

In the afternoon they caught some turtle and they began to dance, and Waiat said to the old woman:

¹ Probably this refers to the foam on the shore—which at a distance would appear like a straight, or slightly upwardly curved, white line.

² Only some old men knew Waiat's song.

³ It is a tempting hypothesis to regard this incident as a reminiscence of the time when so-called matriarchal conditions prevailed (cf. Kinship).

⁴ That is, she was to hide herself behind the mat so that she could not see what was going on.

"*Nidwad ngulkaingul nidwad mēdika tarau marngul sa ni nagi mina kaini kuta kulkaka samu kusa taraumūk.*"

"Now look, every time you dance you do so in a clear place. Now you see what I have done. You look at those two men. Those two men fine, with their cassowary feather."

When they had finished dancing they had a big supper and then they all went to sleep. Waiat said, "I want a long night so that I fetch Badu before daylight and before the tide turns;" and the night was a long one. He took a pelican feather, and when he put it into the water it turned into a canoe. Waiat went to the north-west side of Badu. When he came to the shore he put the feather in his basket and he walked on the shore to the village of Gisu. The people saw him and said, "Good evening, Naga, are you coming here?" "Yes, I come." "What do you want?" "I want to know where it is that the men are beating the drum, I hear the noise all the time." "It is not here, I think it is on the other side of Badu. You had better go there." Waiat went across to Koted (or Kwotead). The men there said, "Ulloa, good evening, Naga, who did you come with?" Waiat said, "I came by myself." The former conversation was repeated, and he was sent on to Moa. When he arrived at Suam, in Moa, he was sent on to Sigani, there the people were frightened of him as they knew he was a sorcerer (*maideluig*), and they sent him on to Nagir, and, as before, his feather carried him across the sea.

When Waiat arrived at Nagir he did not go at first to the village, but went in the bush to the clear place where the men danced, and saw plenty of things that belonged to the dance. *Baidum* (shark), *kursi* (hammer-headed shark), *kodal* (crocodile), *kaigas* (shovel-nose skate); in the corner were two grass fences or screens with a space between them, Waiat went through the gap and saw something like a king fish, *dēbu*.

Then Waiat went to the village. When the men saw him they said, "Ulloa! good evening, Naga. Who did you come with?" "Ah! I came by myself. I want to know where it is that men beat the drum." All the men were silent, then one man said to the others, "What is the good of our not speaking to him, we had better tell him." At last they told him. "Yes, we have some small things in the bush and every time we dance we use these little things." Then all the men took Waiat to the bush, they were afraid of him, because he was different from them. They showed him the objects in the cleared space, and said, "We have made all these things, we dance with them every afternoon." "Oh!" replied Waiat, "I think you are humbugging me, I think you have some big thing there." "That's all." "No, you have some big thing outside." He knew because he had been there before. The men went into one corner and consulted together, and finally they agreed there was no use in keeping anything back from him, so they took him into the corner and shewed *dēbu* to Waiat.

They carried *dēbu* to the beach and said to Waiat, "How are you going to carry it? Mabuiag is a long way off." He replied, "I'll carry it," and he threw his feather into the water and it turned into a canoe, then he told them to put *dēbu* in the middle of the canoe and to cover all over it with a *kai* mat. As soon as Waiat turned his back on Nagir the tide turned and carried him to Mabuiag. He anchored outside Gumu, landed there and put *dēbu* in the bush at Bidai Kup. He returned to the canoe,

hauled up the anchor and went off to Widul and lay on his back, and snored as he slept.

At daybreak some people got up and hearing Waiat snoring told him to get up as it was 'close up break of daylight,' and they awakened the two boys, who immediately wanted to dance again. The boys dressed up and started another kind of dance. They kept their feet close together and edged along, gave a little spring so that they faced at right angles to their former position and swayed their heads from side to side, then they shuffled along in the first direction and so on, the two boys were followed by two others and then by two more, this dance is called *uratiak*, then they crouched and swayed their flexed arms *ngerpai girer*, and finally they finished by imitating a sucker-fish (*gapu*) when it smells meat, that is they stood up, the upper part of their bodies slightly to the right, then crouched down and stood up again and swayed the upper part of their bodies to the left, and continued repeating these movements. This dance is called the "devil" dance, *tudi utum*, or 'hook on.'



FIG. 6. Waiat in his house in the *kwod* in Widul (drawn by Gizu).

When the dance was finished they began again, and then they prepared for a meal. Waiat had one large turtle that belonged to himself and one belonged to his mate; his mate got an *alup*¹ shell, and as he wanted some blood he put it close to the turtle. Waiat said, "Whose is this *alup*?" All said, "It belongs to Manari," and Manari said, "It is mine, Waiat." "Oh, I thought it belonged to another man," and Waiat began to get angry at Manari putting his shell there. Waiat started singing in the morning, and it was evening before he had finished, when he had finished singing he sent the women to get some water, but Goinau the wife of Waiat and their daughter Wiba did not want to go. As the other women went they said, "Won't you two come along with us?" They replied, "We will go by-and-by." The other women went. In the meantime Waiat had sent some men to Gumu to fetch the objects he had brought from Nagir, and he told what he had done the previous night.

¹ Bailer shell, Melo diadema.

Waiat wanted the two boys to play again. The women came back with the water, and Goinau and Wiba then went to get water, and Waiat gave all the men who were with him some water to drink, and said to them, "If any man meets any woman in the bush he must kill her, for by-and-by the women will talk in the house about what we have been doing."

The men went along the road the two women had gone. As soon as they met, the two women said, "Oh!" and all the men also started and said, "They see us now." The two women were sick with fright and used bad language. The men said that Waiat had told them to kill anyone they met and they would have to kill them. The women answered back and offered to do anything if they would spare their lives; but the men would not, and they killed those two and cut off their heads and stuck each on a stake and danced, but left the bodies on the ground. They sent one or two men to tell Waiat, and the following conversation ensued. "You told us if we met a woman in the bush we were to kill her." "Yes." "Some people met them in the road." "Why did you not kill them? Who were they?" "Your wife and daughter." "Why did you not kill them?" (he was only pretending). "We did kill them." Waiat now felt very differently about the matter. He cried and beat the drum and the dancing-men came and the tongues of the dead women hung down. Then they started dancing again, and Uimugiwal and Samgiwal danced; when they had finished they went home as they felt hungry, and their hearts were beating hard. They went to the turtle, and after eating some they ran back and began to dance again. When they had finished they took a rest. Waiat looked at the turtle in the earth-oven and said, "Who has been eating here?" "Hush," some one said, "they were your two sons." "Oh!" said Waiat, with the intention of deceiving the people, "I thought it was some one else." Waiat did not share his food with the two boys as Kuda had told him to do. All fell fast asleep.

Waiat got up in the middle of the night and removed the mat off Manari, who was sleeping on his back next to him. He took up a *Fusus* shell and catching hold of Manari's mouth so that he could not cry out, he thrust the sharp point of the shell into his eye, and he died. Then he went to the two brothers who were both lying on their backs, and did to each precisely as he had done to Manari. Waiat went back to his mat and pretended to be asleep.

Before daylight next morning the men wanted to begin dancing again, they waited and they waited, and Kuda waited too and said, "Ulloa, what are these two fellows doing? They used to dance before the sun rose." She came close to the house where the men were and listened. When she heard the men getting up she said to them, "Ulloa, it is daybreak. Go to the two boys and wake them up and tell them they are not doing their work." The men looked under the mats and saw they were covered with blood. They wept and clapped their hands. Kuda heard them and cried out, "Now, Waiat, you have not taken care of my two boys. I thought you were a good man." Then Waiat swore at her. She replied, "Who wants you here? You come to my place and destroy my two good boys."

Then her folk came; some hauled Waiat this way and some hauled him that way, and they broke his limbs and cut off his arms at the elbows and legs at the knees, and Waiat cried, "Please leave me alone, I am a big place, I am like the sun and the moon.

Every place knows me. Leave me alone, *U. u. u. u.*" They gouged out his eyes, cut off his ears, plucked out his whiskers, tore out his lower jaw, and he moaned, "*U. u. u. u.*" till he died. They took off all his black skin and rolled him about like a cask till the raw meat was alone left and he looked like a white man.

After that there was no more dancing because the two boys were dead. All the people went and threw away that *walgna*, 'rockfish', which went close to Palu. The folk scattered and did as ants do, the Bugbry were red ants, the Goa lived in trees, the Toti were small red ants, the Muzu were the green ants that fasten the leaves of bushes together for their nests, the Tomi became black ants, and the Mugu the termites or white ants built their conical mud hills.

The three last tales refer to the teaching of ceremonies at which masks were employed. In the first we hear of two culture heroes, Naga and Waiat, coming from Katau river in Daudai to Daru. Naga taught the men of Uga and Tutu how to perform the death ceremonies. In the second tale we find Naga the instructor of ceremonies in Nagir and Waiat in Mabuiag; Waiat came to Nagir to be instructed and stole a fine mask. Naga taught the men of various western islands, from Masig and Aurid to Muralug, how to make masks. In the Mabuiag version Waiat's other name was Naga, he lived on the island of Widul and there instructed two boys in dancing. Hearing a drum being beaten he went to Badu, was sent on to Moa and thence to Nagir; here he saw some masks, one of a *dëbu* ('king-fish,' *Cybium Commersoni*?) he specially coveted and commandeered it. He took this to Gumu in Mabuiag. I here give drawings made by

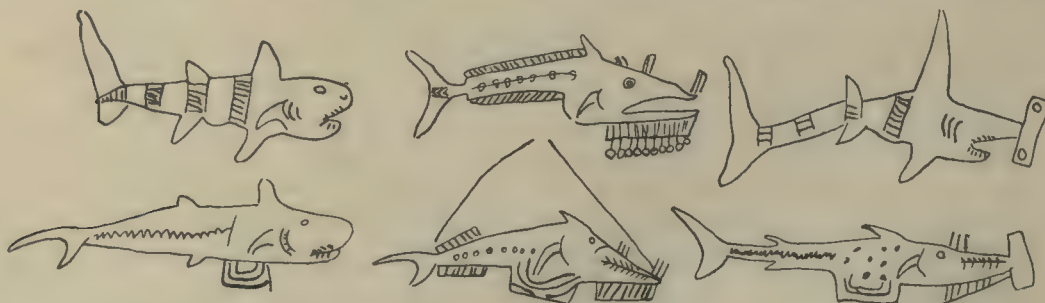


FIG. 7. Sketches of the masks taken by Waiat from Nagir.

(Those in the upper row were drawn by Gizu, and those in the lower row were drawn by Sunday.)

two natives of Mabuiag of the masks said to have been brought by Waiat from Nagir, and which were kept in the *kwod* at Gumu, they represent a *baidam* (shark) mask, the *dëbu* mask and a *kursi* (hammer-headed shark) mask. It is very probable that the mask figured in Taf. III. of Dr A. B. Meyer's *Masken von Neu Guinea und dem Bismarck Archipel* (Dresden, 1889) is this *kursi* mask. I was informed that during the death ceremonies in Mabuiag the people thought about Waiat, but the reason was not obvious to me.

These tales evidently point to a borrowing of a cult from Daudai to the Western Islands, and to the fact that Nagir was a centre of redistribution (as also in the next tale). In the Tutu version we find Naga went to Uga (Eastern Tribe), and in the

¹ It would seem that Waiat was transformed into a rock-fish.

Mabuiag version he went to the Fly River and to Mer. In the next Volume I shall allude to a ceremony in Waier (one of the Murray Islands) connected with a turtle-shell image called Waiad.

28. TABU.

(Told by Kuduma of Nagir.)

Tabu swam from Nagir to Muralug and came to the *kwod* at Waiiza (near Port Lihou on the south side of the island). Tabu, who was a man with a snake's head, stayed for a month and three days at the *kwod*, where he made a small mask (*buk*), and danced in the open space, and when he was tired he stopped the dance (*kap*).

'He got *padotu* and *mūri*, go in afternoon, run, all women afraid!' After this he beat a large drum (*warup*) night and day, then he danced and had some food.

29. THE STORY OF KARI THE DANCER.

(Told by Gizu to C. G. Seligmann.)

The boy Kari with his mother and father lived at Buzi in Daudai. One day his mother cooked a savoury mess (*papai*), it consisted of scraped yams², bananas and coconut baked in a leaf. Kari's portion was reddish in colour; at this he was much dissatisfied and asked where the stuff came from, and why he was not given as good a portion as his parents. He refused to go into the garden with his parents, and decorated himself as for a dance (*badra*). For a long time he danced by himself, when he determined to dance all the way to the Tugeri country. On his road thither in the bush he met a 'devil man' named Wagui. Wagui saluted him and asked him where he was going. Kari replied that he was on his way to the Tugeri country. Wagui then proposed that they should both go and camp at this place. Kari who was frightened because Wagui had a stone club in his hand refused, and he went dancing on until he reached the Mai Kusa river. When he got there he saw a number of young girls on the other side of the river: they invited him across, to which he replied that he had no means of getting to their side. They then made a bamboo raft and fetched him over. On the other side of the river he recommenced dancing, and determined to go on in spite of the girls' advances, which he persistently refused. After a time he reached a Tugeri camp in the bush³. Kari sat down on the ground, was given food, and was kindly treated; he slept there that night, and the next morning asked if there were any people along the coast. The Tugeri said yes, so he danced down to the coast, where he found plenty of people, who treated him kindly; he got up the next morning and went along dancing.

¹ When I took this down in 1888 I could not get an explanation of what this sentence meant. I now believe that Tabu took a bamboo rattle, *pādūtrōng*, and dressed himself up as a *Mūri*, a kind of spirit, and ran after the women to frighten them. Cf. Funeral Ceremonies.

² *Karin gabau* is the name of the kind of yam that was employed in making the *papai*.

³ "There was something obscure here about the Tugeri squatting on, by the side of, or between, sharp sticks, and I have a note to find out what *sak* means" (C. G. S.).

He met in the bush close to the fore-shore an old woman, Kuki, who was really the north-west monsoon. He married Kuki, and with her settled down near the spot where he had first seen her. After a time he felt lonely, especially when dancing by himself, and he said to himself, "I like plenty men, then we all dance." He accordingly made a number of wooden figures (*wauri*), which were supported on a sort of grating over a big fire, in which there were burning various kinds of bush medicine. The smoke from this fire 'come along nose of *wauri* and he man.' Then they all danced, and for some days went on alternately dancing and feeding. Then the north-west monsoon burst with much rain and wind, and Kari rested till the fine weather came. During the north-west monsoon Kuki shakes her body, during fine weather Kuki rests.

30. AUKUM AND TIAI.

(As told by Tom and Gizu of Mabuiag and Kirer of Badu.)

There lived at Boigu, a small sand-beach amongst the mangrove swamps on the western coast of Moa, a woman named Aukum (or Aukwum) and her two old brothers, Wowa (or Wauwa), who was a very great man, and Poapu. The latter had a three-pronged fish-spear (*dagulal*), of which he was very careful, and to save the points from injury he used to tie it on to a tree, and he slept under the tree on his back, and let a prong of the fish-spear rest on each eye, and the third on his mouth. He did this so that the points might not be spoilt by touching the ground.

Before daybreak one morning, at dead low water, Poapu went fishing on the reef and saw shoals of small fish (the black kind is called *kawer*, and the black and white kind *susulpagazi*). He put his legs wide apart and when the fish were driven close to one another by his bringing his legs together, he transfixed them with a *singi*¹ that he carried.

Aukum, as was her wont, also went fishing, she had a pointed stick (*takai*) with which she caught numbers of white-fish (*kusa*) and king-fish (*gaigai*).

Poapu thought that the best thing he could do was to put his fish in the house to smoke them, and then leave them and go to see Aukum. As he was walking over the reef he saw a ray (*tapimul*), he had his *dagulal* in both his hands and with it he pushed the ray to one side by its forehead saying, "I have not come for you, I came to look for my sister." The fact was he did not want to run the risk of hurting his spear by striking the ray. Then he saw a big white-fish (*kusa*) which he addressed in a similar manner, and did not attempt to catch it. When he reached Aukum's house he greeted her with "Good morning, my sister." Aukum said, "It's a good job you've come. I've plenty of fish; you help yourself." "Oh! my sister, I have come for a light," said Poapu, telling an untruth, and he was careful not to speak about what he had caught. Aukum said, "You sit down for a short time and I'll give you some fish and a firebrand." Aukum then made a division of the fish, some of which were raw, others were cooked ready for him to eat then and there. Poapu said, "Sister, I think I shall go home now, there is

¹ A *singi* is a long thin stick that is used for threading small fish through their gills in order to carry them.

the creek to pass and the tide is coming up fast." "All right," said Aukum; and she gave her brother some white-fish, which she wrapped up in a piece of the flexible bark of the *Ti* tree (*ubu*), and a firebrand.

Poapu crossed the river and put all the fish and the fire-stick on the other side in a dry place as he said to himself, "I think those fish are not enough, I'll go back." He pretended to swim back across the river, although the water was quite shallow, and returned to Aukum's house. "Ulloa! my brother; what have you come back for?" He replied, "The river was deep and I had to swim, and I lost all my fish and the fire went out." "All right," she replied, "you take a rest, I'll give you some fish." She then gave him two strings of king-fish and started him on his road, telling him not to forget to go round by the head of the creek, as it was a better road. Poapu took the fire-stick and the two strings of king-fish and went across the river to where he had left the other fish his sister had given him, these he picked up, but he threw the firebrands into the water, saying, "Who wants fire? I've got plenty of fire in my house." When he reached home he threw away all the small fish he had caught that morning. He then smoked the white-fish and the king-fish and dried them.

Aukum had told him to come with her before daybreak next morning to catch fish as he had a good spear, and she had only a *takai*, adding, "You're a man and I am a woman, and I can't catch all those fish." To which Poapu replied, "Oh yes! I will come to-morrow;" but he did not think about what Aukum had said to him and went to sleep. Aukum waited for him till the sun rose, but Poapu did not come, he was still asleep. When he awoke he went to his own fishing ground and caught the small black fish and the black and white fish as before. He left his fish in his house and went to call on Aukum, taking his spear with him. This time he found a sting-ray, *guier*, which he pushed away, saying, "He had not come for it, but that he was going to see his sister." Next he saw a king-fish and said, "I'll go and spear that—no, I won't spear it—I have not come for you, I came to look for my sister."

Wowo never went to look for food or fish, he always stopped inside a log, and only smelt Aukum's fish. He used to grumble to himself, "Aukum is a bad sister, she is not sorry for me, she won't bring me any fish."

Aukum saw Poapu coming and called out to him, "Ulloa, my brother! What have you come here for?" "Oh! my fire went out early last evening, and I was cold last night. I haven't any fire and I've come for some." "Why did you not come in the morning, I told you to come. I saw plenty of fish, I could not catch them all. Why didn't you come? You wait a little while and I'll give you some cooked and some raw fish." Aukum took two loosely plaited baskets made of a coconut palm leaf (*boi*), and after filling them with fish, gave them to her brother; there were thirty fish in each, and she fastened them up. Poapu said, "I go home now;" and he took a fire-stick, the two baskets and two strings of fish. As before he crossed the river, deposited the fish in a dry spot and pretended to swim back across the river, and returned to Aukum's house spitting the water out of his mouth. Aukum saw him and exclaimed, "Ulloa! you've come back." He told the same lie as on the day previously and his sister treated him as before, but this time the two strings and the two baskets were of king-fish only.

Wowa continually said, "My word! Aukum is a bad sister, she is not sorry for me, she won't bring me any fish. I'm longing to eat some fish."

Aukum was near her time and one day when she was attending to her garden she gave birth to a boy, to whom she spake as follows:

"*Ngi Tiai, ngózo aukamna kazi.*"

You [are] Tiai, I [am] the mother of a boy.

Another day before she again went fishing she put her baby boy into a basket and hung him up on a tree. It was low tide and she found a pool on the reef full of big fish, so she soon filled up her basket and returned home. After cooking and eating some fish she boiled or roasted the remainder or dried them on a light framework (*noi*) over the fire. When she had finished she nursed her baby and put him back in the basket, and went into the bush to attend to her garden.

Wowa was still longing to eat fish. Poapu did not come that day as he was sleeping.

The following day Aukum went fishing, fishing, fishing; when she came home and boiled and roasted and smoked the fish, then nursed the baby, put him back in his basket and went into the bush to attend to her garden. The boy was growing fast.

Wowa said to himself, "It will be a good thing if I go and see what kind of fish Aukum has cooked, whether it is large or small." He came out from the tree, but branches grew out of him¹. He came and saw the place where Aukum lived, but did not know about the baby. When he saw it in the basket he gave a start and said, "Ulloa, she has a baby; she never told me about it." When Wowa came close, the boy cried for the first time. Wowa said, "Aukum did not let me know about it." The boy cried out, "That's my uncle?" Wowa said, "I will go and see whether it is a boy or a girl." He went, and seeing it was a boy, exclaimed, "My word! that's a fine boy."

Wowa took a small arrow (*buru*) and sharpened it and said, "Your mother is always catching fish, but she does not give any to me." Then he thrust the sharp stick through the frontal fontanelle (*si*) of the boy so that he died. Wowa picked a louse off his head and placed it beside the boy.

Aukum had an unlucky day, she vainly looked for fish, and when she was in her garden her digging-stick (*pai*) broke, and Aukum exclaimed, "It's a bad day for me, something must have happened to my boy." She hurried home and saw her boy and said, "Hold on! I will look at the footprints of the man who has killed my boy." And she saw the tracks were those of Wowa.

Aukum followed Wowa's footprints and breaking a lot of brushwood she piled it around the tree in which Wowa was, but Wowa had no idea what Aukum was doing. Aukum got a light and set fire to the wood on all four sides so as to burn it up quickly, and the flames flickered inside the tree. Wowa said, "You're too late, I've killed your son." Aukum said, "Oh! you're dead, you're finished; I am going to roast you now to pay for my child." Aukum went home.

The ghost (*mari*) of Tiai, which had the appearance of a man, went to the island of Boigu² and alighted in the *kwod*, the *Tiai kwod*, where the men were playing with

¹ I could not get an explanation of this nor why Wowa lived in a tree.

² I do not know why Tiai should go to Boigu as that was where the ghosts of the Eastern Tribe (Murray Islanders) went to, those of the Western Tribe went to the mythical island of Kibu. In vol. vi. I shall give

small bamboo spears with hardwood points, which they heaved with both hands. The old men looked and said, "Tiai is here now."

Aukum rubbed white coral mud all over her body and hair and provided herself with the mourning fringe (*soge*), and when she had properly prepared the bones of Tiai she tied them round her neck so that they hung down in front and behind. When she had made some two dozen baskets she filled them with fish of all kinds, and she put them on her shoulders and started to look for her son. She scratched the mud so that her dark skin appeared in fine lines and repeatedly sung:

"Mute garu sore garu tana ina moigubalgal ia uman pagana pagana."

Aukum left Boigu [in Moa] and went to Dabu, where she sat down and holding her baskets she called out to Baigoa, a man who lived on the opposite shore of Badu,

"Baigowa tetete Baigowa ngunapi inin kapia sewutaidara."

Baigoa had an enormously long penis which he kept coiled up by his side, and when he heard Aukum asking for his assistance as she had no canoe, he took his penis in his hand and tried to fling it across the channel, but it fell far short and a shoal marks the spot where it fell. A second and a third attempt were made, each trial reaching further than its predecessor, as the reefs still testify. At last a cast was successful, and Aukum having made herself "fast," was hauled across the channel. Baigoa is still to be seen on the shore of Badu, but now he appears as a long rock close to deep water.

In reply to Aukum's inquiries, Baigoa said Tiai was not there, but had probably stopped at Kulkwoi or Kulkai. Aukum at once proceeded to Kulkwoi, where she found all the men and boys playing with spears and singing again and again

"Mute garu sore garu tana ina moigubalgal ia uman pagana pagana."

The men had spears (*klak*) which they threw with their hands, as they had no throwing sticks. First they hurled their spears to the north as they sang, next they hurled them to the south as they sang, then they saw Aukum sitting down waiting for the spears to come in her direction, they said to one another, "Come and see, there's a Dògai here!" Aukum stood up and said, "Why do you call me a Dògai. I am not a Dògai; I have come to look for my boy." And she told them who she was and showed them the bones of Tiai. "He is not here," they replied, "perhaps he has gone to Zaua." Aukum said to the men, "You are bad-looking fellows, you have a short face and a flat nose and thick lips."

Aukum travelled northwards to Zaua, and later to Tulu, in both of which villages the men were also practising spear-throwing, and the same incidents occurred. Following her new directions she came to Koted, where again the men were playing at throwing the spear, the same conversation arose, and as she was leaving Aukum said, "I am going to seek my son, he is better looking than you fellows. Where is he now?" At Muid—where she next went the whole story was repeated.

the Miriam version of the same legend, in which Terer (as he is called in Murray Island) appropriately goes to Boigu.

From the most northerly point of Badu Aukum walked along the bottom of the sea and came to Koikupad, 'Jervis reef,' and there threw out the fish from three of her baskets, and to this day that reef is well stocked with fish. Next she landed at Sipingur point and proceeded to Gumu, where all the men were spear-throwing and singing, and the same conversation took place as before. The Mabuig men said to her, "We don't

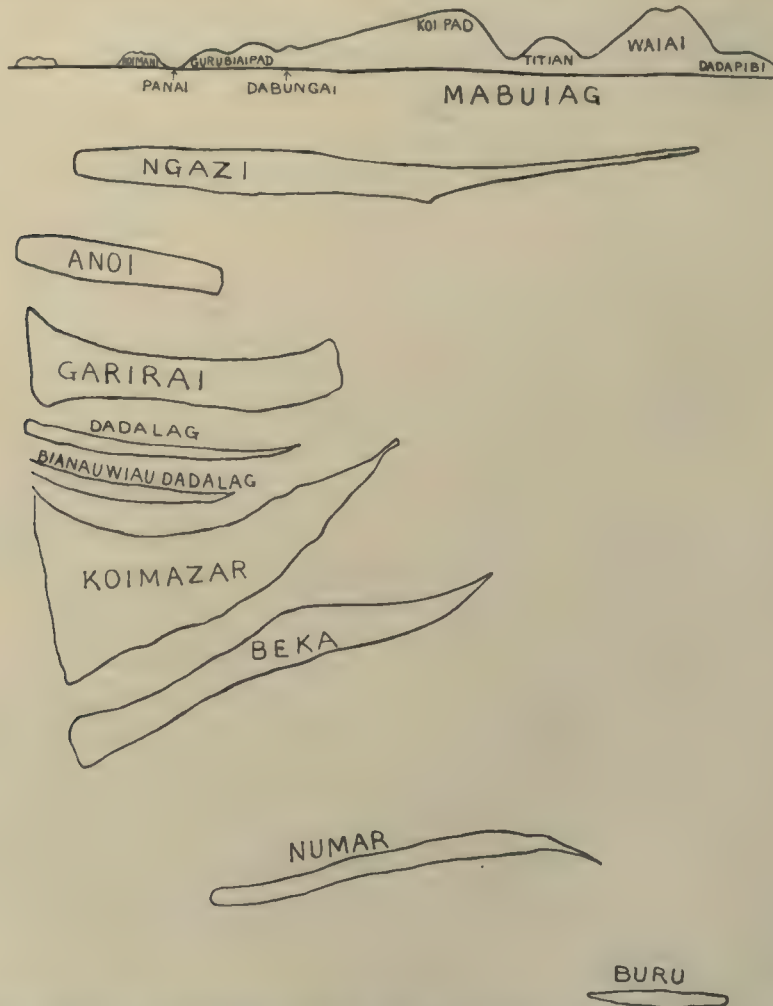


FIG. 8. Sketch Map of the Coral-Reefs between Mabuig and Buru. (Drawn by Papi. According to the Admiralty chart this region has not been surveyed, consequently this is the only map of these reefs.)

know Tiai; we think he is at Dauan." Thence Aukum walked along the beach to Bau, and finally went to Dabungai, where the water-hole is on the northern side of the island. Her search was as bootless as in Badu, and she again walked along the bottom of the sea northwards. As she passed Anoi reef she emptied two baskets of fish, and subsequently three baskets on Garirai reef. On Dadalag reef in 'Jim Passage' she distributed

one basket of fish, and another along Bianauwiaudadalag reef. Thence she went on to Koimazar, the big reef, where she spread the contents of six baskets; she descended to the sea-bottom again, and ascended Bēka reef, on which she emptied five baskets. Once more she went down to the sea-floor, and when she arrived at Numar reef she walked up on to it and distributed the fish from four baskets. The next reef she reached was that on which the island of Buru is situated, where she shook out the contents of her last basket, and she descended to the sea-bottom once more.

When Aukum arrived at Dauan she found the men throwing spears, and again at Saibai; in both of these islands the same experiences were repeated, and finally she was sent to Boigu.

At Boigu all the men were spear-throwing, as in the other islands¹ in the *kwod* when Tiai had alighted, and they sang as they hurled their spears. Aukum hid behind a bush at one end of the *kwod*, and when the men threw their spears in her direction Tiai's spear came between her feet. Aukum recognised him and said to herself, "That's my boy, that is the one I am looking for."

The other men came to pick up their spears, and Tiai said, "Where's mine?" They said, "Over there in the scrub." Tiai went to pull his spear from out of the ground, and as he was doing so Aukum caught hold of him, saying, "I see you now, I am your mother Aukum," and she told him of the long journey she had taken to find him; she then said, "I have your bones. You have died." Tiai looked and saw the bones round his mother's neck, and he stood with downcast head and was ashamed. He stuck his spear in the ground in the space between the great toe and the second toe of his right foot. Tiai said nothing aloud but thought and thought, with downbent head, and thus he communed to himself, "I don't know what I am going to do, I thought I was a man, I had plenty of sweethearts, and have married one wife. Mother now tells me another story. I think I must be a ghost (*mari*)."² The Boigu men were standing round Tiai and his mother, the latter wanted to take him back with her to Moa, and they said to her, "You wait here for four weeks."

If Tiai had remained silent he would have become a man again, but he lifted up his head and called out to his brothers-in-law and father-in-law, who were called his *mariget*³, "When you go back to the house you must put some red paint and some black paint in the midst of the *kwod*, and you must cut four posts for a *sara* and carry them to a clear space, and not one of you must speak. When the piles are ready you must dig four holes and raise all four posts into them at the same time, then put sand round the base of the posts and press it in lightly, and mind all four are done at the same time. The *sara* posts are to be painted black round the middle and red above and below. Put to the left-hand on the platform on the top of the *sara* a shoot (*lu*) of a coconut, and cover over the platform with a roof made of *kai* mats, and place a dugong harpoon on the top. Make a small dugong platform *nat* in front of the *sara*." The *mariget* carried out his instructions and erected the *sara* in the middle of the *sugu*³, the dancing ground in the *kwod*.

¹ It appears to be characteristic of ghosts or spirits that they perform the same actions as men and at the same time.

² Cf. Kinship.

³ There was a *sugu* in the *kwod* at Pulu, Introduction, p. 4.

Tiai crept into the erection and as soon as he had done so the wind which had been blowing suddenly died away. Drums were rapidly, but gently, beaten by some of the crowd of men who stood round witnessing the proceedings, and the *sara* began to shake. When the shaking stopped the men beat their drums more loudly, and the *sara* swayed backwards and forwards again, and more loudly were the drums beaten, and Tiai came from within the *sara* and standing upon it he caught hold of the dugong harpoon. Yet louder sounded the drums as Tiai leaped to the ground as if in the act of harpooning a dugong, the *nat* representing the dugong which he speared in pantomime. Leaving the harpoon Tiai again entered into the *sara*. More loudly still resounded the drums, and taking the *lu* in his hand Tiai jumped on to the ground and Tiai danced his own funeral dance, and all repeatedly sang as follows:

"Tiaia geiageia ngaimi uzi pula wa."

Then Tiai ceased singing the refrain and only echoed "*wa—wa—wa*," as he walked backwards, lifting up his feet but a little way, and swaying up and down the *lu* which he held in his hand as he repeated "*wa, wa, wa*."

As Tiai retreated backwards his wife and sweethearts wept, and he was followed by Aukum. When only a short distance from the *sara* Tiai jumped into a hole in the ground. Aukum said, "Well, Tiai, what are we going to do, do you leave me now?" To which Tiai replied, "You have been looking for me. You followed me, you too must come down. You must now become a ghost (*mari*)."

And Aukum followed Tiai into the earth. The *mariget* took down the *sara* and the *nat* and cleared all away.

Totem Myths.

31. THE STORY OF NORI, THE SNAKE.

(Told by Waria and Gizu of Mabuiag.)

There was a *tabu* snake named Nori that lived in New Guinea, and in his journeyings in the bush he frequently saw a certain fine-looking young married woman named Bamurab, and he said, "If I get a chance by-and-by I'll catch this woman."

During several days a number of women were in the bush gathering leaves of the pandanus trees, and when they got home they sewed the split leaves together and made that kind of mat which is called *kai*. One day Bamurab wandered away from the other women as she wanted to get some more pandanus leaves, and before picking them she laid on the ground the bundle she had already gathered. The snake who was watching Bamurab crawled into the bundle. Bamurab added the fresh leaves to the bundle, tied all together and carried the bundle on her head.

All the women made up their bundles and putting them on their heads proceeded homewards; but the rope of Bamurab's bundle broke, as the snake had bitten it through. "That's new rope, why does it break like old rope?" exclaimed Bamurab, and she fastened the ends together.

She had gone only a short distance when the snake again bit the rope and the leaves fell to the ground. The other women had by this time gone on a long way as the snake had done this to make Bamurab stay behind. She thought she would make two bundles of the leaves and determined to leave one of them behind as the rope that was made from the fibre of the banana kept on breaking.

Bamurab then saw the big snake, whose eyes glittered like glass, and when she saw it she began to cry. Nori said, "You're my wife, every time I saw you I wanted you very badly, now I have caught you, you must go home with me." Nori took that woman to his place. Bamurab walked and Nori crawled. Nori's home was a small hole in the ground, and when they came there Nori crawled into it, but the woman said, "Nori, where shall I go, what am I to do?" "Oh! you come down," he replied. Then the woman fell down and crept inside the hole and the ground closed over. There was nothing inside that hole, there was not even a mat, only the bare earth.

Next morning the snake said, "I'm going to get some food for us both." He went out and caught a *gururu* bird and gave it to the woman. She refused it, and said, "I can't eat raw birds," but he gave it back to her, saying, "You eat it."

The following morning the snake again went to look for a pigeon. As soon as he was gone the woman looked for an *akul* shell, and when she found one she began to scrape a passage through the earth so as to get away, she scraped and she scraped, at last she said, "I'll leave off now, I think Nori is coming." The snake returned and brought with him a Torres Straits pigeon (*gainau*), which he gave to the woman. She refused it, and said, "It belongs to you, I don't know how to eat it. You've brought me here to your house and you won't give me good food."

They slept. In the night Nori waggled his tail. Bamurab felt it jump and said, "Go away, you're a snake and not a man." The snake put some red paint down the centre of his forehead and nose and took a seed rattle (*goa*)¹ and went back again.

Next morning Nori went to look for a pigeon. As soon as he had gone, Bamurab took the *akul* and again dug with it, and repeatedly sang, "*Nori, Nori, Nori, Nori, Bamurab, Sidauram.*" Intimating that Nori had taken her (Bamurab), and calling her husband Sidauram by name.

The husband had come every day to look for his lost wife. In the evening before he turned back to go home he made a mark, and the next morning he went a little further. At last he heard a voice calling and he said, "What bird is it that makes that noise?" Then he listened again and came closer. "That's my wife right enough," he cried, and listened this and that way and looked around. At last he heard whence the sound proceeded and he called out, "Bamurab, where have you got to?" "Oh! Nori, a big snake, caught me in the road. I've been scraping away the earth all the time. I think it's thin now. You dig too." Sidauram got a stick and broke through the earth and Bamurab came out of the hole and the two of them ran away.

The woman said, "Very good, you take me across to Dauan;" and she told all the people of her village to make large houses on high piles so that the big snake could not climb up.

¹ I do not understand the significance of this.

Sidauram took Bamurab across to the island of Dauan, where she had a number of relations. Two *Nagalaig* (sea-eagle), (hawks), two *Waumer* (or *Womer*, the frigate-bird), two *Aub* (a small hawk), two *Kisulaig* (a hawk-like bird), two *Kwoie* (also a hawk), all were her uncles, and Bamurab said to them, "I've come to see you. You must stand by and kill that snake. You must watch him coming, he will wear a *dri*" (white feather headdress).

The *tabu* snake went to the village where Sidauram and Bamurab lived and looked in every house, but all the people said that Bamurab was not there, she had gone to all her "fathers" at Dauan.

Nori, the *tabu*, swam to Dauan, his head, which he kept well out of the water, was surrounded by a fine *dri*.

When they saw the snake right in the middle of the channel the two *Aub* flew high up in the air and then swooped down, but they were frightened of the snake and merely skimmed the water, and flew back and said to the two *Waumer*, "We think you had better try." The *Waumer* flew high up in the air and swooped down. Bamurab looked and cried, "Those four fellows can't catch that snake."

The two *Kisulaig* then flew high up in the air and swooped down and one of them caught the snake's tail and the other seized its neck, but as soon as the snake moved its body they let it go again.

The two *Kwoie* then flew high up in the air and swooped down and one of them caught the snake's tail and the other seized its neck, but they were small birds, and not strong enough, so they had to let the snake go.

At last the turn of *Nagalaig* came, and by this time the *tabu* was close to the shore. The *Nagalaig* flew very high into the air and as soon as they had swooped down one of them caught the snake's tail and the other seized its neck, as soon as the snake moved its body their claws came through and they had a firm grip. They flew with the snake a long way up in the air. They soared and they soared. They killed that snake, it died up in the air and they let it drop before Bamurab, and she cut it in pieces and threw the head on Dauan¹, another piece she threw across to Saibai¹, a small piece she flung across to Daudai¹, another little bit she threw to Boigu¹, and the tail she hurled across to Buru¹ (Mangrove I.).

32. THE ORIGIN-MYTH OF THE HAMMER-HEADED SHARK AND CROCODILE TOTEMS OF YAM.

(Told by Maino of Yam.)

Sigai came from Pinaig², he had three companions with him, Maiau, Malu, and Sau, the last of these belonged to Kailug or Masig.

They went to Zugoiin (Half-way Island) where they had a good talk. Sigai said to Malu and Sau, "Where are you two going?" Malu replied, "I am going to Moie (Murray

¹ I think this is a totem myth. The natives of these places intermarry, and the *Tabu* is one of the five existing totem-kins in Saibai; but I did not discover that any of the birds were totems there (the frigate-bird is a totem in Mabuiag). Bamurab evidently was a Dauan woman who had married a native of Daudai.

² Or Snake Island, which lies close to Dugong Island and not far from Boydong Cay.

Island)," and Sau said, "I shall go to Kailug." To which Sigai replied, "All right, you go there," and turning to Maiau he said, "You and me go to Yam."

By-and-by Sigai and Maiau went to Wingaban point in Yam and stopped there. A very old woman named Ngasagi came there to look for octopus (*sugu*), and saw those two lying side by side in the lagoon, she asked herself, "What's that. Is it a canoe?" She went closer—went—went. She then stood on a stone, on which she had some difficulty in balancing herself, and looked down, but she was half afraid she would fall down, but the two fellows sank down in the water.

The old woman said, "Ulloa! where are those two canoes?" and she felt about with the sharply-pointed stick (*pat*), which she had brought with her for catching octopus. She then turned back and went, went, went, and again stood on a big stone.

Sigai and Maiau floated to the surface again, and the old woman cried, "Ulloa!" By-and-by the old woman turned back, but now she watched all the time, and did not look away as she walked towards them. They again sank, but she noticed that they disappeared beside a certain stone. So she went there and stood up and saw two creatures that looked like *kodal tubu* (pipe-fish). As the water was dirty she could not see how to catch them; so she went home and said to her husband, Garu, "Garu, my husband, them two thing I see all same canoe," and she detailed her experience.

Garu said, "Sh. You must not say anything about it," and the old woman remained quiet.

Garu went to the village and said to the men, "I want to say something to you all. You all go to one place." So they all went to the *kwod*. When they were all assembled there Garu took some red paint and gave it to all the men. When all were ruddled, Garu said, "My wife see something, you fellows come along with me." They all walked in single file, but in two parallel lines. (Those that were to belong to Maiau were to the right and those that were to belong to Sigai were to the left.)

The men saw Sigai and Maiau from the same place that the woman saw them. Then they went, went, went. Sigai and Maiau sank and appeared like *kodal tubu*.

Then Garu took some *paiwa* wood that came from Badu and chewed it and spat it into the water, and Sigai and Maiau floated nearly to the top of the water. He next chewed some *paiwa* that came from Dibiri on the Fly River and spat it into the sea, and this proved very attractive to Sigai and Maiau, and they came to the top of the water and floated.

The men said, "Garu, what shall we call them?" And Garu replied, "You and me will call them *augüd*. Sigai belongs to you men there and Maiau belongs to the other men. When we go to New Guinea, that dark place, we will send these two first so that the people may be weak."

The Yam men said, "All right. How shall we take them now?" Garu said, "You bring some *tobai* (a kind of mat) and *pod*" (or *pot*, a coarser kind of mat). But the men exclaimed, "Why should we not bring a *saramud*?" (which is the best make of mat). Garu said, "No. You and me will not bring a good mat, those two fellows don't like good things."

The men brought some old *tobai*, *pod* and *kai* mats and put some *paiwa* on them and placed them on the shore. Sigai and Maiau went on to the mats, and the men

lifted the mats and went, went, went. Garu said to the men, "You and me take them up the hill and leave them in the *kwod*." They did so.

Sigai turned round, and a big sea-snake, *ger*, came out of Sigai and lay to windward, i.e. to the south-east. The men looked and jumped with astonishment, "Ulloa!" they cried, "we've got three now." Then two snakes came from Maiau, a male *kari* and a female *pis*, the snakes went to the point and called out to the men.

The men then put everything in order.

First they erected a *waus* round the two *augūd*. This consisted of reddened sticks erected crosswise, at short intervals, the free ends of which were decorated with large reddened *Fusus* shells (*bu*). Between each group of sticks was stretched a coco-nut palm leaf, the pinnules of which were cut square.

Next Garu took a spine (*terapat*) of a stone fish (*uzi*) and put them in the hands and feet of Sigai and Maiau, and remained inside the *waus* with the two *augūd*.

All the men painted themselves with red paint and decorated themselves with *mai*, *alidan*, *kadig*, *wakau*, *paupusa*. Those men who had Sigai for their *augūd* put *dri* on their heads, while the Maiau men wore *dagoi* (cassowary feather coronets) and *kwoikuru* (fillet of coco-nut palm leaf) and *maiei* (= *kamad* of Mabuiag).

The men made a *kai*, or outer fence, to prevent the women and children from seeing the *waus*. When all was finished they sang and danced.

The following were the songs that were chanted:

SONGS SUNG BY THE SIGAI MEN.

"*Yauna bebiauna Yauna bebiauna yaunagi saumer*
Yauna bebiauna Yauna bebiauna yaunagi saumer."

"*Mauwa iabem Mauwa iabem kusi iabem*
Mauwa iabem Mauwa iabem kusi iabem."

SONGS SUNG BY THE MAIAU MEN.

"*Igawad Igawad kwoikwad*
Igawad Igawad kwoikwad."

"*Sikya muiar babadi muiar dara rua*
Sikya muiar babadi muiar dara rua."

"*Yawa dari dararua.*"

"*Kwoiar kwoikinganur ia nganazia ia nganur.*"

This is the most important myth of the Yam-Tutu people. It forms part of a cycle of which the equally important Legend of Malu is another fragment. Probably we can never recover the whole cycle. The Malu myth will be fully dealt with in Vol. VI.; in the meantime the reader is referred to *Folk-Lore*, I. 1890, pp. 181, 193; and to the *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXVIII. 1898, p. 13. The *kwod* at Yam will be described in the section dealing with Hero-cult.

33. THE SAGA OF KWOIAM.

(Told by Papi, Ailumai, Nomoa, the former chief; and by Waria, the present chief.)

I. THE MAKING OF THE MAGICAL EMBLEMS.

Adi¹ Kwoiam lived with his mother Kwinam at Gumu on one side of the creek, and close by them lived Tomagani, his *wadwam* (nephew), who acted as cook and helper to Kwoiam. The Mabuiag men lived on the other side of the creek. Kwinam had two brothers named Koang and Togai, and a sister Kwòka, who also lived at Gumu.

One day Kwoiam said to these old men, Koang and Togai, "You go up and look for some turtle-shell for me." They took a canoe and went to find a sucker-fish (*gapu*), but though they went round and round the reef and caught plenty of other fish they could not catch a *gapu*. Every day they went out they had the same bad luck. At last they said to Kwoiam, "We think that to-morrow we will go to Badu." Next day they went to Badu, but again failed; then they went to a small island named Tik, that lies between Badu and Moa, in order to look for an octopus. Togai was keen sighted and he caught an octopus, but Koang had bad eyesight so he always stopped in the canoe. The crew of the canoe consisted also of Utimal, Usal, Kwoior and Keg, besides one girl, Kwòka, who was sister to the two old men.

After Togai had caught the octopus he said, "I think we had better go to Tutu and look for *gapu* there." So they started. The first rock they came to had no fish swimming around it; at the next rock, Todiu, Koang and Togai let go the anchor and pulled one arm off the live octopus and tied it on to a fishing line, and they soon caught a large sucker-fish. They said they would then start for Mabuiag. Koang and Togai had such long arms that when they were in shallow water on a reef they used their elbows instead of punting with poles, and instead of employing sails they rowed the canoe with their elbows. They could both make fine weather, but Togai, or 'Good Eye' as he was called, could make the best weather. As they were leaving Todiu 'Good Eye' said, "That rock belongs to us both," and to this day only *gapu* can be caught there.

The two brothers came to Geri reef and stopped in a lagoon (*gauma*) there till it was low water, in order to look for the tortoiseshell turtle. 'Good Eye' prepared the leash for the *gapu*. They then took the canoe to one side of the reef and let go the anchor from the stern, while 'Good Eye' stood in the bow with the *gapu*.

Numerous turtle came close to the canoe, and 'Good Eye' said, "I am going to catch one now," but Koang said, "No, they are all green turtle, you are too eager—wait for the turtle-shell turtle." Soon the turtle-shell turtle came, and Koang said, "Let go now," and Togai loosed the leash from the *gapu*, which swam to the turtle and stuck fast to it. The anchor was then pulled up so that the canoe might go close to the turtle. There was no need for the men to dive down after the turtle because they had

¹ *Adi* is applied to Kwoiam as an honorific title ("a good name like Mr").

such long arms, one does not know how many fathoms in length they were, and to this day no diver can catch turtle there as the water is too deep. They stood up in the canoe and stooped down till their heads were close to the water, and catching hold of the turtle they hauled it up and capsized it into the canoe alongside of the octopus.

They went on the surface of the reef to take a rest, and put up some nets as an awning, and being very tired the two old men went to sleep. The crew were by this time very thirsty for they had not drunk at all, while Koang and Togai had provided bamboo and coco-nut water-vessels for themselves. The crew said, "Koang and Togai are sleeping—we will swim." But they only pretended to swim, they fastened a shark's tooth to a piece of wood, and with this they bored a hole through the receptacle on the platform of the canoe which belonged to the two brothers and pierced the coco-nuts and bamboos and drank up all the water in the vessels belonging to Koang and Togai. When the latter awoke they said, "The tide is rising, we will go now," and they returned to Mabuag.

Kwoiam saw the canoe returning and said, "Ulloa! those two fellows are coming back." Then he put his javelin under one arm and his throwing-stick under the other, and putting his hands behind his back he walked down to the beach and called out to his uncles, "Have you two caught anything? Where have you been?" They told him what they had and detailed all that had transpired.

Koang and Togai showed Kwoiam the turtle, and he said, "You bring it ashore tomorrow and then kill it, as I want the shell." But they replied, "We think we will go to Unuat¹, we do not like to kill it here." "All right," said Kwoiam, "you two go; when you have killed that turtle do not lose the shell or liver or other parts, but you must throw away the *yerka*(?) and the *il* (gall-bladder)."

The two uncles went and came to a point on the island where there was a water-hole, Sabikmarnguk. They and their sister Kwòka took their vessels and filled them with water at the water-hole. They said, "You and me go now," and as they left, the water leaked 'chu, chu, chu,' from the vessels and flowed all over the ground. They examined the vessels and discovered the holes that had been bored in them, and they realised who had done it.

They returned to the canoe and started, and passed over a reef where stood up a big stone called Guzubaupula.

The crew then dived to look for crayfish. Koang and Togai took the punting poles of the canoe, and when the first man came up to the surface of the water they speared him in the eye, he died and floated in the sea—they did the same to each man as he came up until all were killed.

The two old men spake thus to the dead men: "Usal, you go to New Guinea (Daudai) side, when you come up there will be plenty of rain. Utimal, you go to New Guinea side, you have to bring rain. Kwoior, when you come up over Buru (Mangrove Island) just before the South-east Monsoon sets in there will be rain in the morning. Then the wind will shift and it will rain in the afternoon, and you Kek will come up in south between Badu and Moa and it will be cold weather. When you go round

¹ A small island off Thursday Island; *unua* is another name for *unawa*, the shell-turtle.

this way and when you come up, then the yams and sweet potatoes will be ripe. You all have work to do¹."

When this was finished the two men started once again, and dropped anchor between Badu and Moa, and being hungry they fished on a small sand-bank. Koang heaved the fishing line and he caught a *buk* (a siluroid fish), which he hauled up and put in the canoe, the fish then made a grunting noise. Koang called out to Togai, "You come here. What's that? You come and have a look at this fish." Togai came and said, "Ah! that's the fish, *wapi*²." When he saw the fish he sang. That same night the two men anchored on the other side of Badu, and at daybreak told Kwòka to go and get some water for them. When Kwòka had gone into the bush to the water-hole they hauled up the anchor and went away. The woman turned round and shouted out, "If you are going away take me with you, I am your sister." But the brothers did not like her as she made too much noise, and ran about too much in the canoe, and played too much, so they said to her, "You stop here and fly about in the bush, and call out your own name." And she still flits in the bush as a black bird, the Leather-head³, and cries "Kwòka, Kwòka."

Then they returned to the small island Tik, in order to return the octopus (*sugu*) they had previously caught there. They remained in the canoe until nine o'clock in the morning, when Togai carried the octopus to the same rock from which he took it and pushed it into its original crevice, saying, "You are my octopus," and to this day it appears on the surface of the water at nine o'clock each morning because those two men ordered it to do so.

Again they started and arrived at Unuat, where they killed the turtle and made an earth-oven, and after throwing away the *il* and *gerku* they cooked the turtle. When it was thoroughly cooked they put the turtle in the canoe and returned to Mabuiag.

Kwoiam saw them returning and came to the beach to meet them, carrying his javelin and throwing-stick in same manner as before. Kwoiam spread a mat on the ground and the two men placed the turtle on it. Kwoiam measured the turtle and put on one side the limbs, and looked carefully for the three things that he particularly wanted. "Where is the liver? It is not here; you have eaten it, and where are the two shells?" he asked. Those two men said, "No, we did not take anything, we forgot them," and being afraid they added, "we will go back again and look round and bring back the liver and the turtle-shell."

They returned and saw those three things in the earth-oven, and came back by the point of Moa. Togai said to Koang, "Mate, you wait for me here, I am going up to the top of the hill to look for something to eat." "All right, I'll wait for you here." Togai went up the hill and found a *kupar*⁴ tree loaded with its white fruit. He picked

¹ Utimal and Usal form one group of stars, "make one lot," of which Utimal is the *koi nel*, or comprehensive name, and Zugubal the *mūgi nel*, or special name. In this way certain stars are accounted for by the first appearance of which the seasons are ushered in. This is a variant of the Tagai myth of Murray Island. *Folk-Lore*, I. 1890, p. 184, and which will be found in Vol. VI. of these Reports.

² *Wapi* is the *koi nel* or general term for fish, *buk* is the special name or *mūgi nel*, for this particular kind of fish.

³ A species of *Philemon*, perhaps *P. buceroides*, one of the Honey-suckers.

⁴ A white berried *Eugenia*.

up some of the fallen fruit and ate it. Then he stood by the tree, and putting up his hand picked the fruit, some of which he put in his basket, and some of which he ate and threw away the seed of the fruit.

A woman came with a basket to gather some fruit from the tree, when she arrived she exclaimed, "Ulloa! there's no fruit on the ground!" Then she looked up and said, "There's none there too!" Togai was picking the fruit all the time, and he took the fruit and ate it and dropped the seeds. The woman saw the seed and said, "Ulloa! some man bit that, there are the marks of his teeth." She then turned round and saw Togai's legs. "Ulloa—what man is this here?" and with her eyes followed his legs up, and a long way off she saw his head. The woman shook with fright and ran away. Togai heard her running away, and turned round thinking some man had found him, he did not know it was a woman. He stamped on the ground, and the ground shook. Every time he struck the ground the thunder roared, the lightning flashed, and the rain fell heavily. The woman crouched and hid her head, and was as one drunk. The water rushed down the creeks, which soon became so full of water that the woman could not cross them. There was a flash of lightning, accompanied by a peal of thunder, which struck the woman and killed her.

Koang in his canoe escaped the wind and the rain, but he saw the rain pouring on the hill top, and saw the lightning and heard the thunder, and he said, "I think some fellow saw my mate." Togai came back to the canoe, and told Koang what had happened. The two old men pulled the canoe towards Mabuia.

Kwoiam saw the two men coming and he was glad. They gave him the things they had previously left behind, and they taught Kwoiam the Badu song about Waibi. Kwoiam was pleased and the two old men went home.



FIG. 9. *Giribu* and *Kutibu*, the magical crescents of Kwoiam (drawn by Gizu).

One night when there was a new moon Kwoiam took two pieces of the turtle-shell his uncle had given him, and lay on his back on the ground at Gumu, and drew on each piece of turtle-shell the contour of the moon. When he had cut them out to that shape, he sent Tomagani to gather some green coco-nut leaves with which he made fringed crossed shoulder-belts and anklets, he also adorned himself with leglets, armlets, and a belt from which hung a deep *urakar* dress (Hibiscus). Finally he put on the crescentic turtle-shell objects, putting one on his chest and the other on his upper lip. Then he

capered about, brandishing his javelin and throwing-stick, while he sang over and over again "*Mawa kěda, Mawa kěda.*" But the turtle-shell crescent that he wore on his face had been made too long and slender and he could not turn his head round as the points hurt him in two places. So he had to make another, but he had been so long over these two that it was by this time nearly full moon and he had to wait till the moon was once more in her first quarter. The next crescent he made was shorter and deeper, almost half-moon shaped. This one answered his purpose. These crescents had magical properties, and directed the wearer in the straight course towards the enemy and enabled him to be victorious. The crescent that was worn on the upper lip was named *kutibu*, and it was of more importance than *giribu* which was worn on the chest. They were both termed *augūd*.

II. HOW KWOIAM PAID FOR HIS MOTHER'S DEATH.

One day Kwoiam entered the house of his blind mother Kwinam when she was making a mat, and coming quietly behind her with his big toe he withdrew a strip of leaf that his mother had just plaited into the mat. When Kwinam missed the strip she said, "Who is walking about here?" and she cursed, saying, "*Uibar kūtāl wangar kūtāl*" (May your legs dwindle away). Kwoiam exclaimed, "Mother, it's I!" She replied, "Oh Kwoiam my son! I thought you were a different kind of boy."

Kwoiam was furious and went out to Tomagani, and ordered him to cut some green coco-nut leaves and other plants which he mentioned. This he did and gave them to Kwoiam, who made crossed shoulder-belts, armlets, and leglets, and when he had accoutred himself he told Tomagani to go far away, then Kwoiam took a spear that was tipped with the spines of the sting-ray and ran on to the beach and drank some sea water. The Mabuiag boys that were playing on the beach saw him and they were frightened and cried out, "A dōgai! a dōgai!" When they came to the village their fathers said, "Don't be frightened. That's Kwoiam. It is not a dōgai." But they said to one another, "What is he going to do now? I think he will kill us."

Kwoiam went to the sea and washed his feet and returned to the house where his mother was still making her mat. He came behind her and said, "Mother look at me, turn round this way." His mother turned round and Kwoiam hurled the spear which struck her full in the face and killed her. Kwoiam took a bamboo knife and sharpened it with a piece of quartz (*uz*) and said, "When I sharpen that knife I will cut off the heads of New Guinea men." He then decapitated his mother and put her head¹ in a basket. Tomagani cried. The Mabuiag men said, "Now he has killed his mother he will kill us all soon," so they rolled up their mats and ran away to Sopalai at the other side of Mabuiag and they remained there. Kwoiam was now sorry and he cried and cried.

One morning Kwoiam told Tomagani to bring the canoe ashore, and the latter guessed his object. Kwoiam put all his javelins and other fighting gear into the canoe, erected the masts and mat sails and put off. He now wanted 'to pay' for his mother.

¹ The head is still to be seen as a boulder-stone at Gumu.

He said that the people of Mabuiag, Badu, and Moa did not know how to fight and that he would go the other way.

They anchored on Bēka reef, and Kwoiam told Tomagani to get one fish, that would be enough for the *kutibu* and *giribu* to smell. Tomagani went and put his hands into the crevices of the coral rock. Kwoiam put on his war accoutrements, and putting a plank across the canoe stood up on it. He spat on the hook of the throwing-stick, and pointed it first towards New Guinea and then towards Boigu, and the throwing-stick fell down, thereby indicating the place they were next to go to. Tomagani, with his hand still in a crevice, looked under his arm and saw Kwoiam standing in the canoe. He shook with fright and said to himself, "I think Kwoiam will kill me to pay for his mother." Kwoiam saw the poor man's terror, and being sorry for him stepped into the canoe and took off his accoutrements, and stowed them in the canoe to show that he was peaceably inclined.

Very early the next morning they started off, and anchored at night off Kodolobupuru in Boigu in a mangrove swamp. Kwoiam told Tomagani to remain in the canoe while he went ashore. Kwoiam went to the place where all the people had surrounded themselves with a fence made of coco-nut palm leaves. There were two doors to this fence, to the one he placed a great heap of firewood to which he set fire, and he lay down with his back to the other door, and as he watched the sleeping men within the enclosure he said as follows:

*"Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda,
Iaria midi dan, Kalia midi dan, Amana Kwinamona kazi, Danimaka maka ka
pudaumaka, Surka ngai, kiu niki tomanu puzik, Aigi kakelinga nuka gimal tiaik¹.*

*Wa peukainu peukainu kazir ririma Kawaiar sasabi serabaria muraka waibēnir
waibēnir muraka waibenir waibēnir muraka waibenir muraka waibēnir"*—(commence again with *Wa peukainu* etc.)

When the fire began to roar the men awakened and rushed out through the open door. Then began Kwoiam to fight, and he killed all the men, but the women escaped into the bush. When he had finished fighting he lay down thinking someone might yet be alive, he waited and waited, but no one came. When day dawned he looked round him and exclaimed, "What, did I kill them all!"

Kwoiam went to the canoe and called out for Tomagani and said:

*"Patapan ina kae uzari nge kaipaipa Guloka mangi kaipai nui keda Awade aie Buru
ka mui nitunu Dumanu aiau itamar kibuia geto mataima mata sabi kadaka pogaik kaipun."*

Kwoiam told Tomagani to bring three long ropes and another bamboo knife. Together they went to the village and began to cut off the heads of the slain men. Kwoiam rapidly dislocated the necks and cut off the heads quickly, and all the time he looked about him thinking someone might come behind him. Tomagani looked as if he were about to be sick, he slowly made small cuts with his knife like a boy, and was

¹ I cannot give a translation of this song, but the meaning is much as follows: after repeating his favourite invocation *Mawa keda*, Kwoiam goes on to say, "Eye to the front of me, Eye at the back of me, of Kwoiam the child of my mother...I am like a scrub turkey (*surka*), when dry coco-nut leaves are thrown upon water, they float (by which he referred to himself, he was as buoyant as the leaves).

shaking with fear. Kwoiam told him he cut like a boy, and that he could not get on in that fashion. Then he showed him how the heads could be cut off quickly if the head was previously dislocated from the neck.

When they had finished, and just before they started for the canoe, Tomagani said there was plenty of dugong meat about, and that they had better take some for their journey. Kwoiam said, "No, the meat is all splashed with human blood, I don't want to eat it."

As they were sailing away Tomagani felt very uncomfortable and talked to himself thus, "I don't know what we two will do. I think we shall be killed by-and-by, Kwoiam has destroyed the whole place." "What did you say, Tomagani?" asked Kwoiam. Tomagani replied,

"Iabina kapu kulai sika susul pagazi wagel mudan araik."

The small (*susul*) fish shelter behind the large stone.

The two men put up the mat sails and started for Saibai. Kwoiam spoke to the wind and said, "I would like a wind from the nor'-west," and a nice stern breeze blew them along, and they anchored on a sand spit (*warukwik*) on the coast of New Guinea, which his two magical emblems¹ had caused to become dry. These objects shone so brightly that the Saibai men saw them and thought they were two birds (*kwòka* and *kaiarpit*).

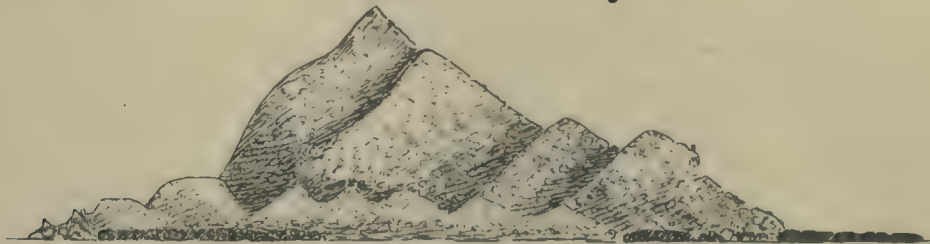


FIG. 10. Sketch of Dauan. On the right is the hill Togin, on which can be seen the rock, Kwoiamantrua, on which Kwoiam stood when he looked towards the Dabu coast of New Guinea.

When the tide turned early in the afternoon they weighed anchor and came to Dauan. Kwoiam pointed out to Tomagani that the canoe was leaking in the bow and told him to go ashore and tell the people that when he came to the beach and sat down on a mat they were to bring him *biuu*² and a big coco-nut, and he was also to say that "Dauan and Gebar, had cold water³." But there would be trouble if they would not do so, and in that case he was to say to them, "When one walks on dry leaves they break⁴."

They went on to the shore and all the people came, and Tomagani told them what Kwoiam had said. The people spread a mat for Kwoiam, on which he sat, and they all

¹ *Kutibu* and *giribu*, which were described by the narrator as *augud*.

² *biuu* is a slimy paste made from the shoots of the mangrove, it is eaten in times of scarcity but Kwoiam wanted to caulk his canoe with it.

³ Thereby implying that he did not want to fight those two islands.

⁴ Kwoiam meant by this that he could kill them as easily.

brought him *biu* and coco-nuts. "I thank you very much," said Kwoiam, "this is my place. You must forget all that has passed¹."

In the early evening Kwoiam went up the hill Togin and saw the smoke of the scrub that the New Guinea men were burning in order to clear the ground for making gardens. Kwoiam held up his throwing-stick and it fell down in the direction of Daudai. "I will go there by-and-by; I think I will kill them all," he said, and then he sang and wept for his mother.

" *Wa muitaike e wa muitaike Mawōtu Gawata nitui kawa*
Wae muitaike e wa muitaike Mawōtu Gawata nitui kawa
Wae wam didio e wa wam didi kam didio
Wae wam didio e wa wam didi kam didio
Ikula e wa Ikula aidai uraba kawa uraba
Poimam kaika pogaika watai uraba."

Then Kwoiam flourished his throwing-stick and the Dauan men who were watching him were frightened. Kwoiam turned round and saw that all the people were afraid. Kwoiam came down to the village, and when the sails were erected they started again.

Kwoiam said to Tomagani, "We will go back." To which he replied, "That is no good, they will kill us." "What!" Kwoiam said. "The small (*susul*) fish shelter behind the large stone," replied Tomagani. "My hair does not hang down, it stands up," said Kwoiam. The heads by this time gave out a fearful stench and the canoe was full of maggots, and Tomagani was frightened and very nearly retched.

Tomagani talked to himself and said, "There is a horrid smell, pew! pew!! pew!!! What is the use of our carrying the heads? I must now go and bail out the water." Kwoiam said to him, "Do not be frightened, by-and-by you will be strong as I am. The stench is good; you must swallow it along with your food."

They came to Daudai and went up a creek. The moon was full and Kwoiam landed and went into the bush, and his two *augūd* shone like flames. Kwoiam went to the village of Tog², which, like the village of Boigu, was surrounded by a fence with two openings. The men had been hunting wild pigs the previous day, and were very tired; they were sleeping on one side of the village and the women and children on the other. Kwoiam first collected all the bows and arrows which had been piled against the stockade and set fire to them at one of the gateways, and then fought the men as they rushed out. When he had finished fighting he lay down and kept still for a long time, then he slowly raised himself up, looking round all the time to see if anyone else was alive. Not seeing anyone stirring, he said, "I think I have killed them all."

Two men had escaped and they watched the path along which Kwoiam would pass; each had a bow and arrows and a large coco-nut.

Kwoiam cut off the heads of the slain men and tied them in bunches, one at the end of each of the ropes he had brought from the canoe. These he hung over his

¹ Kwoiam referred to the fight at Boigu. It should be remembered that the natives of Boigu intermarry with those of Dauan and Saibai, hence most of the people to whom Kwoiam was speaking must have had relatives whom he had just killed.

² Nomoa, in 1888, said it was the village of Zibaru.

shoulders so that there were two bunches of heads in front and two behind. With one hand he held his javelin and throwing-stick, and a head with the other hand; with his mouth he held the head of a grey-haired old man. Then the two *augud* blazed, and when the two men saw him they thought he was a *dògai*, but when he came close they saw it was Kwoiam, and at the same time they drew their bows to shoot him. The two bows snapped, and hearing the noise Kwoiam dropped to the ground, saying, "*Mawa! Mawa!!*" and the heads were scattered.

The two men ran away and threw the coco-nuts in different directions. Kwoiam hearing the noise made by the coco-nuts in the bush thought it was made by the men, and followed it till he came upon the coco-nuts, and when he saw them he turned back, saying, "Oh! that's a coco-nut, those men made a fool of me."

Tomagani alarmed at Kwoiam's long absence wanted to haul up the anchor and get away as he feared that Kwoiam was killed; but he thought he would wait a little longer and he waited. In a short time Kwoiam returned and his two *augud* shone so brightly as to light the bushes all around. They loaded up the canoe with the heads and up sail and off at sunrise.

Kwoiam said, "I want a wind from that place where I have killed the men; I want a stern wind." Immediately a nice breeze came and Kwoiam went to Saibai, and when he came close to the point Mawalomaitoria he sang thrice:

"*Ngato pinupa mawalomaia kadai kulina, kadain pungai pa bina nguungza o binama waruara tartar.*"

The two went on shore and Kwoiam took his javelins and ran after the Saibai people. He did not want to kill any of them, but only to frighten them. Some of the Saibai people swam across the strait to Daudai, and drank the water there and made a camp where they stopped permanently. Some of the people rushed into the swamp. Kwoiam went to the village and told the people to stay there quietly, he was not going to kill them.

Early next morning they sailed to Gebar, on their way there the same conversation took place between Tomagani and Kwoiam that occurred on their voyage to Daudai. At first the Gebar men thought the canoe belonged to another place, but when they recognised Kwoiam they were frightened. Kwoiam gave Tomagani precisely the same instructions as he did when arriving at Dauan, and everything happened as at the other island. The next morning Kwoiam said to the people, "My canoe is not a good one, it leaks. I want you to give me a good canoe, so that I can go back to Mabuiag." This they did immediately, and cut down the new canoe to make it shorter. When they saw the heads in Kwoiam's old canoe they exclaimed, "See the number of men who can't talk!" but they did not like the odour. Tomagani said to them, "Sho! Sho!! you must not sniff, but take a good smell of it, or Kwoiam will be angry." Kwoiam's old canoe is now a stone on Gebar.

When the two arrived at Mabuiag Tomagani took all the heads on shore at Gumu and cooked them in an earth-oven to clean them.

III. THE DEATH OF KWOIAM.

One morning some men came from Badu to Mabuiag in a long canoe which Kwoiam had sent to them, and for which they now wanted to pay. They anchored off Gumu, and the men gave Kwoiam a dugong harpoon, a shell armlet (*waiwi*), a shell chest-ornament (*dibidib*), a necklace of olive shells (*uraz*) and a bailer shell (*alup*).

The Badu men saw the skulls of the Daudai men, and they were frightened and said, "Kwoiam has been killing people in Daudai, I think we had better turn back, or by-and-by Kwoiam will kill you and me." And they thought they would return home. "All right," said Kwoiam, "it will be quite enough if you catch one fish and bring it so that my two *augud* can smell it."

The men went and speared one fish and made a noise like "Hu, hu, hu," and Kwoiam sent Tomagani to tell them that was enough. They replied, "Wait a bit, we will spear another one, and that will make two fish." Tomagani told this to Kwoiam. The men speared a second fish and cried, "Hu, hu, hu." Again Kwoiam sent Tomagani to tell them they had enough, but they replied, "Wait a bit, we will spear two more, and then there will be four fish"; and they went away. Kwoiam on hearing this said, "By-and-by you will be short of wind."

Kwoiam sent Tomagani to cut some green coco-nut leaves and other plants for him, and told him to be quick about it too, and he dressed up in his war accoutrements and followed on land the direction in which the canoe went. When he arrived at Kauramuragoni, the southerly point of Mabuiag, Kwoiam held up his throwing-stick and it fell down in the direction of Pulu.

Kwoiam next went to Tawapogai and then looked at a place named Getamatamaiskai, where the canoe had stopped, but as it was not there he went back to tell Tomagani it had gone. Then they went to another beach, Kunazinga, and Kwoiam told Tomagani to remain there. Kwoiam then crossed to the island of Mipa, but the canoe was not there. Then he went over to Pulu, but did not see the canoe until he got round to the other side of that island, and there it was moored near the shore with two men sleeping in it, and the other men were asleep on the beach close by an earth-oven. One man lay quite close to the earth-oven, and Kwoiam speared him in the face with a pronged fish-spear (*takul*), and the noise it made was as if one were breaking wood. The noise partially awakened the other men who were sleeping a short distance off, and they turned round and said, "What is that noise? Who is breaking wood?" Kwoiam came up to them and killed them all, and he cried, "*Mawa keda, mawa keda, mawa keda, mawa keda, mawa keda*," as he ran to the beach."

The two men in the canoe heard Kwoiam, and they hastily paddled away, but he hurled a spear after them and split their canoe. The two men jumped into the water and swam with a bamboo pole that belonged to the canoe. Although they were a long way off, Kwoiam threw another javelin, and transfixed one man in the thigh, and as he could not pull it out, he had to tear the skin away from the spear. Kwoiam threw a third javelin which entered into the other man's ear.

When they reached Badu the two men went to the village and told the people that Kwoiam had killed all the rest, only they two had escaped. Then they fell down dead,

as the javelins were poisoned. The Badu men said, "What is the good of being frightened of one man? To-morrow we will go and fight him. How big is that man? He is so thin that all his bones stick out, he is nothing but bones."

Next morning Kwoiam shivered, and as he thought it was a sign that something was about to happen he sent Tomagani to the look-out place on his hill Kwoiamantra. Tomagani looked to the south and cried, "Oh! the sea is full of canoes, there are so many I cannot count them." Kwoiam went to the look-out rock and saw the canoes coming from Badu, and said to Tomagani, "Why do you say a lot of canoes are coming? There are only two or three." The canoes came close by the point at Gumu.

Kwoiam accoutred himself for battle, and standing on the rock he flourished his throwing-stick. The men in the canoes soon saw him, and they displayed their stone-headed clubs, bows and arrows and spears, and they cried out to him, "You will be killed to-day." One man boasted, "That man is not enough for me, I will kill him." Kwoiam twice waved his throwing-stick in the direction of Gumu, and returned it under his left arm, meaning that the men were to go to Gumu, when he would fight them.

The men went to Gumu and Kwoiam transformed himself into a *Pichi* or *Kata-kuikuia* (one informant called it a frog, another a black bird with a white chest and a curved beak) and jumped or rather flew down from the hill to the level ground at Gumu, and alighted in a crouching position with his feet towards the enemy.

Warida ngaiwada segui poder Katakwika pinapa ipikwika pinapa warida ngaiwada segui poder.

There was a crowd of Badu men huddled together. One man said, "You go first." Another said, "No, you go first, he killed your brother," and each pushed on the other. All were afraid, and while all in front held back the hindermost pushed the others on. The men were in the bush, and before them were two trees which crossed one another, leaving a small gangway between them. When the first man came through this opening Kwoiam hurled a fish-spear with his throwing-stick and hit the man in the face and smashed the bones of his face. A man called out, "Who's that?" and the others said, "That's Kwoiam."

Kwoiam cried out:

"Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda, Mawa keda,

Iaria midi dan, Kalia midi dan, Amana Kwinamona kazi, Danimaka maka ka pudaumaka, Surka ngai, kiu niki tomanu puzik,"

and with both hands he speared his enemies, thrusting forwards and backwards. All the men fell except two men who were only wounded; they escaped to a small reef to windward, and thence swam to Badu. When they arrived there they said that Kwoiam had killed all the men, they two alone had escaped, and added, "We do not think we can kill this fellow, he is too quick. He is not a man; he is all bones." When these two men had said this they fell down dead, as they had been wounded with poisoned javelins. The Badu men immediately made more bows and arrows.

The following morning a large number of canoes came from Badu, and when they arrived at two rocks (Koi Kurasorania) near the coast of Mabuiag, Kwoiam shivered and sent Tomagani to the look-out rock; he reported as before, and added, "My word! I think we are going to lose to-day." Kwoiam went and looked and said, "There are only

two canoes!" Tomagani thought, "Why does he speak like that, there are many canoes, and he says there are only two?" And Kwoiam spake, "What do you say, my nephew?" But Tomagani did not say what he thought, but replied, "Big stone he go first, and small fish go behind that big stone." Kwoiam dressed himself for fighting, and stood up on a rock, and showing a stone-headed club to the Badu men, he cried out, "You fellows, come round to my place, I will finish you with this stone club."

The canoes that were the first to arrive waited for those that were behind, and when all were together the men went ashore. Everything was said and happened precisely as before except that three men got away to Badu, and when they had repeated the message they expired. An old man said to the young people it would be much better to quit the blood feud and not to go to Mabuiag again. A young man exclaimed, "Oh! I am not a woman. I have not been there yet. You wait a bit. You have had your chance, it is my turn now." The old man said, "Well, well, I said it for your good. If you go, Kwoiam will kill you too."

(I was informed that two more expeditions went from Badu against Kwoiam with precisely the same result, and two and three men respectively carried the news and died in Badu. Two expeditions went from Moa with precisely the same results.)

Finally a number of canoes came from Moa, as the Badu men had had enough of it, but they did not come where Kwoiam could see them, so they arrived at the village of Sopalai on the other side of Mabuiag. Tomagani happened to be there at that time as Kwoiam had sent him across to get some fish. The Moa men followed the old custom of having a dance on the spot where a war party landed before going further. The Moa men felt a strange sensation, so they asked if there was anyone belonging to Kwoiam there, and on being informed that Tomagani was present they chased him round and round and killed him.

Kwoiam had a presentiment and said, "I think those Moa men have killed my nephew," and the tears ran down from his eyes; "I sent him to get some fish and it is dark now and he has not come back, I think they have killed him."

Next morning the men went round the point and Kwoiam shivered and, thinking something was going on, he went to his look-out rock and stood up and looked down and saw the canoes go to Koi Kurasorania. The Moa men blew their shell trumpets and displayed the head of Tomagani on a post. Kwoiam looked and 'when he see that head he feel sorry and feel something bad in heart, inside him he cross, he wild, he feel bad inside of him, he don't know what to do.' He showed his throwing-stick, and pointing to Gumu, said, "You fellows, go round and meet me there." The Moa men said, "Ah; that is not much, that is only one small man; one man can kill him." They went to Gumu.

Kwoiam changed himself into a *Pichi*, and eventually killed a good many of the Moa men. Once when he was using all his strength to hurl a javelin the hook broke off his throwing-stick, and Kwoiam ran away backwards. "We go on now," cried the Moa men, "we will kill this man, the hook has come off his throwing-stick." As the Moa men pressed forward, Kwoiam made a rush at them with a shout, and they retreated in terror. Kwoiam retreated with his face to the foe. Again the enemy gathered courage and advanced, and once more they fled before the bold front of the weaponless Kwoiam. Thus Kwoiam did constantly, and made good his retreat up the hill of Kwoiamantra. When he arrived at the summit he sunk into a prone position and expired.

The pursuers stood in a ring around the dead hero, and one man took a bamboo-knife in one hand and with the other he held up Kwoiam's head by the nose, and he chewed the scented bark of the *paiwa* tree and spat the reddened saliva on Kwoiam's neck. As he was going to cut off the head the Moa men said, "No, do not cut off his head. He could cut our heads off, but we can't cut off his. He is chief man here. We have done quite enough." A slight cut however had been made in Kwoiam's neck, and the blood spurted out on to the bushes.

An old man straightened out Kwoiam and took the *augud kutibu* off his back and put it in a large hollow tree in Gumu, the other *augud* remained on Kwoiam's chest, because he was lying face downwards.

One woman, named Markai tigi, who had been driven cranky by the *augud giribu* danced round the dead Kwoiam, and pointing her finger at him, cried, "*Eh, Eh, Eh, Eh, Eh, Eh, Eh, Eh, Eh.*" The men said, "We think this woman is pointing out something." Then they noticed that the projecting points of the *augud*, which began to wave like the feelers of an insect, and they remarked that they thought that object of Kwoiam's was something very good.

The Moa men went to Gumu and made a camp there. The man took a *minilai* mat and put it at the hole of the tree where the *augud kutibu* was placed, and the *augud* moved away from it further down the hollow trunk. So the man put the *minilai* on one side and took a *pot* mat and showed it to the *augud*, who shook and went yet deeper, thus showing that it did not want that mat. The *pot* was put on one side. The man took a decayed *buzur* mat and showed it to the *augud*, and it moved down deeper still. The other men said, "Take a Daudai *kai* mat," which he did, and the *augud* again went further away. Then they said, "I think we will take an *ub* mat, made from the straight grained bark of the *Ti* tree," and they showed it to the *augud*, and it came up a little way. Then someone said, "Give another one like that, in which the grain goes all round about, the other one is dirty." They did so, and the *augud* ran up out of the hole on to the arms of the men and jumped about. "Hold on!" they cried, "do not catch hold of him, let him down easy, let him drop down gently on to the *ub*." When the *augud* had done so, they rolled it up in the soft bark and tied both ends securely, and took away this *augud* and Kwoiam's stone-headed club.

When all was finished the Moa men went away. Everyone of the Mabuiag men, young and old, went to see Kwoiam, as they were grieved at his death, and then to prepare him for his burial by straightening his limbs. They removed the *augud giribu*. They took his throwing-stick and javelin and threw them towards Australia, saying, this style of thing must stop on the mainland along with "straight hair, wild throat, and a half wild heart." The bow and arrow, stone-headed club and bamboo knife were to remain in the islands and another kind of heart.

The men placed a cairn of stones over his grave.

Kwoiam is the warrior hero of Mabuiag, but none of the ancestors of the present families appear to have been related to him, nor is it known how long ago he lived; Gizu, who is an old man, says his father did not know. Personally I have little doubt that this warrior was a real person to whom many marvellous feats have been credited

subsequently. In his MS. Waria¹ writes the name as Kuiam, more generally as Adi Kuiam, but Kwoiam more nearly expresses the name as we usually heard it pronounced.

Kwoiam, and his mother Kwinam, her brothers Koang and Togai, and their sister Kwòka, as well as his nephew Tomagani, lived at Gumu on the south side of the creek Kobur-au Kusa. The "Mabuiag men," as they were always called, lived on the other side of the creek, or elsewhere on the island.

The name of Kwoiam's father is not known. The mother of Kwinam belonged to Muri (Mount Adolphus Island). Koang and Togai were described as being old men; there is no doubt they were the maternal uncles of Kwoiam, they therefore stood in the relationship of *wadwam* to him. Kwòka was sister (*babat*) to Koang and Togai. Tomagani was the son of Kwoiam's sister, and was therefore also a *wadwam* to Kwoiam. *Wadwam* is a reciprocal term for mother's brother and sister's son (see "Kinship"), and in consequence the natives often confused the English words "uncle" and "nephew," or rather, they spoke of "nephews" as "uncles," as they had but the one term to express these relationships. For example, Tomagani was always called "uncle" (instead of "nephew"), and this at one time caused me some misunderstanding. In the article on "Kinship" certain customs connected with the relationship of *wadwam* will be described which were said to have had their origin in the relations between Kwoiam and Tomagani. It is perplexing that the relations which existed between these individuals in the legend are much more like those now existing between *imi* (brothers-in-law) than between *wadwam*. It is very suggestive that Kwoiam with his mother and her brothers and sister, and his sister's son constituted what may be termed the 'social unit' of a matriarchal community. The father was so unimportant that his name has not been handed down to us, his identity being immaterial.

Kwoiam was said to have had *kaigas* for his *augud* (totem); one informant told me he had *kaigas* and *surlal*. On the other hand Kwoiam's two magical crescentic objects, *giribu* and *kutibu*, were also regarded as his particular *augud*, presumably because they were the objects that assisted him in fighting; certainly they were subsequently regarded as *augud* in Mabuiag. Occasionally in Mabuiag Kwoiam himself was spokem of as *augud*; but in the group of islands round Muralug he was personally regarded as the "big *Augud*," indeed he was "the *augud* of every one in the island."

Dr Rivers learnt from Tarbucket, the chief of Muralug, that when Kwoiam was in Muralug someone gave him a throwing-stick and he went to Mabuiag and stopped there. Tarbucket claimed to have had at one time in his possession "Kwoiam's eye," but "someone took it." Presumably he referred to one of Kwoiam's crescentic charms, as in the magical formula which Kwoiam uttered when in danger he invoked *giribu* and *kutibu* as "the eye in front of me, the eye at the back of me." It is also significant that Koang and Togai killed and cooked the turtle from whose shell these

¹ Waria's MS runs as follows:

Nui senu adi Kuiam Kuinam na kazi; na sena Kuinam Koang wal a Togai wal Babato, Koang
He that Adi Kwoiam Kwinam's child; she that Kwinam (was) Koang also and Togai also sister, Koang
a Togai Kuiaman waduam, a Tomagani Kuiaman babatau kazi, nui Tomagani Kuiaman waduam;
and Togai (were) Kwoiam's uncles, and Tomagani Kwoiam's sister's child, he Tomagani (was) Kwoiam's nephew;
nui Kuiam Gomunu na niar.
he Kwoiam at Gumu here dwelt.

charms were made at the island of Unuat, a small island said to be near Thursday Island, which I have not been able to identify.

We have some definite evidence concerning the appearance of Kwoiam since the information which was collected on various occasions and from different informants was remarkably consistent.

He was tall and lean, he had a slender waist and thin legs with prominent trochanters and ankles. He was repeatedly described as being "all bone," "no meat," "bones stick out"; but one informant said he had "large breasts," that is, he had a powerful chest.

His head was frequently said to be like that of an Australian, "all same belong Mainland." The natives of Mabuiag have noticed that the head of the Australian is narrower than theirs, this was termed *saked kwik*, as contrasted with the *atad kwik*, or broad head which is characteristic of the Mabuiag people. He was also credited with having a bulging forehead, a high crown and a prominent occiput, which, in the opinion of the Islanders, is characteristic of the Mainlanders. This type of head is called half contemptuously, half jestingly, *koisar kwikulnga*, 'too many heads,' indeed this term is sometimes employed as a swear or a curse. In the section dealing with the artificial deformation of the head in Vol. I. I point out the partiality of the Mabuiag natives for a flat forehead and vertical occiput.

Another peculiarity that Kwoiam possessed was having "straight hair," or "hair like a Mainlander." In Vol. I. the marked difference between the hair of the true Papuans and that of the Australians is pointed out and it will be remembered that the natives of Muralug often have hair that exhibits an intermediate character, but I have never seen any actually "straight" hair among the indigenous people of Torres Straits or of the neighbouring coasts. The term "straight" in this instance must mean curly as opposed to woolly, for all agreed that Kwoiam's hair was like that of an Australian.

Psychologically, also, the Mabuiag people recognised an affinity between Kwoiam and the Australians; like them he had a "wild throat and a half-wild heart." One informant said, "the Mainlanders fight all the time just like Kwoiam," and he added, "now he come a little bit good," meaning that the Mainlander is not so pugnacious as he was formerly. Another little touch to the portrait is given in the statement that Kwoiam had a basket like that of a Mainland man, which he carried under his shoulder. He always fought with the characteristically Australian weapon, a javelin hurled by a throwing-stick, and it will be noticed in the legend that his antagonists were never mentioned as using this weapon which, by the final sentence of the saga, was relegated by general consent to Australia, from where it was derived. Indeed, "all he did was Mainland fashion"; he, his mother, and his *wadwam* "always kept to themselves and were like Mainlanders." We were constantly hearing of "talk belong Kwoiam," as if he used expressions that were not usual in Mabuiag.

The evidence thus points to the conclusion that Kwoiam was either a pure- or half-bred North Queensland native, whose mother migrated with her brothers from Muri to Mabuiag. On the other hand, Painauda, "Wallaby," of Muralug (Genealogical Table 17), who had Kwoiam for his *augud*, informed me that Kwoiam came from Yaru. The only island of that name known to me is Yaru, or Daru, near the coast of New

Guinea; unfortunately I assumed this was the island he meant, and did not question him further.

On Kwoiam's death he was apotheosised by the Mabuiag folk, and there, and in the islands to the south he is still held in honour, and I am informed by Mr J. Cowling of Mabuiag that the natives of Cape York peninsula also talk of Kwoiam.

Several reputed relics of Kwoiam are pointed out in Mabuiag as are the spots where prodigies were performed. On the low land east of Gumu a South Sea man has his house on the site of Kwoiam's hut, and aliens till Kwoiam's garden-lands. The head of the unfortunate mother is still to be seen as a large ovoid boulder. The track up the hill Kwoimantra ("Kwoiam's ridge") passes between a long double row of stones that represent the heads taken by Kwoiam on the famous voyage when he paid the blood-price for the death of his mother. A short distance up the hill are some rocks, from out of a cleft in which a perennial stream flows. Kuikuyaza, as it is termed, arose in this wise. One day Kwoiam was thirsty, and he drove his spear into the rock, and water gushed forth and has never ceased to flow. The water fills a rock basin, and from this it trickles into a lower pool, and thence the stream flows down the hill. Ten years before I was informed that only old and important men might drink from the upper pool, whereas the lower was free to all; the penalty of unworthily drinking from the upper pool was premature greyness.

On a rock between the two pools is a slight concavity, which is stained red, in which Kwoiam used to sit, and in front of it are several transverse grooves in the rock, caused, it is stated, by Kwoiam straightening his javelins there by rubbing them across the rock.

Near the top of the hill is a rough A-shaped wall of stones about two feet in height, which marks the site of Kwoiam's house; it is nine feet wide, the side walls are nine feet six inches long, but there is a small central apse at the blind or western end two-and-a-half feet in depth. Here still remains a shell trumpet that he is believed to have blown. Behind Kwoiam's house is a tor which commands an extensive view, not only of Mabuiag and of some of the islets around, but there is a fine panorama of the great islands of Moa and Badu some five miles distant. This was the favourite look-out of Kwoiam, and it was from here that he saw the fleets of canoes from Badu and Moa that were crossing over to attack him.

Below to the left is the grassy plain studded with pandanus and other trees where his mother lived, and where he had his gardens. Far away is the prosperous village by the sand-beach nestling in shade of grove of coco-nut palms, the new church witnessing to the change that has come over the island; but in the old days the agricultural fisher-folk lived in hamlets scattered over the island.

Behind the low-lying land are wooded hills that send a spur forming the northern limit of the bay, and beyond this again are several low rocky islands. The pale green water outlines the bay with white surf, and beyond the limit of the fringing reef the deeper water assumes a fine blue hue. The sear colours of the parched plain are relieved with patches of the various green hues of coco-nut palm, banana, scrub, and of garden plots. The red rocks are variegated with green foliage, and the greens and blues of the sea are set off by a frill of white where the waves encircle the island shores.

On turning round one sees the long sky-line of the islands of Moa and Badu toothed with high hills, all colour being lost in the grey distance of a moisture-laden atmosphere.

Here and there along the coast may be seen clouds of smoke, as the natives burn the dead undergrowth to make their gardens. To the right various islets relieve the monotony of the waste of water.

On the other side of the crest, overlooking Pulu and other islands, is the grave of Kwoiam, the low cairn is nine feet in length by three feet six inches wide, with the head due east; it is surmounted by three of Kwoiam's shell trumpets. The bushes on the side of Kwoiam's hill have most of their leaves blotched with red, and not a few are entirely of a bright red colour. This is due to the blood that spurted from Kwoiam's neck when it was cut at his death; thus to this day the shrubs witness to the outrage on the dead hero.

I have already (Introduction, pp. 3—5) alluded to the sites on Pulu which are associated with Kwoiam, and further reference to Kwoiam will be made in the section on Hero Cult.

I cannot do better than close this account of Kwoiam with a sentiment actually expressed to me by Nomoa, the then chief of Mabuiag, when he told me the story of Kwoiam in 1888. I much regret that I did not take down his very words, but I have accurately preserved their sense. "The fame of Kwoiam caused the name of Mabuiag to be feared for many a long day, and although the island was rocky and comparatively infertile, Kwoiam covered it with honour and glory, thus showing how the deeds of a single man can glorify a place in itself of little worth."

Spirit Myths.

34. UGA; THE MORTAL GIRL WHO MARRIES A SPIRIT MAN.

(Told by Waria of Mabuiag.)

Uga was a grown-up girl who lived with her parents and her brothers at Wagedugam. Her elder brother, Dagi by name, continually wanted to steal her both by day and by night. He felt her all over, and Uga jumped and called out to her father and mother, "Dagi wants to do bad along with me; I can't sleep." This happened every night, and in the daytime whenever Uga went into the bush Dagi followed her.

One day Uga heard that a young man, a stranger named Tabēpa, had arrived in Pulu, and she knew the spot where he stopped. Now Tabēpa was a spirit come from Kibu, the island home of spirits.

The next day, late in the afternoon, Tabēpa and his companion went across to Kalalag in Mabuiag from Pulu. Each of them, after the fashion of *markai*, had a mask or headdress composed of *buz* leaves. Uga was standing hidden in the bush when the two young men arrived, and she watched their movements. As soon as Tabēpa lifted his hand to pluck a leaf Uga caught hold of his hand, and Tabēpa jumped and said, "Where did you come from?" "I have come from Wagedugam" Tabēpa said, "I'm frightened; you must go back. Whatever made you come here?" Uga said, "My brother is continually wanting to do bad along with me and he frightens me. Every night I can't sleep, and it's just the same in the daytime, I can't go anywhere, he follows me all the time. That's the reason I came."

Tabepa said, "All right, you come along with me"; and he called out to his friend, "I've got a girl from Gigu¹. I think we go."

Tabepa and his friend returned to Pulu taking Uga with them, and on landing they hid her in a crevice among the rocks, Geta motamai sokai, and Tabepa said to her, "When we commence dancing I will send my mother to you, and she shall bring you to us."

When they commenced dancing Tabepa told his mother to go to Geta motamai sokai and fetch Uga, a girl from Gigu who belonged to him. It was by this time quite dark.

All his companions danced, and danced, and danced, and all the feathers in the hair of the *markai* fell down. This was a sign that something was amiss, and they all said, "I think the Gigu people see you and me."

Tabepa said, "I'll speak a few words to you fellows, and then we will dance again. I have got a girl from Gigu, that's why all your feathers fell down. Every night her brother followed her; he wanted to do bad night and day. That's why she came alone with me." Every one of his companions were very pleased and said, "Thank you" (*yosa*), and they recommenced playing.

Tabepa said, "We will play a little longer, and just before sunrise we will go to another place." They played, and they played, and they played.

Just before sunrise they all made ready bows and arrows and the ornaments that it is the custom to give to a bride's relations (*dibadib*, *omaidang*, *uradz*, *waiwi*, *kusa*), as well as plenty of dugong- and turtle-meat. They fastened all these presents on a couple of sticks which they erected on each side of an upright stone. They smoothed the sand in front of the sticks, and Tabepa and Uga left their footprints on the smooth sand, and all of them, including Uga, got into a canoe and left Pulu.

Next morning, "Dagi feel another kind now²." He went to his house and looked round, saying, "Uga did not sleep here, I think she has gone to Pulu." He thereupon snatched up his bow and arrows and ran. When he got to the other side of the point of Wagedugam and a long way over the sea, he saw the smoke of the fire on a canoe, and he exclaimed, "I think Uga has gone. I think there is no one in Pulu now."

Dagi then went across to Pulu and saw the present of food and weapons and ornaments. He also saw the footprints of Tabepa and Uga, and he noticed two sticks by the feet pointing in the direction which they had taken. Dagi cried and went home. On arriving at Wagedugam Dagi told all the people, "Uga has gone, I saw the smoke of a canoe on the sea a long way from land." The people then went to Pulu and brought away the turtle and dugong meat and the other presents.

When the young people had been in Kibu³ for some time it was evident that Uga was expecting, and she stood up in a cloud. Some Mabuiag men saw this, understood what it meant, and exclaimed, "Oh! I think Uga is expecting, they are coming from Kibu in order to pay for the baby⁴." They told the other men, "They are all coming;

¹ The *markai*'s name for Mabuiag is Gigu, or Urpi, or Poiad, or Ras.

² i.e. he felt unwell.

³ Kibu is the home of the Spirits. I shall refer to this in the chapter on Religion.

⁴ As will be described elsewhere (cf. chapter on Birth, etc.) it is customary for a man to make presents to his parents-in-law on the birth of children.

the *markai* are coming." Dagi said, "I'll fight them," and he took a thin stick (*tut*), and spread a number of mats in the *kwod*, and hid the *tut* under one of the mats.

The company of *markai* arrived, and among them Uga and her fine-looking husband. As soon as they had landed, Dagi went forward and caught hold of Tabepa's hand, as if he were his great friend, and conducted him and the rest of the men to the *kwod*.

When all were comfortably seated and were talking unsuspectingly, Dagi reached for the *tut* and hit Tabepa across the nose, exclaiming, "*Tabepa kaubu nia*" ("Here is the enemy Tabepa.")

Thereupon the Mabuiag men rose and killed all the *markai*, who swam back to Kibu as porpoises (*bid*) and gar-fish (*zaber*).

Uga cried and asked the Mabuiag men to kill her too; but she stayed in Mabuiag till her child was born.

The following month the whole of the *markai* returned to avenge themselves, all armed with water-spouts¹.

Seeing them approach the Mabuiag men began to feel very uncomfortable as they recognised that there was now a state of war between them and the spirits.

When the *markai* came they devastated the island with their waterspouts, and the storm carried away to Kibu the men, and houses, and canoes, and dogs, and Uga too as if they were so many pieces of paper.

Uga was now a *markai* and lived with Tabepa in Kibu.

In my earlier version (1888) I was informed that Tabepa and Uga did not go straight to Kibu, but tacked to Kaiola, then to Mulaung, and next to Marti, where they got a 'fair wind' and sailed away to Kibu.

The same informant (Nomoa, the then chief of Mabuiag) said that on their return to Mabuiag, after having been in Kibu for one month, Tabepa was killed with a stone-headed club by Kwoia, a former lover of Uga's, and he ran a spear into Uga's abdomen and killed her too.

35. TABEPA; THE MORTAL MAN WHO MARRIES A SPIRIT GIRL.

(Told by Waria of Mabuiag.)

There lived at Dabungai on Mabuiag a young man named Tabepa, who was such a fine young fellow that a number of girls wanted to marry him. At night-time they wanted to sleep with him, but his mother kicked them out of the house, saying, "I don't want you to spoil my boy." Every night and every day the girls sought him, but his mother kept a watch on him; but sometimes he would sneak out of the house during the night and visit a girl and get back again unperceived, and sometimes he managed to do so in the daytime.

Tabepa's mother said to him, "I don't like any of these girls. I would like you to marry Uga, the spirit-girl" (*markai ngaka*). His father however did not agree to this. "No," he said, "I don't want my boy to marry a spirit-girl. I want him to get a Mabuiag wife."

¹ The water-spout, *baiu*, is called in Mabuiag *klak markai* or the spirits' spear.

The father said to the girls, "I think we will go to Wagedugam on the other side of the island"; and plenty of Tabepa's sweethearts rolled up their mats and made a camp on the other side of the island. The parents of Tabepa also went to Wagedugam and made their camp. The girls again began to court Tabepa, and when they came into the house at night-time the mother kicked them out. The father began to get very angry with the mother, and said to her, "No good you kick them out all the time, I don't want a spirit-girl. I want a Mabuiag girl for Tabepa."

Uga shivered and said to herself, "So-and-so woman called me by name, she wants me to marry her boy. I will go and see him to-morrow night."

The next night Uga collected some scented bushes (*boman*, *boamani*, *wamedai*) and some dugong meat. It is the habit of the spirits in Kibu to dance early in the evening, soon after sunset. Uga was a sort of queen among them, and when the spirits danced, she danced in front. On this particular evening when the dancing was finished Uga took a stick and hit the water, and a sand-bank sprung up, along which she ran, and as she ran the water overflowed the sand-bank behind her. When she came to the end of the sand-bank she hit the water in front of her and another sand-bank arose. By this means she had a road across the sea, and ultimately arrived at Wagedugam.

As soon as Uga came to the house Tabepa felt cold, just as if he slept in salt-water, and Tabepa thought, "On no other night have I felt so cold. This is the first time I have been so cold."

Uga came inside the door and breathed heavily "*Hoor*." And Tabepa looked and said, "What's that? Who are you?" Uga replied, "Your mother kept on calling me by name, that's why I have come. You're my sweetheart." Tabepa then felt a longing. Uga said, "Why do you sit like that and don't speak? Your mother called me, that's the reason I came to see you. I've got something for you." Tabepa made no response. Tabepa wanted 'to do bad' with Uga, and he stood up as he could not do it. He tried hard.

Tabepa said, "How are we going to manage it?" Then he chewed *paiwa*, scented bark, and spat it out and did bad with Uga, who fainted, and Tabepa pinched her, and she sighed hard and recovered consciousness and said, "What did you do to me?" And he said, "You and me did so-and-so." Then they yarned, and yarned, and yarned. At last Uga said, "I think I'll go back. I won't tell any man I went to Mabuiag. In a month I will come to fetch you." Uga returned and reached her own house in Kibu before sunrise. There lived in Kibu a *markai* named Bazi, who daily and nightly longed for Uga, but Uga would have nothing to say to him.

Next morning Tabepa, who had a house of his own, took the dugong meat that Uga had brought him, and threw it down before his mother, saying, "Here's some dugong for you to eat." "Ulloa!" she replied, "where did you get it?" "I got it from Uga." "Did Uga come to you last night?" "Yes, Uga came to me last night." Then his mother began to think.

Tabepa thought about all the Mabuiag girls, and he was savage and sorry for the girls, and he considered what he should do next. He gave a message to the girls through his father that by-and-by all of them should meet him on a certain hill.

Tabepa went to the hill and all the girls met him there. Tabepa cried, and cried

and cried. "I think I must leave you altogether," he said, and he told them who had been with him the previous night, and he added, "Uga will come next month and take me away."

All the girls felt bad; they were all sorry for him, and he was sorry for them, and they yarned, and yarned, and yarned. He took off the bundle of *makamak* that he was wearing on his leg and gave one leglet to each girl as a memento¹. All the girls lay in a row, and Tabepa began at one end, and then returned in the opposite direction. By this time it was early in the evening and they all went home.

Tabepa's mother was very angry and said to him, "Tabepa, what did you do in the bush? Who have you been with? You have not got a sweetheart here, your sweetheart is in Kibu." Tabepa got into a rage with his mother, and said, "Yes, you see Uga by-and-by. You did not want me to marry a Mabuiag girl, you wished me to marry Uga."

Presently the new month came, and Tabepa looked and felt unwell and his heart burnt as if it were on fire. On the appointed night Uga came and brought a side of dugong, some yams, bananas, and *dibadib*. Tabepa could not sleep and felt frightened as he kept watch.

As Uga came, the cold preceded her, and Tabepa felt it. When Uga came in at the door she made a noise like wind blowing. "Ah!" she exclaimed, "I bring something for your father and mother. I have come to take you."

The two of them yarned till 'close up daylight' and then, leaving all the presents behind them, they went to Kibu.

On arriving at Kibu Uga put Tabepa inside her house, saying, "You sit there, while we dance." The female spirits danced, and danced, and danced. As they were dancing, all the food fell down that was suspended on poles by the dancing-ground, and they all thought, "What does that mean? I think some man from another place has come." Uga said to them, "I've got a man from Gigu². What kind of fellow is he?" "He's a fine-looking fellow, not like you and me." Then they resumed their dancing.

At daybreak Uga called out to one of her brothers who was staying in the *kwod* with the other male *markai*, "You come and see my man." He came, and as she showed Tabepa to him she said, "Oh yes! that's a good man. I don't want you to hurt him. You and me are different, we're too cold."

The brother said, "I'll take him to the *kwod*." And he did so. All the people looked and said, "Oh, that's a fine man." Bazi began to get angry. The *markai* took Tabepa to see the village and showed him one fine well. Tabepa said he wanted to drink, but Bazi said, "Hold on a bit, we will go a little further on."

They went on and saw a water-hole that was 'blue'³ and stank. Bazi said, "We will drink here. You drink first." The other *markai* then thought that there was going to be a row. As Tabepa bent down to drink Bazi raised the stone club he was carrying and smashed in the side of Tabepa's face.

¹ "To take care of just as if it were his photograph," my informant added.

² This is the name of the *markai* for Mabuiag.

³ Probably 'green,' cf. Vol. II. pp. 57-60. In Waria's MS. version *malud gomul*, 'sea colour,' is used.

All the bystanders talked to Bazi and asked him why he had killed that man, and they rowed, and rowed, and rowed. They took Tabepa's *mari* back home with them, but hid his body.

Some women went to Uga to talk with her, and one said, "Bazi has killed your man." Uga cried, and cried, and swore, and said amidst her tears, "You don't want a good man to stop along with me." The people then gave Tabepa's *mari* to Uga, and Uga cried again and enfolded the *mari* in her arms and cried, saying, "It's all my fault I brought you here."

At Wagedugam the father and mother got up in the morning, and the father peered about, and not seeing Tabepa he said to his wife, "Where's Tabepa gone?" To which she replied, "I don't know where Tabepa has gone to." Then they saw the dugong meat and the other food and the *dibadib*, and they understood it all.

The father told all the girls that Tabepa had been spirited away, and he said, "I am very sorry for all of you. You roll up your mats and go to Dabungai and leave the mother of Tabepa; she called 'Uga, Uga,' and Uga came."

The mother now began to feel sorry and said to the sweethearts, "You all came here for Tabepa, and what has happened is my fault. I thought Tabepa would stay in Mabuiag; but Uga took my boy away."

The father said to the girls, "Take all your things and go to Dabungai and leave the mother." The father and the sweethearts were too angry to cry, but the mother wept.

When they returned to Dabungai the village-folk said, "Where is Tabepa?" "Oh!" replied the father, "Uga took Tabepa to Kibu. Uga came last night and left some dugong meat, some yams and *dibadib* to pay for Tabepa. I got very angry and I left all the food there. I was very cross and told his mother, 'You wanted Uga all the time, and that's all the good you've got out of it'."

The mother followed her husband to Dabungai and found all the people swearing at her. "Aha," they said to her, "all the time you called Uga; that's all the good you have got out of it."

"Yes," she replied, "it's my fault; you can kill me if you like." But they did not kill her, they only swore.

36. DRAK.

(Told by Waria.)

There lived a man on Pulu whose wife, Drak, was very ill, she had *brua kwoikururu*. The husband said, "I think I'll go fishing, so that my woman may get better." So he took his fish-line and fish-spear and went to Bau.

By-and-by the woman died, but the man did not know what had occurred. The *mariget*¹ made a *sara* at Moi in Mabuiag, but the husband was still fishing on the reef.

The *mariget* went home and the *mari*, or spirit, of Drak came out of the corpse as she wanted to see her husband, so she sat down on the beach and watched him.

By-and-by he looked back and saw his wife sitting on the beach. "Ulloa! what's that? She looks like my wife. When I left my wife she was very ill. How did she come here? I think I must go and see."

¹ Cf. chapter on Death.

He returned to the shore and seeing his wife there he asked, "How did you get here? I left you very sick, and now you come here!"

"I came here because I wanted to see you, and you were such a long time fishing," she replied, but, after all, it was only the same day.

The two of them commenced to roast half of the fish; the man cooked his fish thoroughly, but the woman began to eat her fish half raw. The man thought to himself, "I think that is a *mari*, she eats the fish raw."

When they had finished eating, the husband told his wife, "You go and fetch water for you and me." And the woman went to get some water.

As soon as she had gone a little way that man ran away, he left the basket of fish and the fish-line, he ran, and he ran.

The *mari* was very quick fetching the water, and when she returned she could not see her husband, he had gone too fast. She left the water, and picking up the fishing-line, ran after her husband, and ran, and ran.

When the *mari* caught up her husband in the middle of Mabuiag she cried, "Aha! I see you now. Why did you tell me to go for water and then leave me? Turn round this way and look at me." The poor fellow looked behind and the woman heaved her husband's fishing-line and hooked him in the mouth, and she hauled him like a fish to the *sara*. And he died.

This tale was called a *gida*, and I was informed a *gida* was like an *adi*. I understood by this that a *gida* was a tale about a supernatural event, or rather, it was not a narrative of an ordinary occurrence relating to known persons.

37. THE STORY OF MUTUK.

(Told by Mälakula of Badu, who has since changed names with Managëla of Mabuiag.)

Once upon a time a Badu man named Mutuk was fishing in the sea off a rock, when his line fouled and he dived into the water to free it; a passing shark swallowed him ("swilled him down") without hurting him.

The shark swam on northwards, and on passing over the reef of Mangrove Island Mutuk felt warm, and said to himself, "Now we are in shallow water." When the shark plunged into deeper water Mutuk felt cold and knew they had descended again; later on the shark swam to Boigu and was left stranded on the reef by the receding tide. Mutuk felt the heat of the sun beating upon the body of the fish and knew that he was high and dry, so taking a sharp *id* shell which he carried behind his ear¹ he hacked away at the belly of the shark until he had sufficiently ripped it open; on coming out he found all his hair had fallen off.

Mutuk found his way to a water-hole on the island and climbed a tree which overhung it. By-and-by a woman came to draw water, she was Mutuk's sister, Mëtaläp, who had married Piti, the chief of Boiga. Looking into the well whilst getting water,

¹ *Id* is *Tellina staurella*; bivalved shells with sharp edges were the common cutting implements of the islanders before iron was introduced; small objects are frequently carried behind the ear.

she saw in it the reflection of two faces; one was her own face but whose was the other? She thought about it and then moved her head, and the reflection of it shifted also, but the other one did not move, so she knew it was not hers; then she looked up and saw her brother in the tree. She asked if it was really he, and he told her it was, and explained how he got there, and asked her to persuade her husband to take him back to Badu, as his wife and piccaninny were crying because they thought he was dead, and the people would perform funeral ceremonies for him ("make him devil")¹. She told him to wait where he was till the evening and she would then take him to her house; she went home and brought him good dugong meat and a bamboo knife to cut the meat with. At night time Metalap brought Mutuk into her house, and sent a boy to her husband, who was away, to tell him to come home; he sent back word that he would not come home unless told for what he was wanted; she replied through the boy that he must come, and then he returned.

On hearing the whole matter Piti decided that Mutuk could not be sent home then, but must wait a month. Three wives were given him, and his hair began to grow again.

At the expiration of the month Piti took Mutuk in a canoe full of Boigu men back to Badu. When the canoe was sighted by the Badu men they said, "It is a Badu canoe—no, it is from Mabuiag—no, it is from Badu." On the canoe nearing shore they recognised Mutuk standing up, and were much astonished, as they thought him dead; at first they could scarcely believe it was he, but, when sure of his identity, they felt much chagrined at having held the funeral ceremony for a live man. They prepared to receive their guests by taking all the bows and arrows out of a house and by hiding a stone club under a mat near at hand, someone sitting upon it. The Boigu chief said that he and Mutuk would go to the village, but that all the rest of the men were to stay in the canoe. When these two were seated Mutuk's wife identified her husband, and then both he and Piti were killed with the stone club, and the men in the canoe were killed too.

All the dead men were then transformed into flying foxes, *sapura*², who wheeled round and round and flew away to the north.

As they passed over the island of Murtai a twig of a *piner* tree tumbled off one of the flying foxes, and subsequently took root and grew into a tree which is there now, for the Boigu men had previously ornamented themselves with bunches of leaves and small twigs of the *piner* (coral tree, *Erythrina*) and of the *ubu* tree³.

As they flew over the island of Widul another *piner* twig fell down and took root; on the point of Aubait on Mabuiag an *ubu* twig fell, and a *piner* branch was dropped at Dabungai, in the same island, as witness the trees now growing. Once more the flying foxes sped northwards and wheeled above their native island of Boigu; the women, looking up, recognised them and wept, for they then knew their husbands had been murdered at Badu.

The flying foxes passed on to Daudai and came to a hollow *zūnga* tree; all entered it except Mutuk and Piti, who sat on the top of the tree.

¹ "Make him devil" is the jargon English for a funeral ceremony, 'devil' in this case means *mari* or ghost.

² This is the only instance known to me in which dead men are transformed to fruit-eating bats, *Pteropus*.

³ It is customary for men to decorate themselves with leaves and flowers on special occasions, Mutuk and the crew had inserted a bunch of leaves in their belts behind, and in their armlets and behind their ears.

Shortly afterwards a man named Budzi, who possessed a large family of daughters, came along with a basket looking for crabs (*getalai*) and 'iguana' (*karum* = Monitor); as he was stooping to pick up a crab the flying foxes in the hollow tree looked out and laughed. In great surprise, he looked up, saying, "Who laughs?" and proceeded to catch another crab; again the flying foxes laughed, and Budzi once more looked up and said, "Who laughs?" This time he saw the flying foxes in the hole, and jumped up and caught all of them and put them in his basket. Then he sat down at the end of a log, and taking the flying foxes out of the basket, he bit off the head of Mutuk and threw the body on one side. Mutuk immediately resumed his proper form and, unknown to Budzi, sat down on the log beside him; all the rest were served in the same way until only two flying foxes remained. Budzi, thinking to himself, "I've got plenty food now," turned to look at his heap of headless flying foxes, and to his great surprise saw, instead of them, a row of men sitting on his log. He then bit off the heads of the two remaining flying foxes and saw them transformed into men. Budzi said to the men, "You are my men now—I've got a lot of daughters at home, you shall have them and stay along with me;" so they all went off to Budzi's house, which lay to windward (*i.e.* to the east or south-east). Budzi gave his eldest daughters to Mutuk and to Piti, and the remainder to the other men¹. That night, as soon as Budzi was asleep, Mutuk said to his wife, "You come along—we no stop here," and all the men departed with their wives and went a long way in the darkness.

In the morning, when Budzi woke, he found his house empty; he rubbed his eyes and looked again, but saw no traces of his daughters or their husbands; outside he found their tracks, and followed them. On coming up with them he asked why they had deserted him; they replied that there were too many mosquitos at his place. "There are no mosquitos here," said Budzi, "we will stop here." That night, as soon as the father slept, the men and their wives again decamped; when Budzi discovered their second flight he saw it was useless to attempt to retain his daughters, so he did not follow them.

Budzi, thinking to himself that it was no good one man living in a house by himself, went into the bush to find a *madub* bushman who would share his house. He called out, and a man replied. Budzi asked his name; it was Madub. "Well," said Budzi, "you come along and live with me, your name is no longer Madub, it is Budzi—same name as my name—what is your name?" The bushman made no reply, so Budzi caught hold of him and pulled him, and his arms and legs came off. A second time Budzi went into the bush, and the whole adventure was repeated, even to the dismembering of the bushman. The third time the bushman answered "Budzi," on being asked his new name, and then followed the original Budzi.

At sunset they came to what they took to be a large mound of the wild-fowl (*sarka* = Megapodius) and slept on the top of it. In the morning Budzi found a white-egg-like body, and tasting it, found it sweet—it was the root of a wild yam (*bua*)²; his namesake also awoke and saw and tasted it; they then discovered that the hillock was not the nest

¹ This is a recognised method of distributing daughters, the eldest is given first and to the most distinguished man, or to the eldest brother of a family of young men, and so on downwards.

² My informant called the plant *bua*, which he said was a kind of wild yam. Macgillivray gives *bua* as the Muralug name for *Caladium esculentum* (ii. p. 288).

of the mound-bird, but the heap at the roots of a gigantic yam. "By God!" Budzi exclaimed, "he no gammon fine yam! this yam belongs to me; if any man take him may he have elephantiasis (*koingar*) in his legs." They then went home, and the two Budzi lived together.

Tales about Dògais.

38. THE DÒGAI OF KARAPAR.

(Told by Malakula of Badu.)

A Dògai lived on the small island of Karapar, which lies close to the island of Matu, to the south of Badu.

One day some Badu men on a turtling expedition stopped at Matu to look for sucker-fish (*gapu*¹), and they caught nine. They slept there that night, and next day all the men sailed to where two rocks (Mügigu and Kaigu) stand up from deep water on the far side of Matu. They lowered the sails, rolled up the masts of which they were formed, fastening them by means of wooden skewers, and deposited them in the basket-like receptacles built on each side of the platform of the canoes. All had good fortune in the turtle-fishing; the crew of each canoe catching from ten to fifteen turtle. There was a head wind, and so they were obliged to paddle back to Matu for the night. On reaching the island they put the best turtle on the beach and cut up the poorer ones for their evening meal. The captain told the man at the bow to look after the sucker-fish all night, and to put them in the water if they began to turn white². In the morning the captain asked if the sucker-fish were all right, and, on being told they were, the canoes put off, leaving some boys to look after the turtle.

The men went to the same fishing-ground and again had good luck. On returning to Matu, they cut up the inferior turtle for supper, leaving the best to take back to Badu. Again the captain told the man in the bow to look after the sucker-fish, and to keep awake all night. The following morning they sailed to the same spot and caught a number of turtle, one canoe securing a turtle-shell turtle. The fishers returned to Matu and put their turtle on the sand-beach, all the fine ones being placed on their backs in a row with the turtle-shell turtle at one end; they then made a flag (*dadu*) of coconut leaves which they placed at each end of the row.

The Dògai came and looked, and exclaimed, "By golly, no gammon, those men got plenty turtle!" That night the captain repeated his orders to the man at the bow about the sucker-fish.

Next day they went to the same rocks, lowered their sails, and caught many turtle. Meanwhile, the boys left behind at Matu took a swim in the sea; by-and-by their eyes were sore, and they returned to the shore and slept all in a row, the small boys in the

¹ The method of catching turtle with the sucker-fish, *gapu* (*Echineis naucratus*) is described in Vol. iv.

² It appears that at night time the sucker-fish were kept in the bilge-water in the canoe, in order to prevent their being seized by predatory fish, and when they began to show signs of asphyxiation the man in charge was to restore them by hanging them over the side of the canoe.

middle and one big boy at each end. The Dògai then came with a large basket on her back hanging from her forehead, and a small one on the top of it; on reaching the sleeping boys, she took off her baskets and smothered all the boys with the mat which covered them, with the exception of the two big boys at the ends of the row. The latter watched the Dògai, who took the small boys from beneath the mat and threw the bodies behind her, then replacing the basket-strings round her forehead, she put the boys in the basket and went to look at the turtle; the two big boys now sprang up and ran away into the bush. The Dògai took the turtle-shell turtle, but left the edible ones behind.

Arrived at Karapar the turtle bit the neck of the Dògai, and she exclaimed, "What's the matter with you—what do you play with me for? I'm not a girl!" She threw the turtle down and left the boys in the basket whilst she made an earth oven; when this was completed she threw in the turtle without cutting it first; then she took it out, and the turtle was dead. She cut the turtle and drank its blood, then removed the liver and ate the intestines raw; lastly, she put the rest of the turtle at the bottom of the oven, and all the boys above it. She sat down till the feast was cooked; when she opened the oven all the bones of the boys were sticking up through the meat. She said, "I will eat all the boys first and the turtle last." So she devoured the boys and the turtle, leaving nothing but the bones. Feeling thirsty, she said, "By golly, I want drink of water now, my skin belong to me heavy." She drank, and feeling queer, exclaimed, "By golly, what name I kaikai now?" (*i.e.* what have I eaten?) She had eaten the *gerka*¹ of the turtle! Then she ate two kinds of plants, *itamur* and *ibabu*, which are used to kill fish in the water.

The canoes now returned to Matu, for the men had caught no turtle, and because of their bad luck, they feared some ill had befallen the boys, and so they determined to go back to the island. On landing, the men saw the Dògai's footsteps in the sand, and exclaimed, "Hulloa! who's been here and taken a turtle?" Then they shouted to the boys, and the two big ones came out from the bush. "Where are all the small boys?" asked the men. "Dògai has killed them all." "Yes?" "Yes." "Where he stop?" "He stop at Karapar." The men took some red paint and put it in the middle of the group, all standing round: the two best men Manalbau and Sasalkazi, jumped forward and caught hold of the paint, saying, "All you fellow no come with us, we two only go." They each provided themselves with a dugong harpoon, but all the men went with them.

When they came up to the cave where the Dògai lived one man first looked inside, and made a sign that the Dògai was asleep. Manalbau and Sasalkazi inserted the dart into the shaft of each of their harpoons, and whilst the other men stood in a ring round the rock, they speared the Dògai, and the men said, "What he sleep? Why he dead long time! Look at the bones of our boys!" And all the fathers cried.

Manalbau and Sasalkazi then pulled their darts out of the Dògai, and all returned to Matu and fed on the turtle and said, "To-morrow we go Badu." Early in the morning they went home and said, "Dògai take all our boys, take one turtle-shell turtle too: Dògai eat all, now he dead." All the mothers and relatives cried in their houses.

¹ I do not know what particular portion of the animal the *gerka* is, neither Dr Seligmann nor I were pointed out a *gerka* in the green turtle.

39. DÒGAI SAUROKEKI AND AIPOZAR, THE LAZY MAN.

Adi' Paiwaini and dògai Saurokeki lived on the small island of Bapu which lies off Mabuiag. Paiwaini was a fisherman and Saurokeki stopped on the other, or leeward, side of the island.

One day when Paiwaini was standing on the reef and fishing, Saurokeki walked round, and when she came close to Paiwaini she began to dance with her fingers pointing to her chest, and she repeatedly sang "*Saurokekia Saurokeki gimazaziluga wa*" ('Saurokeki, Saurokeki with the short petticoats'). This she did to spoil his luck. Paiwaini turned round, and when he saw the Dògai he said, "Oh! she is giving me bad luck." And he threw away the fishing-line and ran after Saurokeki with a long thick sharp-pointed stick that was used in fighting. She went inside a large *buda* tree. Paiwaini hit the tree and Saurokeki moaned and said, "He spoiled my dance; what did he run after me for?" Paiwaini again beat the base of the tree and went home.

The next morning Paiwaini again went fishing and everything happened as before, and time after time this was repeated. Eventually Saurokeki said to herself, "I don't know what I will do, that man hurts me; by-and-by he will kill me. I think I will go to Mabuiag, it is of no use for me to stop here." She thought and she thought, and at last she made a small turtle and went inside it and swam to see Paiwaini. She swam and came up to the surface of the sea to breathe and went down again; as soon as she came close enough for Paiwaini to hear her breathe, he turned round and seeing the small turtle took his pointed stick and tried to spear the turtle. Saurokeki returned to her Dògai form again and Paiwaini said, "Ulloa! why have you come here?" Saurokeki said, "You are a bad friend of mine; I dance and you run after me and want to kill me. All right, I go to Mabuiag, I leave you here." "No, no, you stop. No good you go." "No, I must go, my sisters are at Kwikusogai" (a small island to the north-west of Mabuiag). As she went she sang

"*Ngapai ngapa ngabũltaipa ngawa dokedoke trebutrebu.*"

A canoe from Aipus was at Kwikusogai containing the following men: Iamata, Unakobu, Aipozar, Salogaigai, Buibuiniki, Unawatur, Takertu and Uta. Uta went into the bush to look for fruit. The other men called out to him, "Uta, come back! it is now low water and we must go to fish." Uta did not return, he was eating *mai* fruit. The captain, Iamata, took Uta's fish-spear, fishing-line and basket, and left them on the beach and told him they were going.

They went and Iamata caught plenty of fish; he saw a big rock-fish and asked for a spear. There was a fish-spear by the side of the canoe that belonged to Aipozar, but he refused to let it be used, as he was afraid it would be broken. Iamata said, "Oh! you don't want to lend it. You don't want to eat that fish." "Yes, you leave my spear alone." Iamata took it and speared the rock-fish. Aipozar swore and said, "Why did you take my spear? that is not a fish, it is a stone." Iamata hauled up the fish, and Aipozar said, "Iamata, my father. Unakobu, my father" (and so on to the other men) "that is my fish, I am your eldest son." Aipozar never did any work in the canoe, he

¹ Cf. footnote, p. 67.

used to lie down like a small child, and was a lazy fellow who talked but never did anything. He was a big man and his hair was beginning to get grey; he wore two feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon in his hair.

When Uta came out from the bush he could not see the canoe, for this time it was a long way off on the reef, he wondered why he was left, and seeing his spear and basket he went to fish. He threw his line to windward of Kwikusogai. The Dògai came floating along in the sea and singing. Uta saw her and thought she was a log of wood and mistook her fingers for roots and thought there would be one for each of the crew. When the Dògai came close to, Uta did not notice it was a woman, he was thinking about the log all the time, and he caught hold of the left thumb and tried, as he thought, to snap off a root, but the Dògai jumped forward and Uta cried out, "Oh! it's a Dògai." And he ran away followed by the Dògai. They both ran, and ran, and ran. He had left behind him his fishing-line as the two hooks had fouled on a rock, later he felt his basket was too heavy and he threw that away as he ran. He saw a big rock and ran up to it and cleared away the creatures that were under it and crept beneath. The Dògai came up and put one leg on each side of the opening, and that poor fellow said, "I was foolish to leave my spear behind me; if I had it now I could spear her." By-and-by she shifted one leg and then the other, and then she went away into the cave Gubmanmoi.

The canoe came back from the reef and all the crew called out, "*Uta we ngi kurupu sirin ni utemawán.*"

Uta came out from the rock and went to the shore; he breathed deeply "*hu*" so that the Dògai might not hear him. The men called out again, and Uta answered by breathing loudly, and the Dògai heard them and said, referring to the rock-fish, "Aha! they are talking about my food." Uta said, "Why do you fellows call out my name? There is a Dògai at Gubmanmoi." They told Uta to make an earth oven, and they lay down for a rest as they had been diving all day to catch crayfish. By-and-by Uta ate the leg of a crayfish and the Dògai came out, her hair was quite white, and Uta looking sideways saw her and pretended to sleep and nodded. The Dògai scratched up the earth oven, but she found it very hot. She threw away all the small fish and took the big fish from the middle. Uta peeped through his half-closed eyelids, as he pretended to be still sleeping. The Dògai ran away. Uta called out to the crew, "Hi! get up you fellows, the Dògai has taken our rock-fish." Aipozar, the lazy one, said, "No, you're only pretending, you have eaten that fish and you threw the rest away into that cave. You have been making fools of us." "No, I did not take it."

All the men took grass and firewood and put them at the mouth of the cave and set a light to it and there was a big fire. Some of the embers fell on the Dògai, and she moaned, "Mm! Mm! It's my fault I came here." The crew said, "Ah! the Dògai is making a noise inside," but Aipozar said, "You fellows are only humbugging; you yourselves made that noise. There is no Dògai here. Uta ate that fish." They replied, "Let us all open our mouths." They did so and the Dògai said, "Mm! Mm!" and again Aipozar said his friends were pretending. Eventually the fire burnt the Dògai, and then there was no more noise.

They all went home to sleep, but Iamata told Aipozar to take charge of the canoe.

That night it blew from the north and rained heavily. Now the canoe was on the north side of the island and Aipozar did not want to go to look after the canoe, he said he was tired, and had already done too much that day, but as a matter of fact he had not done anything. Unakobu had to go himself, but he was too late, the canoe had broken into two pieces, and he saw the posts of the platform (*sail*) floating a long way off between the rock, Pininiu Kaiwia, and the end of the island.

Unakobu walked on and saw a turtle-shell turtle which he turned over. Later he told Iamata that he had caught a turtle for him. Aipozar heard him and said (as before), "Iamata, my father," etc. But they made no reply.

The first thing the next morning they brought the turtle, and Aipozar said to Uta, "You go and cut it up and cook it in an earth oven." He was too lazy to do so himself. Uta cut up the turtle, and Aipozar shared it out; first he gave two eggs to each, saying that was all ("he was too mean you know"). Uta made the earth oven and Aipozar gave only a small piece of the turtle to each, saying he had nothing then, but at the same time he kept a great deal for himself.

All went to the village at Aipus, and each took his fish and the small piece of turtle that Aipozar had given him to the *kwod* and gave them to the men there, and Aipozar said, "Why do you not give plenty? You had more than I had."

Next morning Iamata said he wanted a canoe, and that he would go to his sister who had a new canoe. He took some turtle-shell and *uraz* shells. Aipozar said, "Tell that man not to go to the other side or they would kill him." His friends replied, "What do you talk like that for? You lie down all the time and do no work." Iamata went and in the middle of the island he found the men playing with small spears and singing, "*Mute geru, sore geru*" (which was the song sung by Aukum when she searched for her dead boy). When all the men threw their spears, two of the spears ricocheted and alighted close to Iamata, and Iamata sat down; the two men went to seek their spears and found Iamata. These two men were Manalbau and Sasalkazi, sons of Muradap, Iamata's sister, their father's name was Bunibuni. "Ulloa! *wadwam* (Uncle) what have you come here for?" and they brought his hand to their mouths and kissed the tips of all his fingers. "I want to see you two fellows, I want a canoe;" and he showed his turtle-shell and *uraz*. They said, "Oh! we have a new canoe here, that is yours." They took Iamata to their house, gave him some food, and asked him to wait until their father and mother came back. They ran to Bulbul where their parents were making a garden. When they ran up their father and mother turned round and said, "Have you two fellows been having a row?" They said, "No," and then explained that their *wadwam* had arrived and what he wanted. They took some food with them and went home; they kissed Iamata and talked about the canoe. When all was settled they pushed the canoe into the water and put food into it and hung one bunch of bananas on the bow, and Manalbau and Sasalkazi helped Iamata to paddle the canoe as far as Dabungai. Manalbau landed there and walked back to Gumu, but Iamata went outside into deep water to Aipus.

Aipozar saw the canoe coming and said, "Ulloa! they have killed Iamata, and now they are coming to kill us. I see one man standing up, and he holds in his hand the head of Iamata." The others said, "No, it's only a man and a bunch of bananas."

Aipozar was the first man to get into the canoe; he took a big yam and sweet potato, a large bunch of bananas, and a lot of sugar-cane, and put it all in the bow of the canoe, and covered it with a plank. The other men followed and laughed at Aipozar and said, "Aha! How is it now? You said they had killed Iamata when he went to windward."

They took some food to the *kwod*. Aipozar said to the men there, "They have already taken plenty of food from the canoe, but I have not any," and at the same time the bow of the canoe was full of his food.

Iamata said, "I think we will go and look for some dugong to pay my sister for the canoe, as it is a fine night." There was bright moonlight and they went out, and when Iamata had speared two dugong he said, "You and me go and give the two dugong to Muradap." So they pulled round the island from the west, round the south point to the east coast and came to Gumu. Aipozar did nothing, but was lying down in the canoe. Iamata went and awakened Muradap, saying, "Get up, I have two dugong for you," and all the people made a noise, and Aipozar jumped up and exclaimed, "Ah! what's that? This place is too hilly, my place Aipus has only one hill, but it has plenty of food, there is no food here." All the people on the windward (south-east) side of the island came close to the canoe, and they all heard what Aipozar had said. "Ah! that man decries our place."

Early next morning they prepared food for Aipozar and said, "You have been saying that this place has no food. Here is some food from this place, you eat it." "Oh! I did not say that, it was the crew that said it." "Ah! don't you tell lies, you said that last night. You are just like a small boy, you don't think before you speak." He took the food and shared it all round, and then he shared out his own food. The Gumu people went to the bush to get food for the captain of the canoe to pay for the dugong, and they loaded that canoe with food. They took the canoe to Maidaokōsa, the creek close to Bau, where they anchored. The Gumu people went to Maida to look for food; they had finished at high tide. The canoe was next taken to Dabungai. There they all scraped hands (the equivalent of our shaking hands), and the crew went back to Aipus.

Another night the captain said, "I think we will go again to get dugong to pay for the canoe." They all went, and when they had speared one dugong, Aipozar got up and said, "You fellows will break this canoe." And he said the same when two more dugong were caught. The crew said to him, "Don't you talk; you know how to eat, but you don't know how to do anything, all you can do is to sleep," and his two feathers moved in the wind. They took the canoe round the point, and directly they got to Gumu, Iamata was the first man ashore, and then everything happened as before.

Another night they speared five dugong and once more everything was repeated as before, but Muradap was satisfied with the dugong which Iamata had given her for the canoe, and said, "That's the last for me, no more."

Narratives about People.

40. THE STORY OF GREEDY GWOBA.

(Told by Kanai (now Gizu), of Badu.)

In former days, on the leeward side of Badu, lay the village of Argan, and Wakait was situated to windward, that is to say, on the south-eastern side of the island.

The men of Wakait told their women to go to Argan to sell *biu*¹ for turtle meat, but Gwoba volunteered, saying, "Give me. I go to Argan and sell for you," and they permitted him. Halfway across the island are two hills; arriving between them, he sat down and ate all the *biu*; when he had finished he proceeded on his way to Argan. The inhabitants of this village had just caught a considerable number of turtle, and they gave him a large supply to sell to the Wakait folk.

Having slept that night at Argan, Gwoba set off in the early morning, and when he came to the spot between the two hills he again rested and ate up all the turtle. When he arrived at the camp the Wakait men asked him where the turtle was, and he replied that they had none at the other village. He slept.

The first thing in the morning the Wakait men said, "Who will go to Argan?" Gwoba said, "I will go again," and they filled up a basket with *biu*. Again he rested halfway and ate as much of the *biu* as he could. On arriving at Argan the men there asked him where the *biu* was, and Gwoba told a lie, and said none was sent. As they had been fortunate in their turtle-fishing they gave him a load of the meat to carry back to Wakait. He made a good supper off turtle and slept there.

At "small daylight" he marched off to windward with his turtle-meat, but once more he ate it all up, and then concluded his repast with a mixture of turtle-oil and the mangrove he had left over on the previous occasion. The old lie of the bad luck of the Argan people was told on his return home.

Next morning he again started with *biu* for Argan. When he had satisfied his hunger at his usual halting-place he hid what remained over. The Argan men once more inquired after the *biu* which Gwoba should have brought in payment of the turtle they had previously given to him, but they were put off with the ordinary excuse. On this occasion they gave him a segment of bamboo filled with turtle-oil, but this was utilised by Gwoba on his way home as a relish to the *biu* he had hidden in the bush. He arrived home empty-handed as usual.

The first thing next morning the men in the *kwod* said, "Which man want to go to Argan?" Gwoba said, "Me, I go"; and the old story was repeated. In the meantime the Argan men yarned, "We send some turtle, he no sell *biu*, we think he eat it all." Turtle-meat was again given to Gwoba, and on the following morning two men were sent after him to play the spy. When Gwoba sat down in his accustomed halting-place the two men hid themselves in the bush and watched. When

¹ *Biu* is a slimy paste made from the sprouts of a species of mangrove, these are baked, steamed and beaten between two stones, the scraped-out pulp is then ready for use. (Macgillivray, *Voy. of Rattlesnake*, II. p. 26.)

Gwoba left the two men examined the remains of the feast, and made their report on their return to Argan. Gwoba returned to Wakait and slept, all unknowing that his trick had been found out.

Once more Gwoba was commissioned to trade, but he again ate up the *biu* and went down empty-handed to Argan. Although the men knew all about his goings-on they gave him some turtle-meat.

Next morning, "when wild fowl he sing out¹," a number of Argan men went to Gwoba's resting-place and hid themselves. When he was ready to start the women gave Gwoba some turtle-meat, and he set out for home with his burden. Arriving halfway he sat down and feasted on the turtle and on the *biu* which he had previously put on one side. The Argan men stealthily came close to him, and having no weapons, they armed themselves with sticks and stones. Gwoba kept on eating, and, when gorged, fell asleep. Seizing this favourable opportunity, they attacked him. Gwoba called out, "You, no good you kill me," and he did not know how to fight. After explaining the reason for their conduct they killed him. Then they erected a cairn of sticks and stones over his corpse².

The Argan men commissioned two young men to go to Wakait to tell the people there all about it. The Wakait men said, "Very good job you kill him."

The interest of this story lies in the illustration it affords of a systematic exchange of commodities between two villages: one people exchanging a vegetable product for the turtle caught by the men of a more favourably situated village. We also see that the death of a man for double perfidy by men of another village would not be avenged, as the punishment was just. In my first account I called the man Goba, and spelt the names of the villages Ergan and Wakaid, I think the present spelling is preferable.

41. AMIPURU.

(As told by Waria of Mabuiag.)

He got a camp at Wagedugam, one man called Amipuru. He see all pelican on Trar reef, between Widul and Aipus. This man he think, "I think I catch one belong my child."

Well, this man he go, he broke some leaf of a *zarar* tree and hold with both his hands in front of his forehead and he swim, he go, he go, he go³.

When pelican he look, he see *zarar* come close to and all pelican see a little bit and he frightened and as soon as that man come close to, that pelican fly. All he

¹ The wild fowl call at daybreak, thus the one comes to be the common synonym for the other.

² The only other account of a cairn being erected is in the case of Kwoiam.

³ Dr Walter E. Roth (*North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin No. 3, 1901, pp. 26, 27) states that the natives of the Boulia District sometimes catch pelicans with their hands when in ambush under cover of overhanging foliage. Ducks are noosed or speared by the same natives standing or swimming in the water, their heads being covered with leaves, sometimes "holding with one hand a bunch of leafy switches in front."

fly. Him he catch one, catch him by his leg and pelican carry him up and all them pelican fly round the hills of Mabuiag. Amipuru he hang all the time.

Amipuru say, "I think I let go here." All fly over the reef away from the land. Amipuru he see mud. He let go and fell right into the ground, the mud came up to arms.

All the people in the house see him fall down, he run and go and dig him up, dig him up, dig him up. One man Pukar he get tired. "By jingo! that's your fault, you want all them pigeon¹. You play like a small boy."

Pukar tell all the people, "Now I run to the house and get a bamboo knife and *paiwa*² and kill that man." He do it and say, "Now we go dance."

All Mabuiag men no want to dance. Well he go in house, him he dance there. Him he make like this: "*a—i—o—oh! oh! oh! a—isu.*" All Mabuiag men say, "Let him play there, we no want to play."

I have written down this tale as far as possible in Waria's own words.

42. YADZEBUB.

Yadzebub and his father-in-law, Maida, lived at Yam and one day they went to Mawata in a canoe Maida had made. On their way thither they stopped at Kimus reef. Maida stopped in the canoe but Yadzebub landed, as the tide was low, and speared three king fish (*gaigai*), then he said to Maida, "My father-in-law (*ira*) these fish belong to you." In the evening Yadzebub went on to a dugong platform (*neat*) and speared a dugong when the tide was full. Next morning they cut up the dugong, then they went on to Mawata.

On arriving close to the Daudai coast Maida said to Yadzebub's sons, Kutazege and Kutatai, "You two watch that road, if one fellow come up road and he got one *uraz* (olive shell) on forehead, suppose another come behind and he got *boboum* (white cowry) on neck, them all friend belong you and me." The two small boys played inside the canoe and Yadzebub sat with bended head. By-and-by the two bushmen came. Yadzebub saw them and said they wore the *uraz* and *boboum* and he ordered the crew to "pull out the pole and to go close to." They punted the canoe to the shore at the village of Neturi.

The two bushmen said to Maida and Yadzebub, "Road here belong you and me, we make friends." Yadzebub went with the two men into the bush and the first thing the bushmen did was to prepare some *gumada* (kava³) which they offered to Yadzebub. He shook his head but those two fellows said, "You drink." He drank and they were good friends, and he stayed the night with them.

¹ 'Pigeon' is a general name in jargon English for 'bird.'

² A scented bark, obtained from New Guinea, which among other uses is chewed and spat on the neck before decapitating a head.

³ I believe this is the only district in British New Guinea where kava (*Piper methysticum*) is drunk (cf. d'Albertis, *New Guinea*, II. p. 197; MacGregor, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxi. 1891, p. 204; *British New Guinea* (Murray, 1897), p. 72.

Next morning Yadzebub returned to the canoe with plenty food and they set sail for Yam, but the bushmen remained behind. Yadzebub was met by his wife Sügi, to whom he gave the food and in reply to her questions he told her all that had happened.

Some time after this Yadzebub said he would go and look for turtle and he borrowed Maida's spear (*bau*). When Maida missed it he asked who had taken the spear. Sügi replied, "My husband take that spear, he go on reef." Maida took a star-shaped stone-headed club and holding it in a threatening manner said, "Your man come back by-and-by. I kill him with this stone club. I no afraid of your man. Your man savvy (know) spear turtle and dugong and fish, he all same bushman." Sügi said, "That's all right, you no talk, I tell my husband, 'Father want to kill you'."

Later in the day the canoe returned full of turtle, there were twelve male turtle and one female, the underside of which was quite red. Yadzebub put some red paint across the neck of the female turtle and said, "This turtle belong my father-in-law," and turning to the crew he said, "all rest belong you fellow."

Yadzebub put the spear in the bow of the canoe and when the canoe reached Yam one man on the beach exclaimed, "My word, look at that canoe, it half sink down."

Maida said to Sügi, "You come look here my daughter. I did not find you in a tree, and did not find you beside a stone. You're my proper daughter, you're my blood. When you go, you no tell your husband what I speak before."

When Sügi came to the canoe she asked Yadzebub for a small piece of tobacco, which he gave to her and he said, "Sügi, that turtle belong your father, you give him first." Sügi gave the turtle to Maida, who said to her, "You no speak?" "Father, I no tell him." "Oh my good daughter," said Maida, "you save me."

They cut up the turtle and made an earth oven and Maida cooked some of the intestines of the turtle in a shell. Before the food was cooked in the earth oven Maida put his hand in it and withdrew it rapidly as he burnt himself. Yadzebub who was pretending to be asleep watched Maida and said to Sügi, "You come. How is it you are not sorry for your father? You go there and take the food out of the earth oven." Sügi went and did so, and as Maida wanted to share the turtle with the people he called out as follows:—

Aiwad yowai gaselga ngapa
Aiwad asal mudal ngapa
Aiwad batoni modalga ngapa
Aiwad mǎgi butulga ngapa
Aiwad tebian butulga ngapa
Aiwad kaimudalga ngapa.

All the people came to one place and he shared out that turtle and they drank the soup (*zura*). Maida had previously filled up a *wasili* basket with turtle fat and he pretended to the people that he had shared everything with them. In the middle of the night he took the basket, ate all the fat and died.

Early next morning when the birds made a noise in the bush, Yadzebub got up and said to Sügi, "Sügi, Sügi, you go down and look into your father's house. Every morning your father is the first man to get up. This morning he has not called out.

What is the matter?" Sügi went and touched Maida and called him repeatedly by name "Maida, Maida!" Then she looked and cried, "*Baba!*" (father) and called out to Yadzebub, "Poor fellow, he's dead."

Yadzebub said to his wife, "I don't like to see you cry, I will not now bury your father, let him stop." He then took a canoe and went to Mukar (Cap Island) and killed the chief and every man and woman there, he left only one dog alive. When he returned home he put their heads on the top of Maida. Then Yadzebub cried. Later he took Maida and buried him on the top of the hill. He killed the men to make other people cry first.

Next day Yadzebub went to Sasi (Long Island). Bagalgal, the chief, told his people that all the Yam men were coming to kill them and they all ran away. Yadzebub arrived that night and killed Bagalgal and all the others, and returned to Yam with the heads.

Next morning Yadzebub went to Waraber, as soon as he arrived there the Waraber men said to him, "You dance first." "No," said Yadzebub, "you dance first, this is your country." The Waraber men danced, when they had finished Yadzebub twined some poisonous snakes round his legs and the Waraber men said, "That fellow has got *tonga*," as they mistook the markings of the snakes for sore places on his legs and they spat on him.

Yadzebub said, "We now give you one song, '*Zeba kauma, Nagai mägika, Rore rore.*'" Meaning plenty of men stop on the south side (*ze*) but very few men remain on the north side (*nagai*).

Then Yadzebub killed all the men and he returned to Yam.

When Yadzebub died he was buried on the top of the hill above his father-in-law.

43. SARA AND BAUGAI.

Bia sent two men, Sara and Baugai, to catch a sucker-fish (*gapu*) for him, but they did not let go the anchor of the canoe properly, they merely lowered the anchor-rope, this was at low water and when the tide rose the canoe floated away. The fact of the matter was, a sorcerer had bewitched two girls to fall in love with these men and thus had bereft them of their common sense.

The canoe, with the two men in it, floated to Murray Island and the canoe stranded on the reef. Wor, the head man of Murray Island, seeing the canoe, put feathers on his head and in his armlets and the shells on his armlets rattled as he walked to the reef.

On arriving at the canoe Wor said, "Ulloa! good morning, what name belong you two fellow?" Telling their names they said, "A *maidelaig* been spoil us last night, we don't know." "All right, you two come with me, I will give you two daughter belong me." So the two men were married and every day they caught turtle to pay for their wives. One day when they were fishing they yarned, "By-and-by, some other day, we gammon fishing and sail away."

They had been so long on Murray Island that each had a son and a daughter. One day they told their wives to sleep on shore while they went in the canoe to sleep in the open sea that they might the better catch some sucker-fish. At night time the two men pushed off the canoe and said, "I think we go now," and they sailed away.

44. THE STRANDING OF THE FIRST COCO-NUT ON MURALUG.

(Told by Wallaby to S. H. Ray.)

The coco-nut came hither from Daudai. The coco-nut was first seen at Neabu (I have seen the place of that coco-nut). A woman, who was unwell, went to bathe in the sea and she floated on the sea. Then again she went and swam in the sea. She saw it [a coco-nut]. Hither it came and smelt, the sea broke over it. Thus said she to her husband, "I saw a fine fish, a big sea broke over it, you come and shoot it." They two went. She said to him, "It was here I saw it." He said, "Yes, and you swim in the sea so that I may see where it is." She swam, she saw it, she said, "Mate, my husband, look, a real big wave breaks over it." He said, "Eh! get away." She went aside. He shot it once and again. First came a big wind named *gato*, and then a big wind named *guruwa*. The coco-nut came out of the foam. He saw it, he said, "This real good plant is one kind, other trees are another kind." He threw it to *komaka* (our name for this is now *waiwai* [that is the wild mango¹]). It grew up. He said, "It's a real good tree." He then dreamed [it said to him], "My father, you look at me, you prepare me, my skin is good for a fire for you, it always burns with a flame; my kernel is a real good thing and my water a real good drink, other trees are bad trees, I alone am a good tree, they are bad food, I am good food. By-and-by many places will continually want me." After this it said, "My name is *sabu*, my name is *neabu*, my name is *u*, my name is *baribad*, my name is *oi*, my name is *papamuti oi*." First he called the animals, first he gave it to white ants and to the bees and to the dogs. The animals first ate and he looked and said, "What is this food?—Is it good? Eh!" "Yes!" After this he tasted it, "Yes, real good food, dogs and white ants really want to eat it." He said, "Yes, it's a really good food."

This tale is evidently intended to describe the first introduction of the coco-nut into Muralug. The story is supposed to record what did happen and not to account

¹ I do not understand this incident. Mr Ray remarks, "*komaka* is apparently the original name for the mango. *Waiwai* is very probably an introduced word, it is found on the New Guinea coast, at Kiwai and Motu, in the Mekeo district, at Sariba and in the Solomon Islands."

² Mr Ray says: Some of these are intelligible. *Sabu* is the Parama name, and *u* is the Murray Island name for coco-nut; *baribad* seems to be the equivalent for the Mabuig and Kiwai name *baribara*, the young nut; *oi* is the Kiwai name; *papamuti oi* is perhaps the *paramuti* of Kiwai, a charcoal for painting the body." *Muti* is the Murray Island name for the fibre of the husk of the coco-nut. *Neabu*, according to Wallaby, is the name of a place, and on a sketch map made by Maino of Tutu, it appears to be Bobo (Bristow Island). The names given by Wallaby are somewhat vague, probably he was trying to give the synonymy of the coco-nut in other places, the Muralug natives formerly had very little acquaintance with the Eastern Tribe or with New Guinea.

for culture or for a special vegetation, hence the unnamed man was not a culture hero like Gwoba, Gelam or Sida. Coco-nut palms do not grow wild in Australia, in fact they scarcely do anywhere, and strangely enough I believe there are no old coco-nut trees on Muralug or other islands of the Prince of Wales' group, though they are abundant elsewhere. Mr Ray wrote this tale in the native language, and this is his translation of it.

Comic Tales.

45. THE STORY OF AMDUA.

(Told by Tom of Mabuiag.)

Yes, one old man he stop at Aipus and name belong him Amdua. He make a fish-hook, he make it ready. He live by himself, no got child or a wife, only he one.

He tell boy belong him, "You shift the canoe. You go out, by-and-by low water, by-and-by canoe fast."

He no see no boy and him he go himself. He shift canoe and put it a little further out to sea and went on making the fish-hook.

He tell all daughter belong him, "Go and fetch water for me. I want to go fishing. He no see nobody, then he go himself, take *kusu* (coco-nut water-vessels) and *alup* (bailer-shells) and come back home and again tell boy belong him, "I think you take *kusu* and *alup* along canoe, we ready."

He no see no boy and he take *kusu* and *alup* and *yena* (basket) and *takul* (a fish-spear) belong him and him he go—go—go out to sea and catch fish, catch a lot of fish. I think more than thirty fish.

When he go from shore he say, "Go it my son, haul anchor." He no see no boy and he get up and haul anchor, finish, go. He say to boy, "You pole canoe along reef. I sit here, I make more hook." He no see boy. He take pole and pole canoe, pole, pole.

He tell boy, "Make ready anchor," and he no see no boy, and him he go make ready anchor.

He tell boy about one rock. That rock he call Gabaupula. "Look out that rock," and he no see no boy. He pilot and pole away, pole along. Him he see that rock and tell boy belong him. "You let go anchor" and he see no boy. He go himself and let go anchor and he take fishing-line and put *bidai* (cuttle-fish) bait on hook and chuck him. First thing he haul *gaigai* (king-fish). "I'm lucky now. I got big fish, that's big dinner for me." Him he glad for that fish. He haul another one again and put inside canoe. When he chuck fishing-line, he never miss, keep on fishing, fishing, fishing.

That canoe belong him he no proper canoe he, *kauta*, that is one side of a canoe that had been split in two. Him he got canoe like that.

He tell boy, "I think we go. Haul up anchor and up sail. I think I will eat fish and you give me spell for a little while." And he stop there. He no see boy, and he up anchor and raise sail himself and he go, and he pole. He no got sail, he gammon.

Him he come home, when he got home, he sing out for his family and missus. "Bring all *boie*" (large baskets made of coco-nut leaves). He no see nobody. He go himself and bring all baskets and fill up with fish and he tell all girl, "Carry him and go ashore. My work finish." He no see nobody and him he go himself and carry all basket and go home.

He sit there a little while and he tell all his family and wife, "You make *amai*" (earth-oven). And he no see nobody and he go and put fire along *amai* and he tell all family, "You look after *amai* and I go and clean fish, cut off head and take out guts, and you fellow look out *amai*." Him he no see nobody, and go and look out *amai* and cook fish, and take out charcoal and make the hot stones level, and put fish on and take some kind of grass and cover over fish, take mat and cover over grass, and put sand on top.

He tell all his family and missus, "Come we eat fish." He no see nobody, that's all he one. He eat there. Head of fish, he boil him in *alup* (shell-saucepan) and him he eat all that fish he been boil. No take out him bone and skin, he eat bone and skin, no chuck him bone. He finish and drink that soup belong fish, finish him.

He stop a little time and then he take out *amai*. Tell family to take out *amai*, and he no see nobody there. He take off sand, and take off *buzur* (mat) and tell all his family, "Come we eat all that fish belong *amai*." He no see anyone.

He put head down and him he eat away. He eat all that fish and no leave none, eat bone and skin and eat all; so much fish in *amai* he eat all. He never throw away bone. After that he sing out, "I am thirsty for drinking-water. Fetch some water for you and me," and he no see nobody. He go by himself and take *kusu morap* (a short bamboo) and *morap* (a large bamboo) *kusu* and *alup* and go himself. Go to well, sit there. "My word! that fine clean water here," and he put head down and he drink, drink, drink. He get up. "I think we go home now." Go home.

He got a tree *Iwaiu* and take a bough and make *samerar* (a headdress) and take *kusu* and *morap* and *alup* and go home. When close up he get home, he see plenty boy and girl and woman, he see him. Him (Amdua) he tell him (the others), "You no put eye on me too much, no look me too much." That's all one young man in this place and same time nobody see him and he tell his wife and family, "Give hand to help me put down *kusu*, *morap* and *alup*," and he no see nobody and he drop down everything.

He sleep. Morning, he tell his boy, "You go and look for some *bidai* for bait. You and me go fishing. I sit here and make tortoiseshell fish-hook, *krar tud*."

He go same way. He spear five *bidai*.

[Again he went through the talk of asking his boy to shift the canoe to deeper water lest it should be stranded as the tide was falling and of requesting his daughters to get water for the voyage, and once more he went to his accustomed fishing ground.]

He catch one great big rock-fish, *krup*, haul, haul, haul, take *takul* and put inside

canoe. "My word! I got a nice fish. That good dinner belong me." He glad for that *krup*. I think canoe sink by-and-by. I think he take one hundred, close up sink, he got no place to walk about, not enough room to put feet.

He tell boy, "Put a pole through the mouth of the *krup* and you carry that, and me and missus and family carry rest in baskets."

[The cooking episode was again repeated and] he drink that well, drink, drink. Belly belong him come big and bone belong fish come from inside and stick out, *su, su, su*.

He no move nothing. He sleep. He sleep for good. He die.

The chief interest of this tale lies in its illustrating the ordinary mode of life of a native and the distribution of the work in a family. It looks as if Amdua was transformed into a spiny-globe-fish or porcupine fish. I have printed the tale precisely as it was told to me.

46. THE MANGROVE AND THE CRAB.

(Told by Wallaby to S. H. Ray.)

The mangrove tree (*biu pui*¹) grew up, the food (*ai*) hung down. The crab sat beneath. The mangrove broke and fell² on the crab and broke its shell. The crab said, "Gwoba come! Gwoba, the mangrove is here, cut off its top ('head')!" And Gwoba came and cut off the top of the mangrove. The mangrove said, "Fire come! Fire, Gwoba is here, burn him!" The fire came and burnt Gwoba. Gwoba said, "Sea come! Sea, the fire is here, put it out." And the sea came and quenched the fire. The fire said, "Gudegadi come!³ Gudegadi, the sea is here, drink it up." And Gudegadi came and drank up the sea. The sea said, "Arrow come!⁴ Arrow, Gudegadi is here, pierce him." And the arrow came and pierced Gudegadi.

Kia-a-kia, iaragi, iaragi, a ki-a-a
Tepan palema! palema! a-a.

This is the only native tale we obtained of this type, it is allied to the cumulative tales. Mr Ray wrote this tale in the native language, and this is his translation of it. The concluding two lines seem to indicate the effect of the arrow on Gudegadi. *iaragi* is 'rage,' *tepan* is the fruit of the pandanus and *palema* is 'break.'

¹ *Biu* or *biu*, cf. footnote p. 98.

² Evidently it was the rod-like, depending seedling of the mangrove that fell and injured the crab. It is a peculiarity of the mangrove (*Rhizophora*) that the seed germinates when still upon the tree. The 'root' (really a hypocotyl, or that part of the axis in which the transition occurs between stem structure and root structure) of the embryo mangrove attains a length of 30—50 cm., a thickness of 1—5 cm., and a weight of some 80 grams. The tubular cotyledon is left behind in the fruit, when the 'root,' with its apical bud, falls. After a few days the pericarp, with the cotyledon inside, is also detached. (I am indebted to Mr R. H. Yapp of the University Botanical Laboratory for these technical details.)

³ I do not know anything more about this woman.

⁴ The *kinus* arrow is referred to, which Mr Ray terms "lizard-with-arrow."

PLOTS OF THE FOLK-TALES.

Nature Myths.

1. SUN, MOON, AND NIGHT (p. 11). Discussion among Dauan men whether the sun and moon are one body or two bodies, Kabi personally investigates and is informed by sun that the sun and moon are two bodies who with the night have their work to do, and all make vegetable food to grow.

(Constellation Myths 2—4).

2. DÒGAI METAKORAB AND BU (p. 12). Nadai disturbs a dōgai sleeping in a mound of earth, is chased W., S., E., N. round Boigu by the dōgai, who is preceded by a fly; men afraid to kill dōgai except Bu, who shoots her; both now in the sky.
3. DÒGAI I. (p. 13). Girl cries because mother gives poor fish for her sweetheart, girl threatened with a dōgai, who comes and takes her away; dōgai tortures girl and kills her; men headed by Manalbau and Sasalkazi attack dōgai and pull off one arm; dōgai recovers arm in the night and is now a constellation.
4. THE TWO DÒGAI OF MURALUG (p. 16). Two dōgai fall in love with a man, his friends kill them, they are now constellations.
5. THE ORIGIN OF FIRE (p. 17). A native of Nalgi produces fire from between his left thumb and forefinger, trouble arises and all the people are transformed into various animals who are widely distributed.
6. HOW FIRE WAS BROUGHT TO KIWAI (p. 17). Animals and birds fail to bring fire from mainland to Kiwai, black cockatoo succeeds.
7. THE ORIGIN OF KIWAI AND ITS INHABITANTS (p. 17). Kiwai originally a sand-bank, a maggot comes out of a bird's egg and develops into a man.

(Myths about Stones 8—13.)

8. THE ORIGIN OF HAMMOND ROCK (p. 17). A drowned man becomes the rock, his wives drown themselves and are changed into rocks.
9. THE STORY OF THE SIX BLIND BROTHERS (p. 18). Six blind brothers own a canoe and go fishing, a dōgai by a trick makes them think they have struck a reef and steals their fish, the youngest brother suspects something, stays behind one day, consults two lice and following their instructions gains his sight, he sees the dōgai at her tricks, his brothers do as he did, obtain their sight and kill the dōgai, all are turned into stones.

10. DÒGAI ZUG (p. 20). A man steals fruit from tree belonging to a dōgai, dōgai is enticed away from man by expedient of throwing fruit, he escapes, he and his relatives attack dōgai and pull off one arm which is now a rock on the reef, dōgai dies.
- 11, 12. THE STONE THAT FELL FROM THE SKY (p. 22). A stone in Pulu falls from the sky to punish people for playing in a certain manner; everyone is killed except two; population restored by successive families of boy and girl twins who marry. (Two versions.)
13. THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH OF A STONE (p. 23). Stone born from a virgin, moon the father, a powerful charm against enemies.
14. THE BIRTH OF KUSA KAP, THE MYTHICAL BIRD (p. 23). A dōgai falls in love with a man, turns herself into an octopus, approaches his wife and sends her adrift in a drum, dōgai simulates the wife, wife is stranded on a sandbank, eats seeds of ear ornament, becomes pregnant thereby, lays an egg, a bird-son hatches out, who grows to a gigantic size, catches dugong for his mother, she sends him to his uncles (evidently her brothers) in Daudai to get fire, water and a knife, later she sends him to her husband who rescues her and she kills the dōgai.
15. THE STORY OF SIWI, OR THE ORIGIN OF MOSQUITOS AND FLIES (p. 26). Siwi refuses to give his spoilt son a fish which was destined for his wife, the boy cries, the mother is angry and lets loose swarms of mosquitos and flies on her husband when he is fishing, he runs up a hill to escape and dies, the wife is turned into a stone.
16. THE FIRST MAN OF SAIBAI (p. 27). The first man of Saibai lived in a hole in the ground and in a shell, he tells two bushmen how to sail to Mawata in the half of a coco-nut shell.

Culture Myths.

17. SIDA, THE BESTOWER OF VEGETABLE FOOD. (*First Version, Mabuiag*, p. 28.) Sida comes from New Guinea, transforms himself into a frigate-bird and flies from island to island, at each island is given a woman and in proportion to her youth and good looks he gives good or poor vegetation to the island. At Kiwai a quarrel springs up on account of a girl named Sagaru and Sida is killed and sent adrift in a canoe, two women who are joined back to back restore him to life, he separates the women; Sida mimics a corpse and disappears in the ground.
18. (*Second Version, Saibai*, p. 31.) When Sida returns to New Guinea he enters a shell which is eaten by one of the double women, he is re-born and separates his mothers, their sisters discover him; bends a tree as a bridge, trouble about Sagaru, Sida jumps into a pool of water and is killed by the snags, his sweetheart drowns herself.
19. (*Third Version, Kiwai*, p. 35.) Sōpuse a cultivator of sago makes a hole in the ground with which he has connection and Soïda is born, the father makes a drum for Soïda and both go to Kiwai to dance, there Soïda marries Sagaru, they quarrel about a fish and separate. Soïda goes to some of the western islands and thence to the Wasi Kusa and gives them food, at latter place he marries a wife whom he kills, various birds try to carry him to Murray island, the pelican (? frigate-bird) alone succeeds, here he marries Pekai and bestows food.

20. THE SAD END OF YAWAR, THE GARDENER (p. 36). Yawar teaches the Madub men of Badu how to cultivate properly, but they forget, each time an increasing number of men go to him, they illtreat him and roll him over rainbows to Moa and eventually to Mer; the Madub men return home.
21. GELAM (p. 38). Gelam gives his mother poor birds to eat and keeps the best for himself, she dresses up as a dōgai and frightens him, he runs away and hurts himself, he finds out the deception, he makes a wooden model of a dugong but it is too light, he makes another, he pretends to be a dugong and his mother chases him up and down the reef, he declares himself and accuses his mother of deceiving him, she denies, he proves it and leaves her, he goes to Murray island which he stocks with the plants and fruits of which he has bereft Moa, the dugong forms Gelam's hill in Mer and his mother remains as a rock in Moa.
22. SESERE, THE DUGONG HUNTER (p. 40). Sesere poached fish and has them taken away, he divines by means of the skulls of his parents, they instruct him how to catch dugong from a platform, he catches many dugong, the Badu men dress up some of their number as dogs who steal his meat, he kills some of them after consulting his parents' skulls, the Badu men headed by Manalbau and Sasalkazi come to avenge those that were killed, Sesere changes into a bird and by a ruse causes the Badu men to kill one another, in successive days increasing numbers of men come to kill Sesere, finally all are transformed into birds.
23. HOW BIA INTRODUCED FISHING WITH THE SUCKER-FISH INTO THE ISLANDS (p. 44). Bia first makes spray and gives spines to the crayfish, when playing with a spear he makes a permanent spring and then accidentally kills a friend who becomes a dog-fish, he drops stones which become named rocks where sucker-fish are now caught, goes to Muralug, teaches men how to fish with sucker-fish, has a sweetheart named "Turtle," they become permanently fastened together and their subsequent appearance marks a successful turtling season.
24. THE STORY OF UPI (p. 46). The baby Upi is picked up by a man and wife when his mother is in her garden, they adopt him, Manalbau and Sasalkazi torment him but he grows apace, he escapes, consults two skulls, enters a bamboo which fights his enemies, Upi seeks his mother and returns to his foster-father.
25. NAGA, THE INSTRUCTOR OF THE DEATH-DANCES (p. 48). Naga and Waiat come from Katau river to Daru where they perform a death-dance and make a toy canoe that drifts to Tutu, Kebra and Waier return canoe and learn the dance, Naga comes to Tutu after visiting Uga.
26. NAGA, THE MASTER OF CEREMONIES IN NAGIR (p. 49). Naga teaches men all the ceremonies of the *kwod*; Waiat comes from Mabuiag to be instructed and steals a mask, Naga instructs the men of the other Western islands.
27. WAIAT (p. 49). A mother teaches her two young boys to dance, Waiat, who once went to Mer, tells her this is not fitting and he takes charge of the boys; one night Waiat follows some drum-beating which he hears in the distance and by means of magic passes from island to island, arrives at Nagir, forces the men to give him a mask, teaches boys a new dance; his wife and daughter refuse to accompany other women to the water-hole

and so they see the mask and hear about it, Waiat instigates some men to kill them for this; he does not give food to the boys, they eat a turtle, he kills the two boys and a man who had eaten some of his food, the mother upbraids Waiat and her folk kill him. Waiat becomes a fish and the woman's folk are ants and termites.

28. TABU (p. 55). A man with a snake's head goes from Nagir to Muralug where he dances.
29. THE STORY OF KARI THE DANCER (p. 55). Kari dissatisfied with food given to him by his mother dances from Daudai to the Tugeri country, refuses to stop with some girls, he marries Kuki, the north-west monsoon, he makes *wauri* as he is lonely.
30. AUKUM AND TIAI (p. 56). A woman, Aukum, lives by herself, one brother is mean, lazy and greedy, imposes on his sister who continually provides him with fish, Aukum gives birth to a boy, Tiai, when she leaves him to go to her garden, the other brother, who lives in a tree, and who was vexed with Aukum, kills the baby and she burns him in revenge; Tiai's ghost goes to Boigu, Aukum puts on mourning and goes to seek her son, is helped across the channel between Moa and Badu by Baigoa, wherever she goes she finds men playing with spears, walks along bottom of sea from Badu to Mabuiag and thence to Boigu and on her way she stocks the reefs with fish, she finds Tiai and the other spirits playing with spears, Aukum recognises her son, Tiai instructs his *mariget* to make a *sara* and he institutes the funeral dance, he descends into the ground followed by his mother, but not by his wives.

Totem Myths.

31. THE STORY OF NORI, THE SNAKE (p. 62). A snake falls in love with a married woman in New Guinea and takes her to his hole in the ground, she bores her way out and is rescued by her husband, they escape to Dauan where her people, the hawks and frigate-bird, live, they attack and kill the snake as it swims across and distribute portions of the body to various islands.
32. THE ORIGIN-MYTH OF THE HAMMER-HEADED SHARK AND CROCODILE TOTEMS OF YAM (p. 64). Sigai, Maiau, Malu and Sau come from Snake island, Malu goes to Mer, Sau goes to Masig, Sigai and Maiau go to Yam, there they are found in the water by an old woman who does not know what they are, she tells her husband who enjoins secrecy, he goes to the *kwod* and the men go to the place where Sigai and Maiau were seen and catch them and call them *augud*, when taken to the *kwod* the *augud* give rise to snakes, a screen is erected round the *augud* and songs are sung.
33. THE SAGA OF KWOIAM: I. THE MAKING OF THE MAGICAL EMBLEMS (p. 67). Kwoiam sends his maternal uncles, Kaang and Togai, to get him some turtle-shell, they have difficulty in getting a sucker-fish, the crew steal the water, uncles return to Kwoiam with a turtle but ask to kill it elsewhere, they kill the crew for stealing the water, the crew are now constellations which mark the seasons, Kaang and Togai leave their sister on Badu, she becomes a bird, they return to Kwoiam but have to go back to fetch something left behind, Togai picks some fruit, is seen by a woman, he makes a thunder-storm which kills the woman, uncles give turtle-shell to Kwoiam who makes the magical emblems *kutibu* and *giribu*.

II. HOW KWOIAM PAID FOR HIS MOTHER'S DEATH (p. 71). Kwoiam is cursed by his mother and kills her, takes Tomagani, his nephew, on a voyage and frightens him, at Boigu Kwoiam destroys a village, he and Tomagani cut off the heads of the slain. Tomagani is again frightened, at Dauan Kwoiam asks for *biin*, they sail away. Tomagani objects to the stench of the heads, Kwoiam destroys a village in Daudai, two men escape, they fail to kill Kwoiam, Kwoiam visits Saibai and at Gebar he obtains a canoe, returns to Mabuia.

III. THE DEATH OF KWOIAM (p. 76). Kwoiam asks some Badu men who have come across to pay for a canoe to catch one fish for him, they fool him, he follows them to Pulu where he kills all but two who escape to Badu, they die, Badu men attack Kwoiam in revenge, he kills all but two who die on arriving home, other expeditions against Kwoiam follow, the last expedition of Badu and Moa men kill Tomagani and attack Kwoiam, his throwing-stick breaks and he retires up his hill and dies, the Moa men refrain from cutting off his head, Kwoiam is buried and his *angul kutibu* and *giribu* are removed on a mat.

Spirit Myths.

34. UGA, THE MORTAL GIRL WHO MARRIES A SPIRIT MAN (p. 83). Uga is bothered by her brother, hearing that a spirit named Tabepa, has arrived at Pulu, she goes to him, he hides her and tells his mother, Tabepa and his friends leave presents behind and all go to Kibu, the brother discovers his sister's flight, when Uga is expecting, the spirits come to pay for the baby, Tabepa and the *markai* are killed, later they return and devastate Mabuia with waterspouts.
35. TABEPA, THE MORTAL MAN WHO MARRIES A SPIRIT GIRL (p. 85). Tabepa is courted by a number of girls, his mother wants him to marry a spirit girl, but his father does not; the spirit named Uga, comes by night and sleeps with Tabepa, next morning he gives his mother the dugong meat Uga had given him. Tabepa tells his sweethearts what has happened, in a month's time Uga brings presents and they go to Kibu, Tabepa is killed by Uga's brother, she is sorry, Tabepa's father and sweethearts and all the people sorry to lose Tabepa, all swear at his mother.
36. DRAK (p. 88). A sick woman dies when her husband is fishing, her ghost goes to meet him on the beach, she eats her fish half raw and he suspects her, he sends her to get some water and he runs away, she catches him with a hook and he dies.
37. THE STORY OF MUTUK (p. 89). Mutuk is swallowed by a shark, he cuts his way out, lands at Boigu, finds his sister, is kept there for a month, on his return to Badu he and the crew are killed and are transformed into flying-foxes who pass over Boigu on their way to Daudai, they perch on a tree and are caught by Budzi who bites off their heads and they turn into men again, Budzi gives his daughters as wives to the men, they all leave Budzi, Budzi associates with a Madub bushman, they find a large wild yam, *bua*.

Tales about Dògais.

38. THE DÒGAI OF KARAPAR (p. 92). Badu men catch turtle which they put in charge of their boys, a dògai kills and eats the boys and dies because she eats the *gerka* of a turtle, the men avenge the boy's death.

39. DÒGAI SAUROKEKI AND AIPOZAR, THE LAZY MAN (p. 94). Saurokeki (a dògai) dances and brings bad luck to Paiwaini, he tries to kill her and she goes to Mabuiag, the crew of a canoe go fishing, Uta is left behind, Aipozar does no work, he lets the canoe be wrecked, Iamata obtains a new canoe and goes dugong-hunting to pay for it, Aipozar is lazy, greedy and tells lies.

Narratives about People.

40. THE STORY OF GREEDY GWOPA (p. 98). Gwoba volunteers to cross Badu in order to exchange *biin* for turtle-meat, when half way across he eats the *biin* and also the turtle on the return journey, this keeps on until he is found out and killed.
41. AMIPURU (p. 99). Amipuru wants to catch pelicans for his child, he catches one by the leg, the bird flies away with him, he drops off into the mud, Pukar cuts off his head.
42. YADZEBUB (p. 100). Yadzebub and Maida, his father-in-law, go to Daudai and make friends with some bushmen, and return home. Yadzebub borrows Maida's fish spear, the latter is angry and wants to kill him but repents, there is a feast, Maida dies through eating a lot of fat he has hidden, Yadzebub kills people on Mukar, Sasi and Waraber to make others sorry for Maida's death. He dies too.
43. SARA AND BAUGAI (p. 102). Two men drift in a canoe to Murray island because they have lost their common sense owing to two girls having been bewitched by a sorcerer to fall in love with them; they marry in Murray island and after some years leave their wives and return home.
44. THE STRANDING OF THE FIRST COCO-NUT ON MURALUG (p. 103). A woman bathing sees a floating coco-nut, tells her husband who shoots it, tree grows up which tells to him in a dream its various uses, he finds insects and dogs eat the kernel and then he eats it himself.

Comic Tales.

45. THE STORY OF AMDUA (p. 104). A single man, who lives by himself, pretends he has a family whom he asks to perform their several functions at home or when fishing, but he does everything himself, he becomes distended after a meal and fish-bones project from his body.
46. THE MANGROVE AND THE CRAB (p. 106). Mangrove fruit breaks a crab, Gwoba cuts the mangrove, fire burns Gwoba, sea quenches fire, Gudegadi drinks sea, arrow kills Gudegadi.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INCIDENTS OF THE FOLK-TALES.

Nature Myths.

1. SUN, MOON AND NIGHT (p. 11). The Sun is a great man who lives in a house and wears shell ornaments, Sun and Moon different beings but live in the same house, they and night cause vegetable food to grow, Sun tows Kabi and three big waves carry canoe.

(*Constellation Myths 2—4.*)

2. DÒGAI METAKORAB AND BU (p. 12). Eggs of mound-bird; man chased by a dōgai preceded by a fly; dōgai ripped open by a bamboo arrow and the man who kills her is killed by his friends, both are now stars.
3. DÒGAI I. (p. 13). Duty of men of Wagedugam (Mabuiag) to hunt dugong, old custom for sweethearts to eat together, game of hockey, boys *v.* girls, young men with baskets over head come at night and shout "U" outside a house to stop a girl crying, dōgai hears her name mentioned, shivers, and comes because she is mentioned, runs off with girls, pulls off ears, gouges out eyes and rubs black skin off girl; red paint taken to *kwod*, Manalbau and Sasalkazi avenge girl, dōgai burrows in ground, her arm is pulled off, old men tell boys to throw it in the sea for a shark to eat, but they put it on a tree; dōgai makes men sleep, regains her arm, now a constellation.
4. THE TWO DÒGAI OF MURALUG (p. 16). Two dōgai fall in love with a man, his friends kill them and pull an arm off one; they are now constellations of two stars and three stars.
5. THE ORIGIN OF FIRE (p. 17). Fire comes from between thumb and forefinger of left hand of a native of Nalgi, trouble arises and all the natives are changed into various animals who are distributed among the islands and in New Guinea; Eguon, a large bat, takes fire to Mawata.
6. HOW FIRE WAS BROUGHT TO KIWAI (p. 17). Animals and birds fail to bring fire from mainland to Kiwai, black cockatoo succeeds and burns himself, hence red mark round bill.
7. THE ORIGIN OF KIWAI AND ITS INHABITANTS (p. 17). Kiwai originally a sandbank, a maggot comes out of a bird's egg and develops into a man.

(*Myths about Stones 8—13.*)

8. THE ORIGIN OF HAMMOND ROCK (p. 17). A drowned man changed into a rock, his wives drown themselves and turn into rocks.

9. THE STORY OF THE SIX BLIND BROTHERS (p. 18). Six blind brothers own a canoe and catch fish with spears and hooks and dive for crayfish, are directed by the two feathers which each has in his hair, a dōgai watches them, walks on the water, puts a piece of wood in front of the canoe, the men think the canoe has struck a reef, in the confusion the dōgai steals the fish, men puzzled and go home, next day the same happens, the youngest brother remains behind, divines by means of two lice who tell him how to gain his eyesight, method of finding and carrying turtle eggs, he gains his eyesight by breaking hot boiled turtle-eggs on his eyes and then bathing in the sea, and sees the dōgai at her tricks, his brothers also gain their eyesight and kill the dōgai, all are turned into rocks.
10. DŌGAI ZUG (p. 20). Turtle eggs rolled up in grass; dōgai sleeps for a week, owns a tree, the fruit of which is stolen by a man, has big body, long legs, small feet, uses ears as mats; red paint in *kwod*, two brothers-in-law as champions, dōgai sinks in ground, makes water, a water-hole still there; arm of dōgai is pulled off and thrown in the sea, now a rock; dōgai dies.
- 11, 12. THE STONE THAT FELL FROM THE SKY (p. 22). Stone falls as a punishment, all killed except two sweethearts, stone is stopped by their chewing *kowai* bark; population restored by successive families of boy and girl twins who marry; stone remains as a warning.
13. THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH OF A STONE (p. 22). Stone born from a virgin, moon the father, a powerful charm against enemies.
14. THE BIRTH OF KUSA KAP, THE MYTHICAL BIRD (p. 23). Dōgai falls in love with a man, transforms herself into an octopus, sends the wife adrift in a drum, dōgai now resembles wife in features but differs in some respects, wife becomes pregnant by eating seeds from her ear ornaments, lays an egg, a bird-son hatches out who soon grows to gigantic size and catches dugong, his mother sends him to New Guinea to her brothers (*i.e.* to the uncles who are *wadwam* to him) for fire, water and a knife, ultimately she kills the dōgai.
15. THE STORY OF SIWI, OR THE ORIGIN OF MOSQUITOS AND FLIES (p. 26). Siwi fishes by means of hooks fastened in his beard and whiskers, a spoiled boy cries because father will not humour him, mother angry with father and makes all kinds of flies which attack her husband, Siwi dies on attempting to escape from the flies and the wife is turned into a stone.
16. THE FIRST MAN OF SAIBAI (p. 27). Miloal, the first man of Saibai, lives by night in a hole in the ground and by day in a shell, tells two men how to sail to Mawata in the half of a coco-nut shell, when the hole in which he still lives is filled up, it breaks out again into small crater-like mounds.

Culture Myths.

17. SIDA, THE BESTOWER OF VEGETABLE FOOD. (*First Version, Mabuiag*, p. 28.) Sida comes from New Guinea at or beyond the Dutch boundary, transforms into a frigate-bird, has a woman in every island, gives good or poor vegetation according to the youth of the woman, at Kiwai men hold ornament in hands when dancing, quarrel about a girl, is

killed and corpse put in a canoe, two women joined by their backs, shiver (an omen), restore Sida to life by burning the corpse, he separates them; Sida dresses up like a ghost (*markai*) and disappears in the ground.

18. (*Second Version, Saibai*, p. 31.) Sida enters a small *ui* shell, is eaten by the double woman and is born again, name changed, he separates them; Sida bends a tree over to Kiwai and uses it as a bridge and as a life-token, dance and jealous lover episode, when Sida fights the tree cries out, girl climbs a tree over a water-hole, tree grows tall, Sida follows her tracks, sees her face reflected in water, jumps in and is killed by snags of wood, girl drowns herself, the bridge-tree straightens itself as a sign Sida is dead.
19. (*Third Version, Kiwai*, p. 35.) Miraculous birth of Soida from a hole in the ground made and fertilised by his father when cultivating sago, father makes a drum for son, wax pellets on drum skin given same name as Sagaru a Kiwai girl, when drum beaten she comes. Soida and his wife quarrel about a fish, he goes to the *darimo* (men's house), she paints herself (? mourning) and leaves him. He gives food to Gebar and goes to Mai Kusa, marries a wife and kills her as she has been unfaithful and plenty of food results. Various birds try to carry him to Murray island, only the pelican (? frigate-bird) succeeds, he marries Pékai and bestows food on Mer.
20. THE SAD END OF YAWAR THE GARDENER (p. 36). Yawar teaches Madub men of Badu how to cultivate properly but they forget, an increasing number of men go, they illtreat him, roll him about with hooked sticks, employ rainbows as bridges, leave him in Murray island, they return home, destroy his gardens and take his wives.
21. GELAM (p. 38). Gelam builds a leafy ambush from which to shoot birds, he gives his mother poor birds to eat and keeps the best for himself, the mother dresses up as a *dôgai*, Gelam has bad luck, turns round and sees what he thinks is a *dôgai*, is frightened, runs away and hurts himself (*dôgai* appears to bad people) mother sorry for son, cooks food for him and he discovers the deception, makes a model of a dugong and supplies it with imitation viscera, stores model with all kinds of vegetable food which is enumerated and with red earth, fools his mother, declares himself, puts out his tongue, accuses her of deceiving him, she denies, he proves it and leaves her, spouts near Nagir and again near Waraber, goes to Mer, at first faces north, then turns to the south, plants the fruit and food as previously Mer was not fruitful, dugong is now Gelam's hill in Mer and mother a rock in Moa.
22. SESERE, THE DUGONG HUNTER (p. 40). Sesere shoots fish with bow and arrow, poaches on a reef; dugong grass, divines by skulls of parents (3 times), method of making dugong platform and of catching and cooking dugong; men dress to look like dogs, cumulative numbers of dugong caught, of dog-disguises and of avengers; red paint placed in *kwod*, Manalbau and Sasalkazi, each warrior advances at the head of a single file of men, Sesere paints himself black and white and turns himself into a little bird, by a ruse his enemies kill one another, Sesere flies into a *Fusus* shell, Sesere's harpoon, dart and rope become trees again, Sesere and the men and women transform into different birds.
23. HOW BIA INTRODUCED FISHING WITH THE SUCKER-FISH INTO THE ISLANDS (p. 44). Formerly men fished with a kind of dog-fish, Bia makes wooden *gapa*; Bia makes crested waves and gives spines to the crayfish; plays with a toy spear, makes a permanent spring,

accidentally spears a friend, Itar, whom Bia throws into the sea and he becomes a dog-fish (*itar*) bearing spear-mark; Bia walks southwards on top of sea, drops stones which become named rocks to which sucker-fish still resort; Bia instructs Muralug men, they give him a girl named Waru ("Turtle"), they become 'fast' and go up Jardine river, Cape York, their subsequent appearance marks a successful turtling season.

24. THE STORY OF UPI (p. 46). Basket used as a cradle, mother's digging stick breaks (omen), adoption of boy by childless man and wife, show boy to men of village, Manalbau and Sasalkazi practise spear-throwing at Upi but he grows fast, one night he runs away, finds two corpses and divines with their skulls, told to go inside a certain bamboo (*upi*), Manalbau and Sasalkazi track him, they are attacked and killed by the bamboo which sweeps the ground clear, hence no bushes grow under bamboo, Upi keeps all the young women and gives the old ones to his foster-father.
25. NAGA, THE INSTRUCTOR OF THE DEATH-DANCES (p. 48). Naga and Waiat come from Katau river to Daru where they perform a death-dance, make a toy canoe (?soul-boat), two Tutu men are taught the dance, Naga teaches the *markai* ceremony to the people of Uga and then goes to Tutu.
26. NAGA, THE MASTER OF CEREMONIES IN NAGIR (p. 49). Naga of Nagir teaches men how to make masks and perform ceremonies in the *kwod*, Waiat comes from Mabuiag to learn how to beat the drum, he steals a famous mask, Naga teaches the men of other western islands to make masks and gives them *akul* shells for knives.
27. WAIAT (p. 49). A mother, Keda, sings to her two boys while they dance, Waiat plays by himself with a cane rattle; Waiat goes to Fly river and Mer on his way back composes a song; Waiat persuades Keda to let him have her two boys as not proper for them to remain with a woman, she does so and also gives him her man's whiskers and man's breast, he dresses up the boys and teaches them to dance but will not let Keda see till all is ready, at night takes a pelican feather which he turns into a canoe in which he goes to Badu to find out who is beating a drum, thence to Moa and to Nagir, here he sees a mask which he constrains the men to give to him, he turns his feather into a canoe again, the tide turns and takes him back to Mabuiag, teaches boys new dances, Waiat angry because a friend collects some blood in a shell from his turtle, Waiat's wife and daughter will not go to water-hole with other women, Waiat sends for the mask and tells what has happened, Waiat sends men to kill his wife and daughter in the bush lest they should talk about what they had seen and heard, he blames the boys for eating some turtle, kills them and his friend when asleep by piercing their eyes with a *Fusus* shell, next morning Keda weeps, clasps her hands and her folk kill Waiat and rub off his skin, Waiat becomes a rock-fish and the men various kinds of ants and termites.
28. TABU (p. 55). A man with a snake's head (?mask) goes from Nagir to Muralug where he dances in the *kwod*, he frightens women with a rattle.
29. THE STORY OF KARI, THE DANCER (p. 55). Kari's mother cooks some *papai* for him, he does not like it and leaves his home at Buzi, in Daudai, and dances to the Tugeri country, refuses to stop with some girls who make advances to him, he marries Kuki, the north-west monsoon, he makes *wauri* because he is lonely, Kari and Kuki rest alternately.

30. AUKUM AND TIAI (p. 56). Various methods of catching fish, Poapu a careful man who will not catch fish for fear of injuring his fish-spear, he is also lazy and greedy and imposes on his sister Aukum, flexible bark used as a wrapper, Wowa (the other brother) lives in a log; a basket used as a cradle, methods of cooking fish, Wowa places a louse beside baby, whom he kills by piercing the frontal fontanelle, mother catches no fish and digging-stick breaks (omens), recognises footprints, kills brother to pay for baby; ghost of baby appears as a man in Boigu, mourning costume, carry bones of dead baby, Baigoa helps Aukum across to Badu, origin of shoals in channel, Baigoa now a stone, route followed by Aukum, men play with spears (but without throwing-sticks) Aukum walks along bottom of sea and stocks reefs with fish; doubt of Tiai whether he is a man or a ghost, though he has a wife and sweethearts, if remain silent become a man again, sees his own bones round his mother's neck, *mariyet* make a *sara*, funeral ceremonies instigated by Tiai who conducts his own death-dance, Aukum follows Tiai into the ground.

Totem Myths.

31. THE STORY OF NORI, THE SNAKE (p. 62). A snake falls in love with a married woman, women gather pandanus leaves for mats and tie bundles with banana fibre, snake makes woman crawl into his hole in the ground, snake paints middle line of forehead with red, husband makes marks in the bush every day when looking for wife and next day goes further; husband and wife escape to Dauan, she tells her people to build house on piles so that snake can not climb up, the hawks and frigate birds are her uncles, she asks them to attack snake when he swims across, snake wears a large *dri* headdress, all uncles fail to kill snake except the sea-eagle, portions of the snake distributed to various (intermarrying) islands.
32. THE ORIGIN-MYTH OF THE HAMMER-HEADED SHARK AND CROCODILE TOTEMS OF YAM (p. 64). The totem-heros Malu, Sau, Sigai and Maiau come from Pinaig (Snake I., near Dugong I.) go to Half-way I., whence Malu goes to Mer, Sau to Masig, Sigai and Maiau to Yam, two latter are seen in the water by an old woman who does not recognise them, her husband enjoins secrecy, he takes the men to the *kwod*, all paint themselves red, walk to the shore in two parallel lines, totems are attracted by chewed scented bark, are called *augud* and brought on mats to the *kwod*, snakes come from the *augud* but only the sea-snake (*ger*) remains, men erect a *waus*, decorate themselves and sing songs.
33. THE SAGA OF KWOIAM: I. THE MAKING OF THE MAGICAL EMBLEMS (p. 67). Kwoiam asks his maternal uncles, Kaang and Togai, to get turtle-shell for him, they go to various places to catch a sucker-fish, arm of octopus used as bait, Togai has good eyes, Kaang is near-sighted, both have very long arms with which they row the canoe, when these two sleep the crew fasten a shark's tooth to a piece of wood and bore holes in the water vessels, the uncles want to kill the turtle-shell-turtle at Unuat and not in Mabuiag, Kwoiam tells them to throw away certain portions, the crew are killed by the uncles who appoint them as stars to regulate the seasons, Kwòka (the uncles' sister) is transformed into a bird, Togai causes a heavy thunderstorm when discovered eating the fruit of a tree and kills the woman who saw him, Kwoiam, copying the moon, makes the crescentic magical emblems *kutibu* and *giribu* from the turtle-shell.

II. HOW KWOIAM PAID FOR HIS MOTHER'S DEATH (p. 71). Kwoiam is cursed by his blind mother, is angry, puts on war costume, drinks sea-water and wets his feet, kills his mother and cuts off her head (now a stone), goes with his nephew (*wadwam*) Tomagani to kill people to pay for his mother, a fish caught for the magical emblems to smell, divination with a throwing-stick (twice), Kwoiam sets fire to a village fence in Boigu and kills the men, method of beheading, emblems cause a sand-spit to dry and they shine, canoe is caulked with *biu* at Dauan, proverbial sayings, burns a village in Daudai, *augud* shine like flames, Kwoiam gets a favourable wind by wishing for it, visits Saibai, obtains a new canoe at Gebar, old one remains as a stone, Tomagani cooks heads in an earth-oven to clean them.

III. THE DEATH OF KWOIAM (p. 76). Badu men pay Kwoiam for a canoe, he asks them for a fish for his *augud* to smell, they fool him, he divines with his throwing-stick, kills all but two of the Badu men who escape home but die when they tell the news, Kwoiam shivers (omen, more than once), enemies deride each other, Kwoiam transforms himself into a bird (more than once), reluctance of men to attack Kwoiam, two men escape and die on reaching home, several expeditions sent against Kwoiam, finally only Moa men come, they feel a strange sensation (omen), they kill Tomagani and Kwoiam feels a presentiment, when fighting Moa men Kwoiam's throwing-stick breaks, he retreats up his hill backwards and dies on the summit, one man chewed *paiwa* bark and began to cut off Kwoiam's head, the others stopped him but some blood reddened the leaves of the bushes, a woman is driven crazy by seeing the *augud*, the men have a difficulty in inducing the *augud* to come on to a mat, Mabuiag prepare Kwoiam for his burial, the Mabuiag men distinguish between the characteristics of the Australian natives and those of the islanders.

Spirit Myths.

34. UGA, THE MORTAL GIRL WHO MARRIES A SPIRIT MAN (p. 83). Uga's brother molests her, *Markai* come to Palu, wear a mask of leaves, Uga flees to Tabepa (the *markai*) who puts her in charge of his mother, feathers fall down from hair (omen), bride-price, footprints and pointing sticks as signals, feeling unwell (omen), pregnancy-price, spirits (*markai*) are killed by men and are transformed into porpoises and gar-fish, *markai* use waterspouts as spears and destroy people of Mabuiag.
35. TABEPA, THE MORTAL MAN WHO MARRIES A SPIRIT GIRL (p. 85). A number of girls court a young man, mother wants him to marry a spirit girl, Uga shivers (omen) when her name is mentioned and has to come, female spirits (*markai*) dance in the evening, Uga hits the water to make a sandbank and so crosses the sea, spirits are cold, a sweetheart's present of food, keepsakes for sweethearts, husband follows wife after a month, husband-price, food falls down (omen), Tabepa taken to drink at a water-hole and killed, Uga cries; father and sweethearts and all people sorry to lose Tabepa and swear at mother.
36. DRAK (p. 88). A sick woman dies when her husband is out fishing, the *mariget* make a *sara* for her and her ghost (*mari*) goes to the beach to meet her husband, he does not recognise it as a ghost till she eats raw fish, he sends her for some water and runs away, she chases him and hooks her husband and hauls him to the *sara* and he dies.

37. THE STORY OF MUTUK (p. 89). Mutuk is swallowed by a shark when freeing his fouled fishing-line, carries a shell behind his ear, cuts his way out of the stranded shark, hair falls off, climbs a tree over a water-hole at Boigu, sister sees reflection of two faces in the water, Mutuk stays a month in Boigu and has three wives given him. Mutuk and crew killed on return to Badu, are transformed into flying-foxes, leaves fall off and produce trees now existing, flying-foxes circle over Boigu and are recognised as ghosts, on reaching Daudai perch on a tree, caught and heads bitten off by Budzi and turn into men again, Budzi marries them to his daughters, the eldest to the chief men, the men and their wives leave Budzi, Budzi associates with a *madub* bushman and pulls off his limbs, they find a large wild yam and Budzi puts a taboo on it.

Tales about Dògai.

38. THE DÒGAI OF KARAPAR (p. 92). Badu men go turtle-fishing with sucker-fish, a number of boys left in charge of the turtle, they are killed, cooked and eaten by a dògai who dies from eating the *gerka* of a turtle; men catch no turtle that day (omen); red paint for avengers, Manalbau and Sasalkazi attack the dead dògai who they thought was asleep.
39. DÒGAI SAUROKEKI AND AIPOZAR, THE LAZY MAN (p. 94). A dògai named Saurokeki dances and sings to spoil the luck of Paiwaini when fishing, he chases her, she goes into a *buda* tree which he hits, she turns into a turtle, sees Aipozar, resumes human form and goes away; Iamata and his crew Aipozar, Uta, etc. go fishing, Uta is left behind, Aipozar refuses to lend his fish-spear and does no work, Uta sees the dògai floating, thinks her a log, she chases him, dògai steals the crew's fish, they burn her, Aipozar lets the canoe be wrecked, Iamata visits his relations to get a new canoe, they are playing with spears, spears came close to Iamata, he being *wadwam* to Manalbau and Sasalkazi gets a canoe, kissing tips of fingers, Aipozar is fearful, Iamata goes dugong hunting to pay for canoe, Aipozar is lazy, greedy, and tells lies.

Narratives about People.

40. THE STORY OF GREEDY GWOPA (p. 98). Gwoba offers to be the intermediary between two villages in the exchange of *biu* for turtle, half-way across the island he eats the food and so cheats both villages, he is discovered and killed, a cairn is erected over his body, the people of his village are glad that the other men killed him.
41. AMIPURU (p. 99). Amipuru tries to catch pelicans by their feet under an ambush of leaves, Amipuru catches one by the leg, it flies away with him, pelicans fly in a circle round Mabuiag; beheading an unlucky man, use of *paiwa* bark before beheading, dance after beheading a man.
42. YADZEBUB (p. 100). Yadzebug gives fish to Maida, his father-in-law, they go from Yam to Daudai, friendly bushmen are recognised by the ornaments they wear, make friendship by drinking kava (*gumada*) and return home. Yadzebug borrows Maida's spear, latter is angry but is appeased by present of turtle and makes his daughter promise not to betray him. Maida dies through over-eating turtle-fat which he had hidden. To comfort his wife and to make others sorry for Maida's death he kills people in three islands and he dies too.

43. SARA AND BAUGAI (p. 102). Two men drift in a canoe to Murray island because they have lost their common sense owing to two girls having been bewitched by a sorcerer to fall in love with them, they marry in Murray island and after some years leave their wives and return home.
44. THE STRANDING OF THE FIRST COCO-NUT ON MURALUG (p. 103). Coco-nut comes from Daudai, a woman who is unwell bathes in the sea, sees a coco-nut floating, her husband shoots it, two winds come, tree grows and tells to him in a dream its various uses and names, finding ants, bees and dogs eat the kernel, the man eats it also.

Comic Tales.

45. THE STORY OF AMDUA (p. 104). Amdua, who is unmarried, pretends to order his family about, the tale illustrates domestic life, methods of fishing and cooking in an earth-oven, after a good meal he swells out and fish bones project from his body, he probably becomes a spiny-globe-fish.
46. THE MANGROVE AND THE CRAB (p. 106). Mangrove fruit breaks a crab, Gwoba cuts the mangrove, fire burns Gwoba, sea quenches fire, Gudegadi drinks sea, arrow kills Gudegadi.

TABLE 1

PEID = Makasar

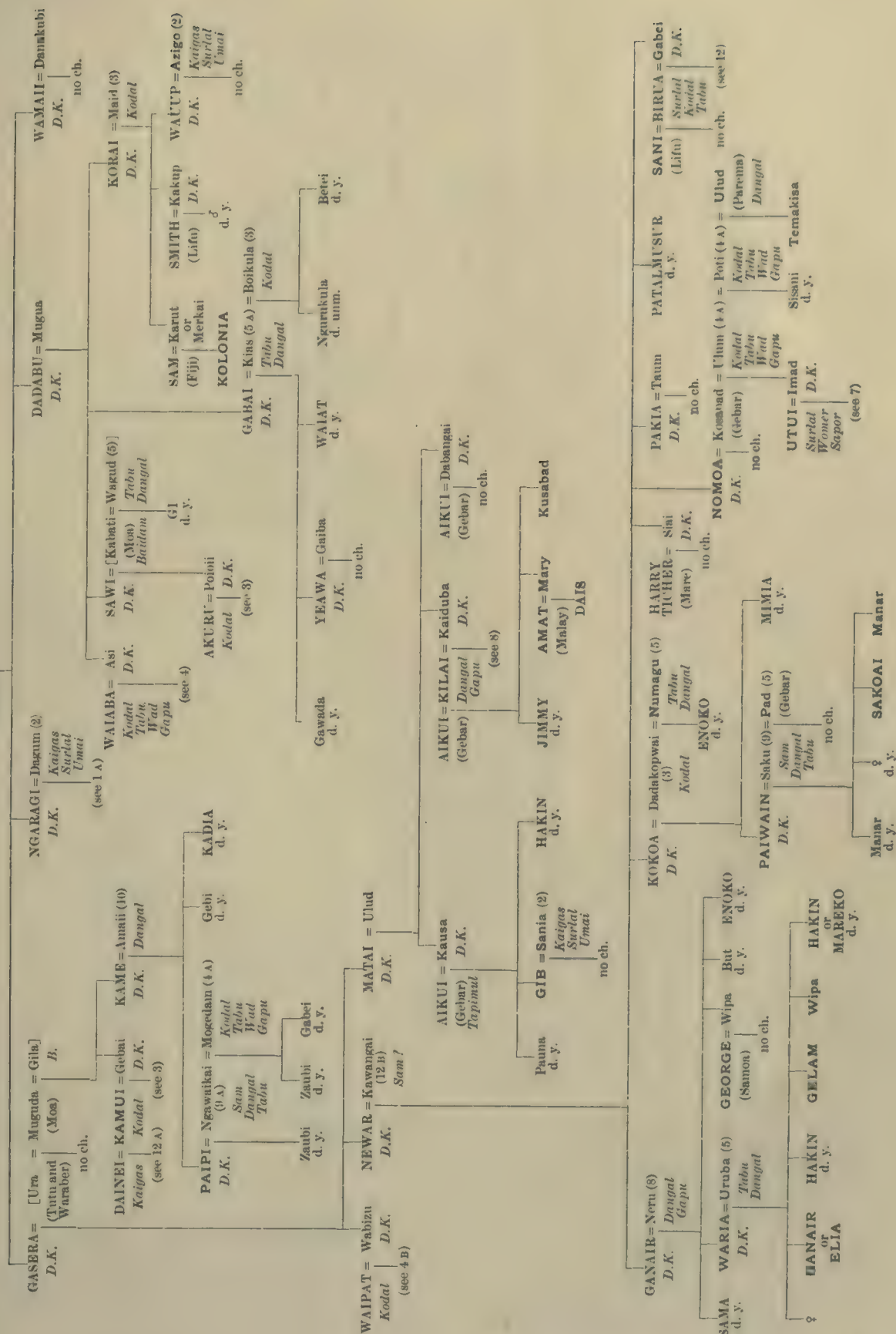


TABLE 1 A

NGARAGI = Degum (?)

Dangal
Kodal
Kaigas
Surtal
Umai

TABUKARA = Mainau
Kodal | D.K.
(see 8)

TABUAI = Dareki
Sam | Dangal | Tabu
D.K.

KABIAUTAI
d. y.

KABARIMAI = Dadu
Tapinai | D.K.
(see 13)

SUSUA = Iwai
Kodal | D.K.
(see 3)

GIB = Kaisugu (3) = Talim (3) = Waikai (3) = Dau (4 B) = Kuda (2)
Kodal | Kodal | Kodal | no ch. | Kodal | Kaigas
Surtal
Umai
Nata
d. umm.

PEBIA = Dokei (12 B) = Dimur = Baiki (12 A) = Umi (12 A)
or MAM Sam | (Moa) | Kaigas
no ch. MAROA
D.K. d. y.

GUABA
d. y.

AIGIWA
d. y.

HARRY = GEORGE = TANGI = JACOB = BILLY = Dadu
(Mare) S.S. (Rare- (Eng-
tonka) fish)
NAGERI no ch. no ch. Geti no ch.
d. Sept. 1898

WATIRU = Wet
Kodal or Kaimea
D.K.
(see 3)

BANALI = Uruba
Kodal | D.K.
(see 4 B)

MANIR d. y.

Aun d. y.

Kaigad d. y.

WANEKAI = Pogodua (4 A)
or MOGAI
D.K.
(see 3)

JIMMY = Murad
(4 Mare & Scottish)
D.K.

Lizzie

JOE BROWN = URMA = Biskop
(Mare) Kodal | Tabu | Wad | Gapu
Waniangu (see 4)

LUISA
d. y.

WATERA = Naga
Kodal | D.K.
(see 6)

PAIKIR = Kalaub
Kodal | D.K.
BAKARI = Maria
Kodal | Kodal | Tabu | Wad | Gapu
(see 4)

MAZI = Mogur (4) = Merka (4 A)
Kodal | Kodal | Tabu | Wad | Gapu
no ch.

MAZA or BAGARI
D.K.

Kobe d. y.

ISAAC
d. y.

GAULAI = Azigo (2)
D.K. Kaigas
Surtal
Umai

Kaita
d. umm.

AKI = Baiet
Surtal | Womer
Sapor
(see 7)

WATA Naied GIZU Baiet KADIAB

PINU = Numagu (6)
D.K. Tabu
Dungal
no ch.

AGI = Aun
D.K. Sam | Dangal | Tabu
(see 9)

KARUM = Daudai
Sam or Boa
Dangal D.K.
Tabu (see 9 A)

SIBIRI SAKOAI

KEITI = Sarbi
S.S. no ch.

TABLE 2

[illegible]

TABLE 2 A

MAKU = Kuika
Kaigas (Dauan)
Surtal
Umai

KONEVI = Dadim (3 A) K.S.U. | Kodat		MANAU = Kodagud Kodal | K.S.U. (see 3 A)		KUTAKAU d. y.		KARARIMAI = Diwadi Tapimul | K.S.U. (see 13)	
MAU = Bami Dangal | K.S.U. (see 8)		GETOAN = RAB = Katatai Sam | Dangal | Tabu K.S.U. (see 9 A) (see 9)		IDAU = Kubimaid (3 A) Kodal TAXAH K.S.U.		SAGUL = Penipan Tabu | Surtal | Gapu K.S.U. (see 6)	
BAINU = Salmui (5 A) Tabu | Dangal K.S.U.		SABILPAT = MENGOL = Dadakopwai Sam | Dangal | Tabu K.S.U. (see 9) (see 9)		DAUBA K.S.U.		KAIGASI = Tunu = Dauke = Dadu or (Boigu) (Boigu) no ch. no ch.	
ANAU = PAIKIR = Ponau Dangal | Kodal | Tabu | Wad | Gapu K.S.U. (see 8) (see 4 A)		NAILI = Wais Sam | Dangal | Tabu K.S.U. (see 9 A)		AINA = Akai or Surtal | Bukeri Womer | Sapor | K.S.U. (see 7)		Diwadi	
ILAPI = RUSUI = Mauat Surtal | Kodal | Tabu K.S.U. (see 10)		NAILI = Wadu = Badugu Sam | Dangal | Tabu K.S.U. (see 5)		SABILPAT = Kaudu Sam | Dangal | Tabu K.S.U. (see 9)		UBIR d. y.	
NIKU = DUBU = GIGIB = Patagam Kodal | Kodal | Surtal | Gapu K.S.U. (see 4 B) (see 14)		RUSUI = AGAI = Abet Dangal | K.S.U. (see 10)		GENEII = Urazi Tapimul | K.S.U. (see 13)		ORAMA = Kabuibui	
PASAR = Buia Sam | Dangal | Tabu K.S.U. (see 9 A)		TALAK = IBURU = Mabur Dangal | Dangal | Gapu K.S.U. (see 8)		GAURI = Maba (3 A) K.S.U.			
KEBESU = Kotoai K.S.U.		KABAI = Taniit Kodal | Tabu | Wad | Gapu K.S.U. (see 4 A)		BOTOKAP = Gukusi Kodal | Tabu | Wad | Gapu K.S.U. (see 4 A)			
SESERI d. y.		MIN = Merka (4 A) or Kodal | Tabu | Wad | Gapu K.S.U. no ch.		MARIGET = Mocur (13) or tatukul Tapimul K.S.U.		GENEII = KANAI = Ponau Tapimul | Tapimul | K.S.U. (see 13) (see 13)	
Soluia		MONDAY or ALIS d. y.		GAGAI = Kubi Tabu Dangal K.S.U. (see 5 A)		JOHNNY = Mauat (Tama) ARUNA	

WAIIR=Yadei	Kodal
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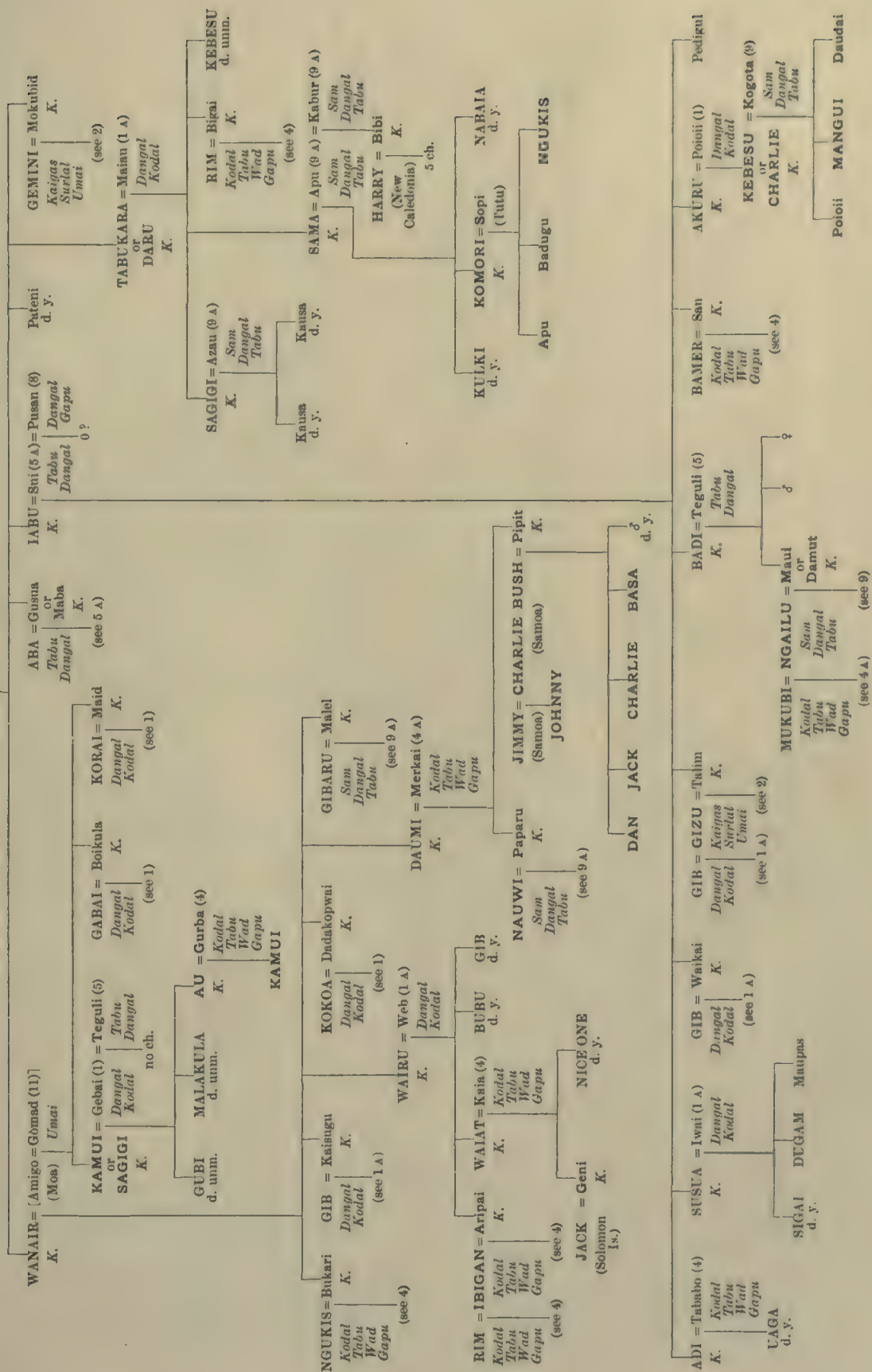


TABLE 4

BARI = Bu = Mur

BARI = Bu = Mur		PAITU = Utau		MAIDA = Dibidibi	
Kodal	Tabu	Kaigas	K.T. W.G.	Sam	K.T. W.G.
Wad	Gapu	Umai	W.G.	Dangal	Tabu
(see 2)		(see 4 A)		(see 9 A)	
KADI = Kieu (2)		TAMU = Arki		KALUA = Mugidan	
K.T.	K.T.	Tabu	W.G.	K.T. W.G.	Dangal
W.G.	W.G.	Dangal	W.G.	(see 4 A)	
(see 5 A)		YAMER = Abei (3)		WALABA = Saku (5 A)	
AKI = Tama (14)		Mur		Yamai = Asi (1)	
K.T.	K.T.	d. y.		Tapimut	Dangal
W.G.	W.G.	K.T. W.G.		Kodal	Kodal
Kodal	Kodal	(see 5 A)		NGUKIS = Baiti = Bakari (3)	
Surlat	Surlat	Tabu		K.T. W.G.	Sam
Gapu	Gapu	Dangal		Kodal	Kodal
(see 3)		MAIAK = ABA = Tigti		BAIRA	
ADII = Tababo		Mobagud		d. y.	
Kodal	K.T. W.G.	d. y.		WAP	
(see 3)	(see 3)	ANU = Amal		d. y.	
Kodal	K.T. W.G.	Tabu		HARRY GAUR = Kagar	
(see 12)	(see 12)	Dangal		(Lakon)	
Surlat	K.T. W.G.	(see 5)		FRED	
Kodal	W.G.	ILAPI		d. y.	
Tabu	Tabu	PAKIA		NED	
(see 12)	(see 12)	d. umm.		d. y.	
ANAI = Aitani		BANI = Kalenga		NED	
K.T.	K.T.	(3) Pente-		d. y.	
W.G.	W.G.	cost Is.)		MAM = Kautai	
Kodal	Kodal	K.T. W.G.		Kodal	K.T. W.G.
Tabu	Tabu	Afrima		(see 3 A)	
(see 12)	(see 12)	MABUA = Wipa (5) = Dakanetai (5) = Taii (15)		KUIDA = KAIKU = DADATIAM = AU = Gurba	
NGAILU		Tabu		Kaigas	Kodal
d. umm.	d. umm.	Dangal		(see 12 A)	(see 4 B)
no ch.		MAIAMAIA = JIMMY = Dama		GUAMTERA = Magau (15)	
Surkazi		(Uea)		K.T. W.G.	Tabu
BANI = Kalenga		Gada		Kaidui	Kaidui
(3) Pente-		(see 12)		BAIBERI = Pulgel	
cost Is.)		MAIAMAIA = JIMMY = Dama		Tabu	K.T. W.G.
K.T. W.G.		Kodal		Dangal	(see 5)
Afrima		WAIAT = Kaia		JOE BROWN = Kasangai	
WAIAT = Kaia		Kodal		(Mare)	no ch.
Kodal		W.G.		RIM = Bigai (3) = Aripai (3)	
(see 3)		IBIGAN = Ngukititi (5 A) = Aripai (3)		or	Kodal
Kodal		Tabu		MAUAI	K.T. W.G.
W.G.		Dangal		no ch.	NEWAR
TABITHAI		URMA = Biskop (1 A)		BANESAIR	
d. y.	d. y.	K.T. W.G.		WAIAT	PINO
KAIKAS		Kodal		PAIWA	Kalahu
d. y.	d. y.	K.T. W.G.		no ch.	Kalahu
BAGARI = Gatap (8) = Maria (1 A)		PETER = Magena		BANESAIR	
or	or	Kaiigas		WAIAT	PINO
MUKA	MUKA	Surlat		PAIWA	Kalahu
K.T. W.G.	K.T. W.G.	Tabu		no ch.	Kalahu
(see 5 A)	(see 5 A)	ADII		BANESAIR	
BAGARI = Gatap (8) = Maria (1 A)		Louisa		WAIAT	PINO
or	or	Mariana		PAIWA	Kalahu
MUKA	MUKA	d. y.			

TABLE 4 A

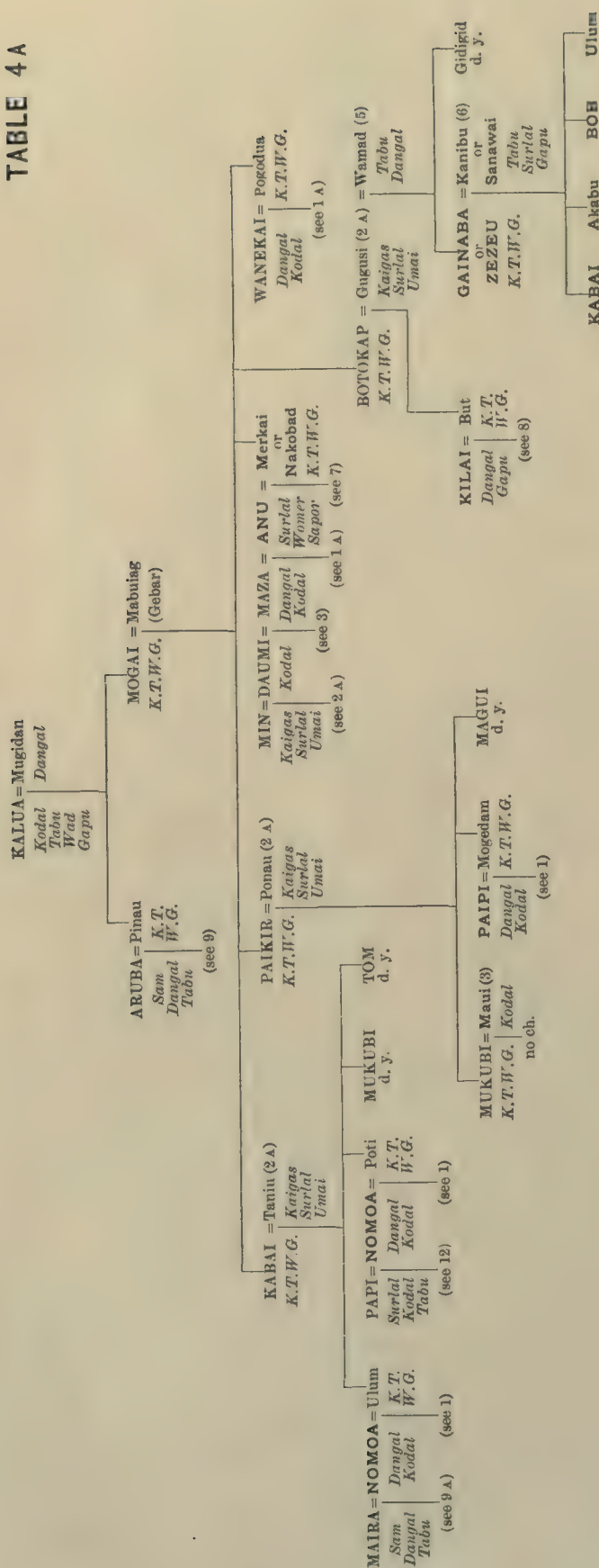
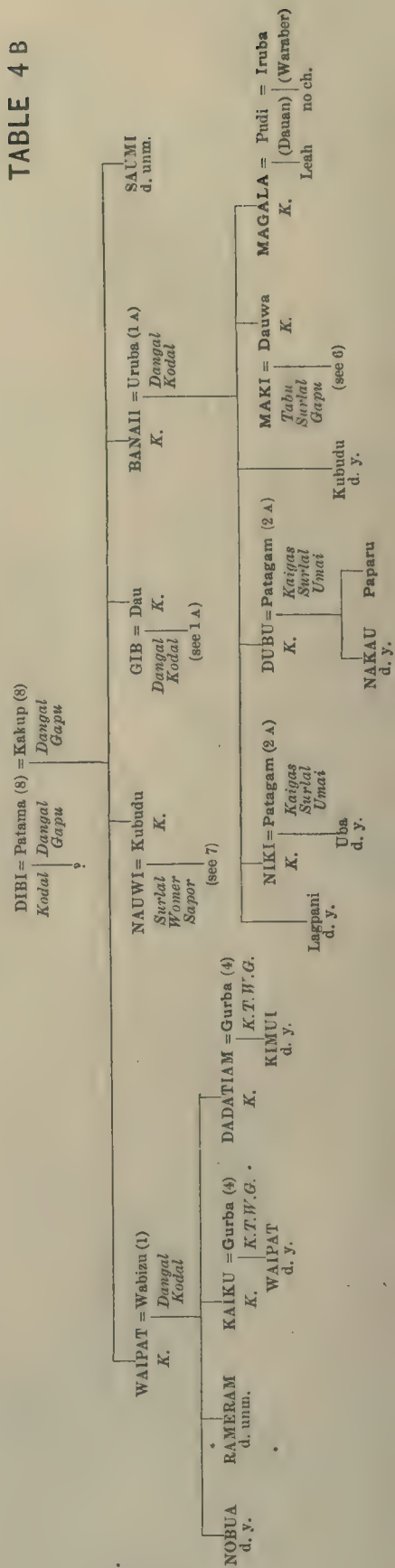


TABLE 4 B



BULI = Adiadi	Tabu	Kodal	Dangal
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[illegible]

TAMU = Arki (4)

<p>UIGI = Kangrai Kaitas Serial Umai T.D. (see 2)</p>	<p>GIWA d. y.</p>	<p>PER = Moipi (2) or SIMARA T.D. Kaitas Serial Umai</p>	<p>ABA = Gusua (3) = Tigi (4) Kodal T.D. Tubu Wad Gapu</p>	<p>SALMUI = Kaiti (10) Dangal T.D. (see 3)</p>	<p>IABU = Sui Kodal T.D. (see 10)</p>	<p>YAMAKUNI = Tai Dangal T.D. (see 10)</p>	<p>YAMAKUNI = Gawai Dangal T.D. (see 10)</p>	<p>PINU = Ikuba (10) Dangal T.D.</p>	<p>AMENI d. y.</p>	<p>GULAIG d. y.</p>	<p>WIZU d. y.</p>	<p>Dokei d. y.</p>
<p>NOPUAIKI = Maili (4) Kodal T.D. Tubu Wad Gapu</p>	<p>IBIGAN = Ngukiliti Kodal T.D. Tubu Wad Gapu</p>	<p>GAGAI = Gagabai = Kubi (2 A) Kaitas Serial Umai Dangal T.D. or DUGUI T.D.</p>	<p>PALIM = SAMAKA = Palagan Kaitas Serial Umai (Mare) T.D. (see 2)</p>	<p>MIGUI = Sirir (Moa) T.D.</p>	<p>IGERKUIK = Gawadi (Tutu) T.D.</p>	<p>GABAI = Kias Dangal Kodal T.D. (see 1)</p>	<p>BAINU = Salmui Kaitas Serial Umai T.D.</p>	<p>NOBUA (see 2 A)</p>	<p>JACK = Dabaru (Uea) d. y.</p>	<p>JACK = Puni (Uea) no ch.</p>	<p>JACK = Azau (Uea) d. y.</p>	<p>JACK = MOKAN (Uea) no ch.</p>
<p>WAIABA = Saku Kodal T.D. Tubu Wad Gapu (see 4)</p>	<p>GATARI = Us T.D. Umai Serial D. (see 11)</p>	<p>SAMUELA d. y. Wipa d. y.</p>	<p>HARRY d. y.</p>	<p>BAINU</p>	<p>Taniu Chesan</p>	<p>KAWANI</p>	<p>ILAPI = Maibad (Tutu) no ch.</p>	<p>TARO = Maibad (Tutu) no ch.</p>	<p>JACK = Buli (Uea) no ch.</p>	<p>Lusia</p>	<p>NOBUA (see 2 A)</p>	<p>NOBUA (see 2 A)</p>

TABLE 6

[illegible]

TABLE 7

TABLE 7

GIAU = 8

Surlal
Womer
Sapor

IGA = Aga (2)

Kaigas
Surlal
Umai
S. W. S.

IBURU = Monage <i>Sam</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i> (see 9 A)		BAINANGTABU = Didi (9 A) <i>Sam</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i>		GAUUAU = Aiaga (3 A) <i>S. W. S.</i> <i>Kodal</i>		NGAGALAIG = Dodimug <i>Tabu</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i> (see 5)		NGAGALAIG = Alala <i>Tabu</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i> (see 5)		WEDAI = Gawai <i>Sam</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i> (see 9 A)		GURBA = Babud (3 A) <i>S. W. S.</i> <i>Kodal</i>		TALAIGUR d. y.	
NAUWI = Kubudu (4 B) <i>S. W. S.</i> <i>Kodal</i>		AIGI d. y.		IMulu d. umm.		NAIEMA = Kuragar <i>Sam</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i> (see 9)		RAB = Dadiku <i>Sam</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i> (see 9)		TABUKABA = Nakobad = Babud (3 A) <i>S. W. S.</i> <i>Kodal</i> (see 5)		SURUI d. y.		TALAIGUR d. y.	
PIPI d. y.		CHARLIE = Parama (Ipi)		KAUBU d. y.		KOBIGED = Kaibu (5) = Bai (3 A) <i>Kodal</i> <i>Tabu</i> <i>Dangal</i> or KABAI <i>S. W. S.</i> <i>Tapimul</i> <i>S. W. S.</i> (see 13)		ANU = Sumai (4) = Merkai (4 A) <i>Kodal</i> <i>Tabu</i> <i>Wad</i> <i>Gapu</i> no ch.		MALAKULA = Maikap <i>Umai</i> <i>Surlal</i> (see 11)		SIMOR = GIZU = Iwai <i>Dangal</i> <i>Surlal</i> <i>Gapu</i> <i>Umai</i> (see 8)		S. W. S.	
DICK = Balet (2) <i>Kaigas</i> <i>Surlal</i> <i>Umai</i>		Keena		Anna		ALice		MARIGI = Abta or Dangal <i>Kodal</i> YEII <i>S. W. S.</i> no ch.		AKI = Balet (1 A) = Dariki or Dangal <i>Kodal</i> (Saibai)		DUGUI = Damut <i>Kodal</i> or Kubi <i>S. W. S.</i> (see 3 A)		SMITH d. y.	
no ch.		AINA = Gagai (12) = Akai (2 A) <i>S. W. S.</i> <i>Surlal</i> <i>Kodal</i> <i>Tabu</i> <i>Umai</i>		MAITUI = Gugui (9) <i>Sam</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i>		RAB = Wariwuri <i>Sam</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Tabu</i> <i>S. W. S.</i> (see 9)		no ch.		no ch.		no ch.		no ch.	
CHARLIE = Lily (3) (Gebat)		UBAI d. y.		no ch.		UTUI = Imad (1) <i>S. W. S.</i> <i>Dangal</i> <i>Kodal</i>		PATI d. y.		AKABU		Kesia			
Humteiai		Alice													

TABLE 8

♂ = ♀

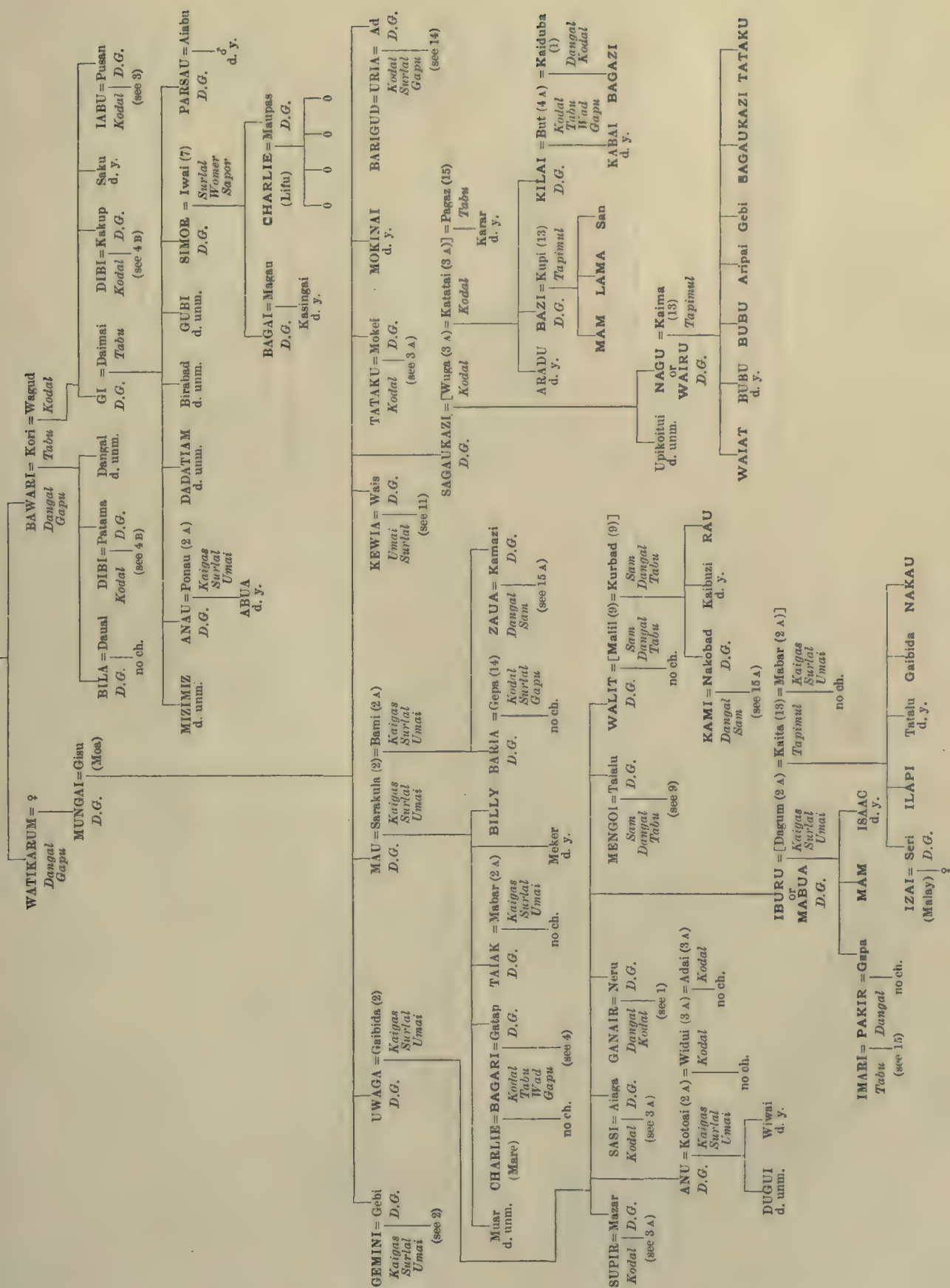


TABLE 9

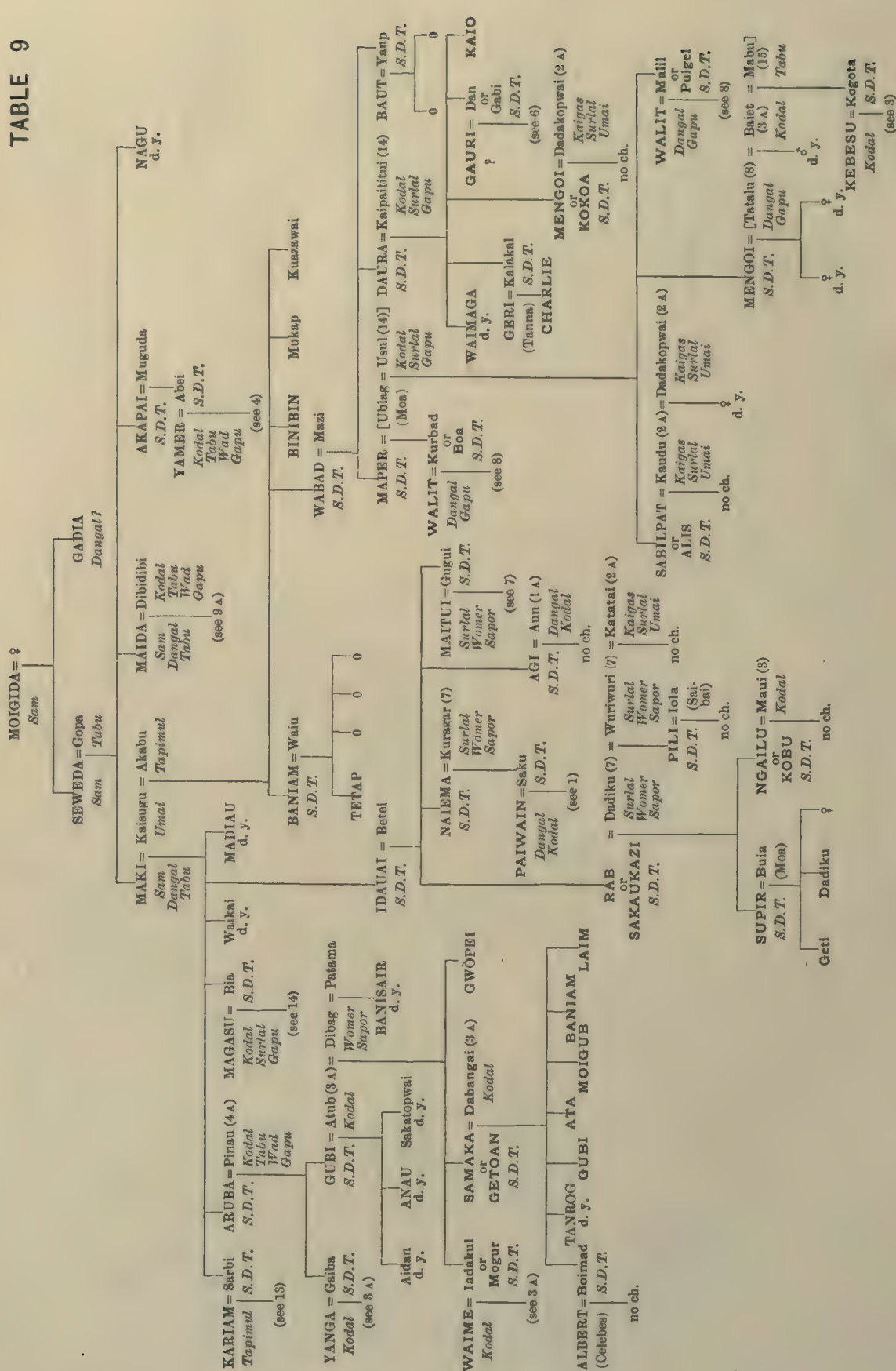


TABLE 9A

MAIDA = Dibidibi (4)
S.D.T.
Kodal
Tabu
Wad
Gapu

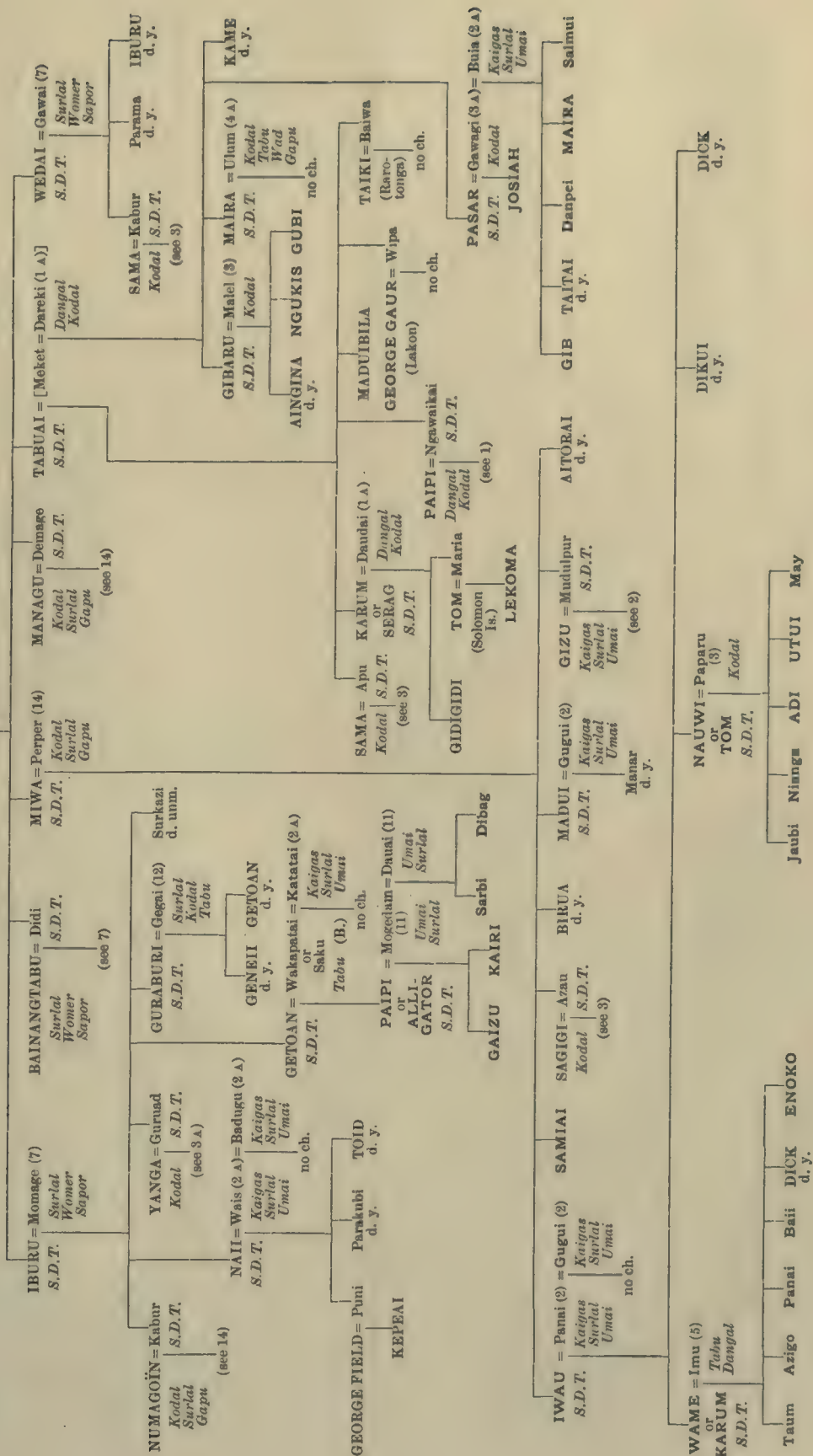


TABLE 10

GADIA = Mugusi Dangal		
ADADA = Mugidan Dangal	SADSU = Kwab or Kobe Dangal (see 3 A)	
	PINU = Ikube Tabu Dangal (see 5 A)	
YAMAKUNI = Tsii (5 A) Tabu Dangal	AIKUI = Siwao Dangal Sam (see 15 A)	
	DABAISAM = Abta Tabu Dangal (see 5)	
BIR = Gadaurub or Karuput Tabu Serial Gapu	WASARGI	
	KAME = Amali or Didi or Kubi Dangal (see 1)	
RUSUI = [Maant (2 A) = Abet (2 A) = Katatai = Sera (6)] or GAIAI Dangal	NED = JACK = Uruba (Uea) (Uea)	
	KAIGAS Serial Umai Wariba d. y. no ch.	
ELIA PIGEON Charlotte	AKAN	
	KOISIA GAIAI	

TABLE 11

NUMA = Kisagu (3 A)		TATAKU = Dauba		BAUT = Nakobad	
Umai	Kodal	Umai	Kodal	Umai	Kodal
SALLAM = Umu		TUDIBARI = Badu		AINA = Sanewako	
SAMI = Iadukul		MATO = Punewad		no ch.	
PINU		PAIPI = Magedam		SEDAN = Mitai	
Gia		Dangal		U.S.	
KOMATI		Kodal		U.S.	
SAG		(see 1)		BARAGA = OBALO = JIMMY = Kag	
SAMI = Pogadua (13)		GATABI = Us (5 A)		Surtai	
U.S.		U.S.		Kodal	
SAMI = PAIPI = Dauai		no ch.		Tabu	
Sami		(see 12)		(see 12)	
Dangal		no ch.			
Tabu					
(see 9 A)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
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KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
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KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					
KADIAB = WASAM = Malu					
Tapimul					
(see 13)					

TABLE 12

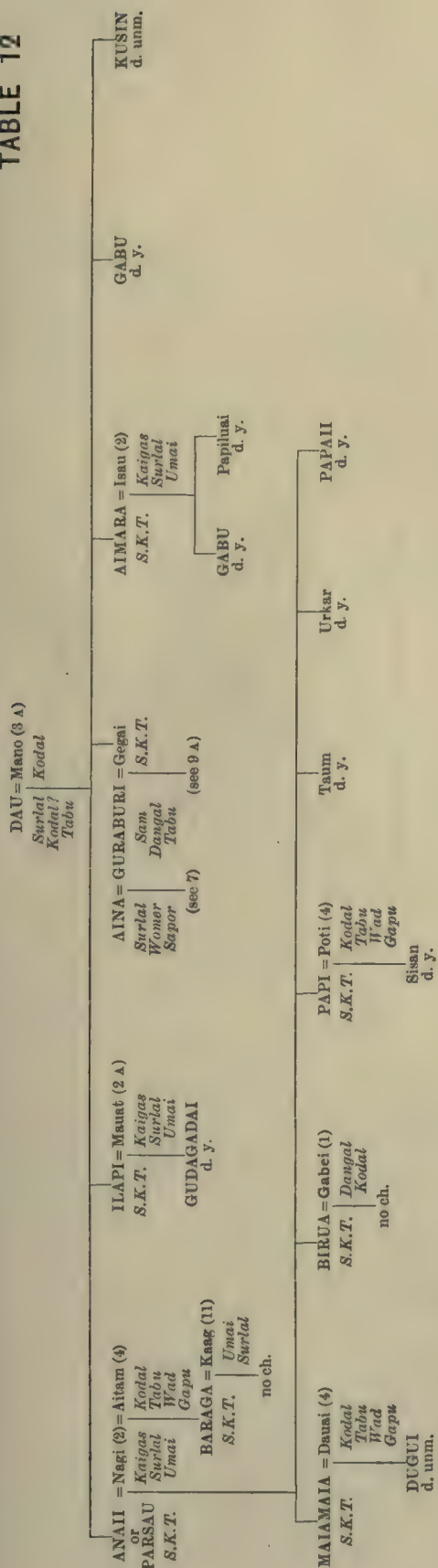


TABLE 12A

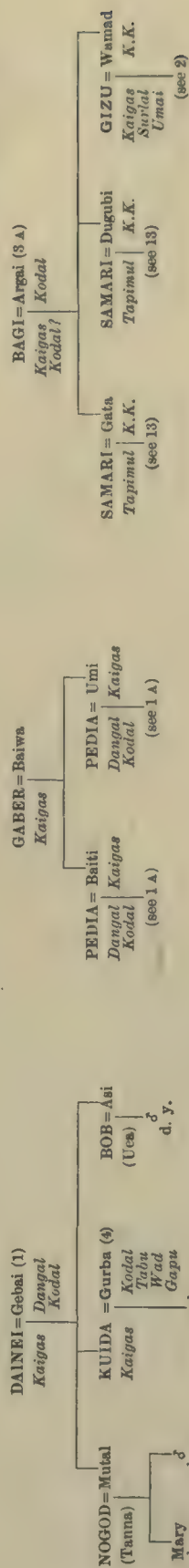


TABLE 12B

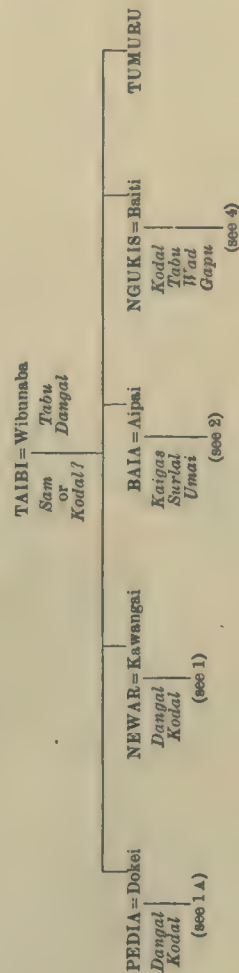


TABLE 13

WAIIR = ♀
Tapimul
PITAI = ♀
T.

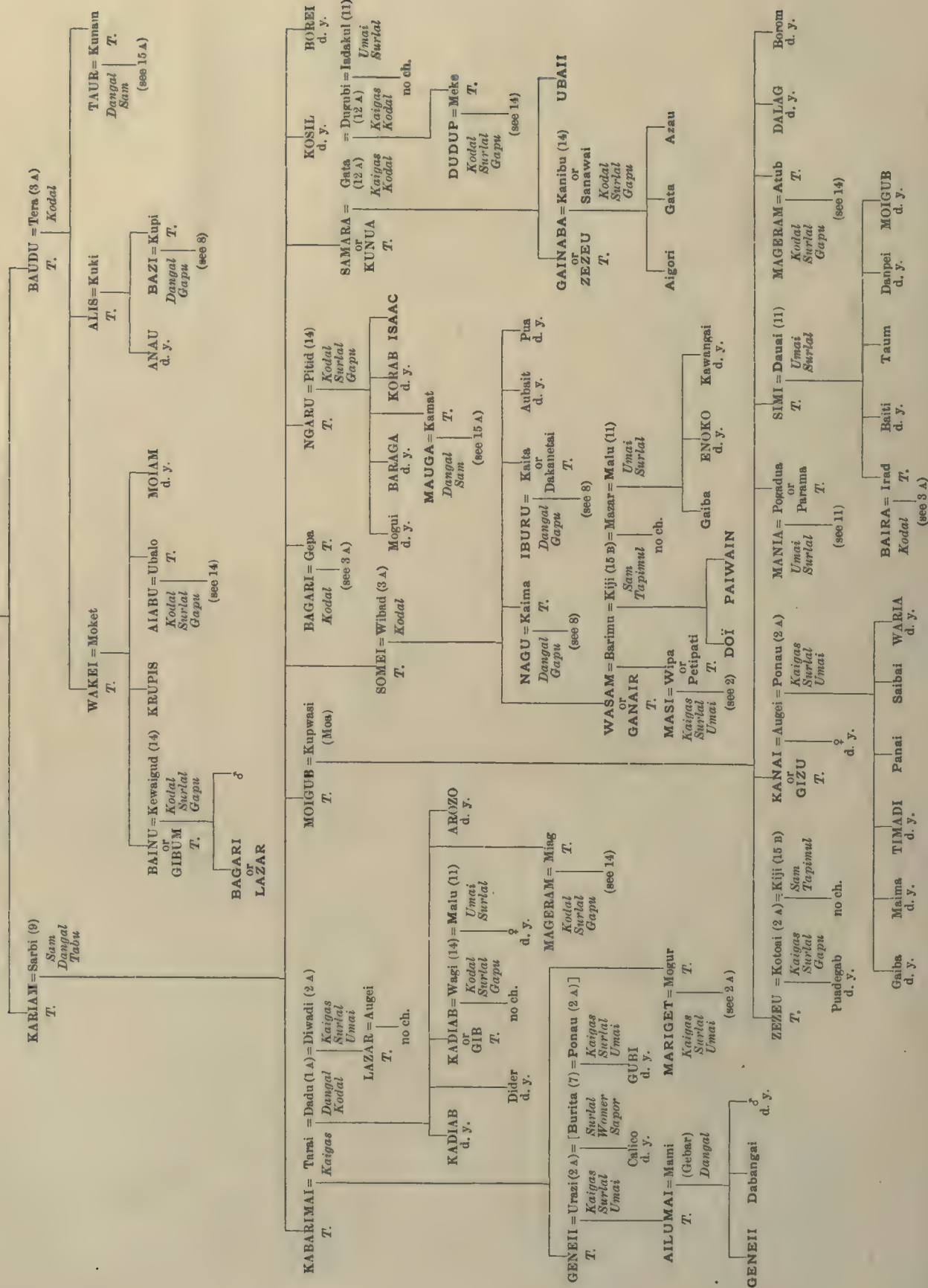


TABLE 14

TABLE 14

MURG = Kuika (3 A)

Kodal
Sural
Gapu

MAGASU = Dudu = Koibub = Bia (9)		AKI = Tama		MIWA = Perper		NUMAGOIN = Kabur (9 A)	
K.S.G.		Kodal Tabu Wad Gapu		Sam Dangal Tabu		K.S.G.	
DAURA = Kaipaititui		KORAI		(see 4)		BAINU = Kewagud	
Sam Dangal Tabu		Demei		URIA = Giau = Ad (8)		(see 13)	
(see 9)		Kulabuai		K.S.G.		KADIAB = Wagi	
				no ch.		Tapimul	
				Dangal Gapu		(see 13)	
				TEAPOT = Karut		MAGERAM = Miag (13) = Atub (13)	
				(Samoas)		K.S.G.	
				Lauka		no ch.	
KURS = Kiau		MAPER = Usul		NGARU = Pitid		ALIS = Kiriji	
Sam Dangal Tabu		KAMUI = Buia		Tapimul		Kodal	
(see 15 B)		K.S.G.		(see 13)		K.S.G.	
		Danpei		WAZI		IDAN	
Poni		BARIA = Gopa		AUSA = Wiwai		GENEII	
d. y.		Dangal Gapu		Kaigas Sural Tabu		Yamer	
(see 9)		(see 8)		(see 6)		UBIR	
				DAURA = Dariki		MANAGU = Demage (9 A) = Yamai	
				Sam Tapimul		K.S.G.	
				(see 15 B)		AIABU = Ubalo (13)	
						K.S.G.	
						Tapimul	
						WALILTAG	
						BAUDAN	
						AMURA = Yamer	
						(Muralug)	
						Gapu Kewe	
						K.S.G.	
						Neru	
						DUDUP = Meke (13) = Buker	
						or	
						AUPAU	
						K.S.G.	
						no ch.	
						WAP	
						GI	
						Siaan	
						Yamer	

(see 17 A)

TABLE 15

PtU = Panaga (3 A)							
<i>Tabu</i>	<i>Kodal</i>						
MAGAU = Bria (3 A ?)							
<i>Tabu</i>	<i>Kodal ?</i>						
SAGIGI = Alala							
<i>Kodal</i>	<i>Tabu</i>						
<i>Sariat</i>		(see 14)					
<i>Gapu</i>							
GUAMTERA = Magau							
<i>Kodal</i>	<i>Tabu</i>						
<i>Tabu</i>							
<i>Wad</i>							
<i>Gapu</i>		(see 4)					
NAIGAGA = Birigaus (14)							
<i>Tabu</i>	<i>Kodal</i>						
	<i>Sariat</i>						
	<i>Gapu</i>						
no ch.							
YETI d. umm.							
DAGAM = Waikap							
<i>Tapimal</i>							
MENGOL = Mabui							
<i>Sam</i>	<i>Tabu</i>						
<i>Dangal</i>		(see 9)					
<i>Tabu</i>							
SAGAU KAZI = Pagaz							
<i>Dangal</i>	<i>Tabu</i>						
<i>Gapu</i>		(see 8)					
BAMER-AUPAU = MABUA = Taii							
<i>Kodal</i>	<i>Tabu</i>	<i>Tabu</i>					
<i>Tabu</i>							
<i>Wad</i>							
<i>Gapu</i>		(see 4)					
IMARI = Gepa (8)							
<i>Tabu</i>	<i>Dangal</i>						
	<i>Gapu</i>						
Balet							

TABLE 15A

TABLE

AIKUI = Siwao (10)
Dangal Sam? Dangal

BODAUA = Nakobad (3 A)
Dangal Sam Kodai

TALO JIMMY MAI = Kulabui WATA

ZAUA = Kamazi (8)
Dangal Sam Dangal Gupie

MOIGUB Maria Pilia ZAMIAK

Zapeta

TAUR = Kunam = Ainur (13)
Dangal Sam Tapimul

Mazar Mabigi

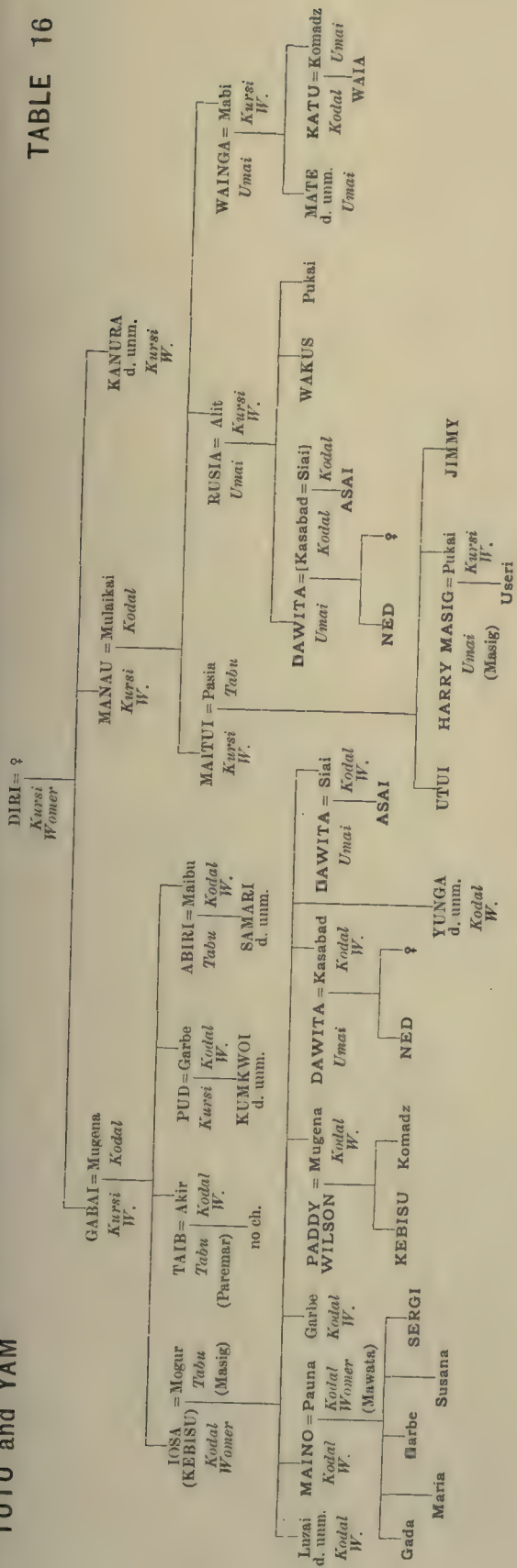
MAUGA = Kamat = Numagu (5)
or (13) Tabu Dangal
NUMA Tapimul no ch.
or NOMOA no ch.
Dangal Sam

KAMI = Nakobad (8)
Dangal Sam Dangal Gupie
DUNAGUB

TABLE 15B

<p>KURS = Kian (14)</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Sam</td> <td>Kodal</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tapimul</td> <td>Surtal</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Gapu</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Sam	Kodal		Tapimul	Surtal			Gapu		<p>BAUWA = Karar (3 A)</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Sam</td> <td>Kodal</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tapimul</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Sam	Kodal		Tapimul			<p>GORAU = Widui (3 A)</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Sam</td> <td>Kodal</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tapimul</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Sam	Kodal		Tapimul		
Sam	Kodal																						
Tapimul	Surtal																						
	Gapu																						
Sam	Kodal																						
Tapimul																							
Sam	Kodal																						
Tapimul																							
<p>UBIR = Kunar</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Kodal</td> <td>Sam</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Tapimul</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p>(see 3 A)</p>	Kodal	Sam			Tapimul		<p>ZEZEU = WASAM = Kiji</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Tapimul</td> <td>Sam</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Tapimul</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p>(see 13)</p>	Tapimul	Sam			Tapimul		<p>DAURA = Dariki (14)</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Sam</td> <td>Kodal</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tapimul</td> <td>Surtal</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Gapu</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Sam	Kodal		Tapimul	Surtal			Gapu	
Kodal	Sam																						
	Tapimul																						
Tapimul	Sam																						
	Tapimul																						
Sam	Kodal																						
Tapimul	Surtal																						
	Gapu																						
	KAUSA	no ch.																					
	GIBAEU																						

TABLE 16



IRUA = Maitoi
Kodal Kodal

NGARAI = ?

AMU = Daimoni
Kodal Womer
(Warsaber)

TABLE 16A

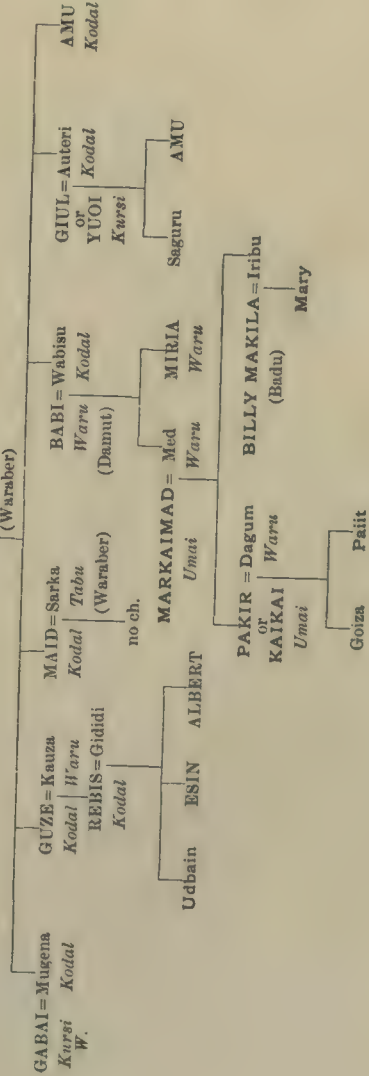


TABLE 16B

BIRUBIRU = ?

or
OSIUS
Kuoiam
Unawa
Kursi
Dangal
Ngagalaig
Abuu
Tifui

IOBI = [Utugu = Miwa = Natamkadz = Dumani = ?]

Kursi

(Nagir)

Waus

BAUBA = Moar

Kuoiam

Kesse

PIPI

Markai

WAIAT = Kuzam

Kursi

(Nagir)

KUDUMA = Kwod

Kursi

(Aurid)

no ch.

LANGURAM = Warawi = Domawaku = Watis = Tauum = Dabar

Kuoiam

etc.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

DEBA = Negi = Waba

Kursi

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

PAINAUDA = ladi = Chèchoma

Kaiyas

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

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no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

WALLABY = ladi = Chèchoma

Kaiyas

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

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no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

DAGAM = ladi = Chèchoma

Kaiyas

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

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no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

DAGARAM = ladi = Chèchoma

Kaiyas

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

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no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

KAKIAM = ladi = Chèchoma

Kaiyas

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

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no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

GUDAZ = Alu = Awid

Kaiyas

etc.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

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no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

MIMIA = ladi = Chèchoma

Kaiyas

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

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no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

BAIU = ladi = Chèchoma

Kaiyas

(Moa)

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

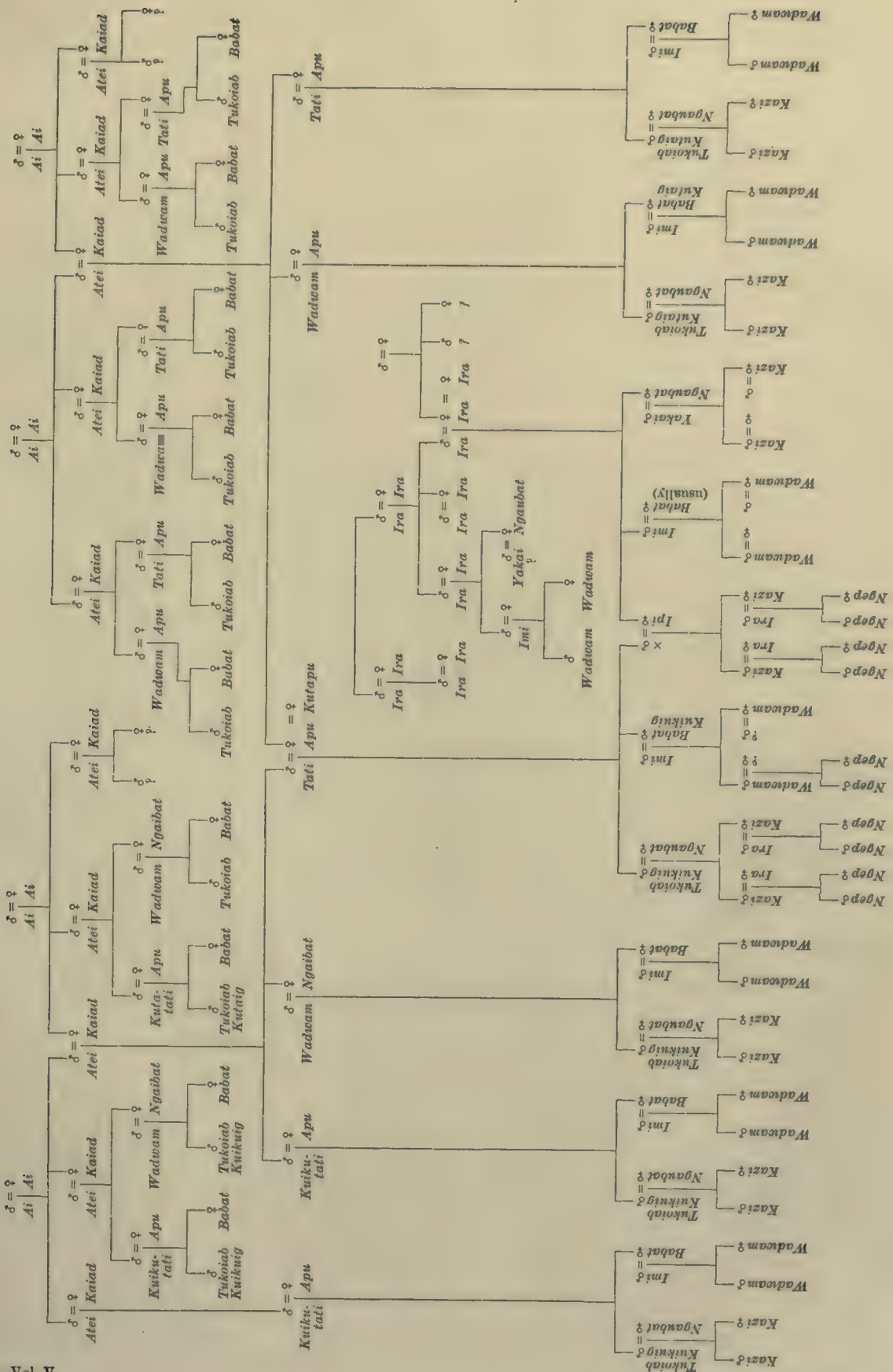
no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

no ch.

TABLE 18



II. GENEALOGIES.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

THE genealogies given in Tables 1—17 A furnish a large part of the material which has been used in working out the account of the social organization of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits. I have elsewhere¹ given an account of the way in which such genealogies may be used in the study of social customs and of their value in giving statistical information on many matters of anthropological interest. The genealogies recorded in this volume furnish a fairly complete register of births, deaths and marriages extending back for about a hundred years, and one of the most valuable features of this register is that it gives a record of the Mabuiag and Badu community at a time when it was absolutely untouched by outside influences.

The genealogies given in Tables 1—12 are those of families or clans belonging to the island of Mabuiag. There was some doubt about the locality of the clans whose genealogies are recorded in Tables 8, 9 and 9 A, 10 and 11. These four clans were said by my Mabuiag informants to belong to the island of Pulu close to Mabuiag. At the present day, the clan recorded in Table 10 is extinct, while that of Tables 9 and 9 A forms a definite clan, most of whose members live in Mabuiag. The members of the clans recorded in Tables 8 and 11 now live chiefly in Badu. The clans whose genealogies are recorded in Tables 13—15 belong definitely to Badu.

The genealogies recorded in Tables 16 to 17 A were collected by Dr Haddon in Tutu and Muralug. Most of the latter were also obtained independently by me, the two versions agreeing very closely with one another. The records of the different families are much less extensive than those obtained in Mabuiag, but this does not necessarily imply that the genealogies were less perfectly preserved, for owing to press of time and the unsatisfactory character of some of the informants, it was difficult to obtain full information.

The uses to which these genealogies may be put will be abundantly evident throughout this volume. Here it is only necessary to consider two points:—the method of obtaining and recording the genealogies and the evidence for their accuracy.

Before going to Mabuiag, I had collected similar genealogies in Murray Island. As was generally the case in this island, information could only be obtained confidentially. I had to take each of my informants alone and out of earshot of other islanders. In

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* vol. xxx. p. 74, 1900.

Mabuiag there was no such need of secrecy. I made most satisfactory progress by working with one of the younger men who acted as our chief assistants, Waria (1), Tom (9A) or Peter (6)¹, in the presence of one or more of the old men, who were especially learned in genealogical lore. If I worked with the younger men alone, cases often arose in which it was necessary to consult one of the older men, and much delay was thus caused. Here, as in other cases, the young and even the middle-aged men were far inferior to the old men in their knowledge. It seemed, however, as if the lack of knowledge on the part of the younger men was less marked in this than in other branches of native lore, and there can be little doubt that this was due to the great importance which is still attached to the genealogies in the regulation of social relations.

Some of the old men who were the chief authorities on the genealogies (Kamui (3), Wadu (5) and Naii (5)) were confined to their huts by disease or feebleness, or were disinclined to come to our camp, and I often worked in the native huts with them and a younger man who knew English well².

On these occasions a large crowd would sometimes collect round us, men, women and children coming in and listening to the information with the greatest interest. Sometimes when a doubtful point arose, an appeal would be made to someone in the crowd, or one would join in uninvited, and occasionally an excited discussion would ensue in which many natives took part. I noticed that on such occasions, the women might take their part in the discussion and that their opinions were treated with respect. Such a scene furnished a very marked contrast to the behaviour of the natives of Murray Island, where a conversation on genealogy would be instantly stopped if a boy or woman came anywhere near. The greater freedom in Mabuiag was probably only one of the many results of the greater intercourse with the outside world.

In collecting the genealogies care was taken to use as few terms of kinship as possible. The system of kinship differs so greatly from our own that hardly one of the Mabuiag terms has an exact English equivalent, nor have we equivalents for their terms. I found it possible to limit myself to the terms, "husband, wife, father, mother and child (boy or girl)." In the case of father and mother, it was necessary to make clear that I only wanted to know the real father and mother and the real children, and especially not the adopted children.

I took some one man as the starting-point, asking him first the name of his wife (or wives) and children, noting whether they were living or dead. I then asked the names of his father and mother and of their children in order. I then took the names of each of the children in order, ascertaining the names of their wives or husbands and children. After I had finished the descendants of the father and mother of the man who was my starting-point, I went back to the father and asked the names of his father and mother, ascertained if the father had more than one wife, and obtained the names of their children;

¹ The numbers in brackets after the names of different individuals refer to the Table recording the genealogy of the clan to which the individuals belong.

² Owing to the fact that my method of collecting the genealogies required a very limited vocabulary, I was sometimes able to work satisfactorily with an old man who knew no English without assistance from any of the younger men.

then, taking each child in turn, I enquired into their descendants. Thus in the case of Waria (1) I began with the names of his wife and children, then passed on to the children of Ganair and Neru and their descendants; I then passed on to Newar and Kawangai, the father and mother of Ganair, and their descendants, then to Gasera, his wives and descendants, and so on, till I had completely collected the descendants of Peid, both in the male and female lines. I then returned to Uruba, the wife of Waria, and learned her parentage, etc.; then treated in the same way Neru, the mother of Waria, and so on, till I had exhausted the chief paths through which Waria traced his descent.

In recording the genealogies, I have only represented in one Table the descendants in the male line. When the daughters of anyone belonging to the clan married, their children and descendants are given in the genealogy of the clan to which the husband belonged and the number of this genealogy is given enclosed in round brackets; thus, the descendant of Wabizu, the daughter of Gasera, is given in Table 4 B. Similarly the bracketed numbers by the side of or under the names of the wives of men of each clan give the references to the genealogies of the women in question.

I have departed from the rule that descendants in the male line only are given in each Table when the husband belonged to another island or when the clan of the husband was unknown to me. The case of Aikui and his three wives in No. 1 is an example of the former, and that of Kalauub and her two husbands in No. 1 A of the latter condition in which I have departed from the rule.

The names of men are given throughout in CAPITAL letters, those of women in lower-case type, and the names of men are always to the left of those of their wives. The names of those individuals who are now living are given in **Clarendon** type, of which **WARIA** and **Uruba** in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviations "d. y." and "d. unm." stand for "died young" and "died unmarried." The latter applies to those cases in which the individual in question had reached a marriageable age at the time of death. "0" (cf. Table 8) indicates that the sex is unknown; "no ch." stands for "no children."

When a man had more than one wife, the names of the wives follow one another in the order in which they were married so far as could be ascertained. The children of each wife are placed under the sign preceding the name of each wife; thus, in Table 1, Wabizu, Newar, etc. were the children of Ura; Muguda had no children, and Gebai and Kame were the children of Gila. Similarly when a woman had more than one husband, the number referring to the genealogy of each husband stands under the sign following the name of the husband.

When two or more of the wives of a man were alive at the same time, their names are enclosed in square brackets; thus there are three such cases of polygamy in Tables 1 and 1 A.

The names in lower-case type enclosed in brackets standing under the names of men or women are those of the islands or places to which the individuals in question belonged in the case of marriages outside the islands of Mabuiag and Badu¹. In the case of the latter two islands, I have already stated to which island the clans belonged,

¹ The South Sea, "S. S.," men chiefly came from the following islands: New Caledonia, Mare, Uea, Lifu, Tanna, Fiji, Solomons, Rotuma, Samoa, Raratonga and the Sandwich Islands. There were also Malay marriages, including Celebes and Manila. Cf. "The Regulation of Marriage."

and I have not therefore especially indicated this point in the genealogies except in a few cases in which I did not learn the clan but was told that an individual belonged to either Mabuiag or Badu. In these cases I have put the letter "M" or "B" under the name. The case of Gila, the third wife of Gasera, in Table 1 is an example.

The names in italics under the names of men or women are those of the *augud* (totems) of an individual. It will be noticed that in most cases an individual and the clan to which he belongs have more than one totem. The first given is the most important and may be called the chief totem; the others may be called the subsidiary totems. (See Totemism.) After their first mention in the Tables the totems of the family are indicated solely by their initials, thus *D. K.* (Table 1) stand for *Dangal Kodak*.

As I have already mentioned, it is proposed to base the account of the social organization of Torres Straits largely on the data obtained by the analysis of these genealogies. For this purpose it is obviously a matter of the utmost importance to ascertain how far the genealogies are an accurate record. In collecting the genealogies according to the method I have described it will be noticed that the account of any given family will come into several genealogies; thus, I obtained an account of the family of Neru, Waria's mother, when obtaining Waria's genealogy. I obtained it on a separate occasion in connection with the family of Gizu (2); Gaibida, Neru's mother, being the sister of Baia, Gizu's father. I was given it a third time when I was obtaining a complete account of the descendants of Mungai (8). The account of Neru's family was thus obtained three times over, and the same is true of nearly every detail of the genealogies. It was found that the accounts obtained on different occasions and from different informants agree almost exactly; there were occasional differences as to the exact number of children who died unmarried, who, having had no descendants, were relatively unimportant, and not so clearly remembered as the rest; sometimes one informant would forget, or be unaware of the existence of a second childless wife of a man, etc., but the differences were very slight, and I was usually able to discover which account was most probably correct.

Occasionally I thought I had come across grave discrepancies, especially in the earlier part of the work, but it was discovered that the chief cause of the apparent discrepancies was the custom of exchanging names. Not only would one man exchange names with another, but their wives, and perhaps some of their children would also exchange names. When the name of one such family occurred in a genealogy, one informant would perhaps give the old names to the individuals in question; on a following day another informant would, in the genealogy of the other family, give their new names, agreeing exactly with the old names of the first family. On the first occasion on which this happened, it seemed that I had the same people occurring in obviously distinct families, and for a time I was very much confused. As soon, however, as the difficulty was recognized, it became easy to avoid any danger of confusion from this source. A good example of such a case of the members of one family exchanging names with another is that of Mariget or Sandy in Table 2 A with Mariget or Sandy in Table 3 A. In this case Waime was the real Mabuiag name of the man in Table 3 A, but he was ordinarily called Sandy. It was the latter name which he exchanged with Mariget of Table 2 A, their wives and sons exchanging names at the same time.

Another source of difficulty was the custom of adoption. It might happen that one informant would give a man as the son of his real father and another as the son of his adopted father. It did not seem, however, as if adoption was very common in Mabuia. It was very generally agreed that when adoption took place the process was very complete, and that a man might never know that his adopted father was not his real father. Under such circumstances, it is of course possible that the fact of adoption might be forgotten and that, especially in the older generations, adopted children have in some cases been included among the members of a family. A child adopted into a family became, however, so completely a member of the new family for all social purposes that any such mistakes, if they have occurred, do not impair the value of the genealogies in the investigation of social customs. The case is different if one wishes to use the genealogies as a means of collecting statistics on such subjects as the fertility of different kinds of marriage, etc., and I do not like to guarantee the accuracy of the genealogies in this respect, though I believe any errors from this source to be relatively few in number.

Since leaving Torres Straits, I have had a valuable confirmation of the accuracy of the genealogies. Waria, the present chief of Mabuia, was so much impressed by the interest taken in the genealogies of the island that he determined to draw up a record for the use and guidance of his descendants, and Mr Cowling wrote down Waria's account¹, and very kindly sent it to me. I have thus been able to go through a full account of the Mabuia genealogies obtained independently. The account sent by Mr Cowling agrees with mine in a very remarkable way; there are minor discrepancies of the same kind as those occurring between the different accounts obtained by myself, but these are insignificant by the side of the general agreement. Mr Cowling's account has also greatly increased the value of my own as he gives a complete account of one or two families which, owing to lack of time, I was only able to work out partially. The genealogies which are chiefly based on Mr Cowling's record are those of Tables 10, 12, 15 and 15 A, of which I had only fragments. In the case of Table 3 A I had a complete account of the descendants of Gaigai, Tataku and Supir and other fragments, but had not the links showing the connection between them and their common descent from Waika, so that this genealogy is based to a considerable extent on Mr Cowling's material. In these cases there is not the same guarantee of accuracy which in the other cases is furnished by the agreement between Mr Cowling's data and my own.

The essential accuracy of the genealogies might, however, be assumed even without this mutual corroboration of independent accounts on the basis of the general consistency of the different parts of the whole system with one another. This consistency is so remarkable that the whole system would be impossible except as the result of natural causes.

Further, as will be shown later, the data furnished by the genealogies in respect of kinship, marriage, etc. are consistent, not only with one another, but also with our other information concerning these institutions, and even if I had collected the mass of material from one individual only, I think that the intrinsic evidence furnished by

¹ The following are the words with which this account begins: "I Ned Waria, now Mamoose of Mabuia, write this book giving a history of the former chiefs (my forefathers) so that my people can trace my descent."

the genealogies would have been amply sufficient to establish their value as a faithful record of the past.

There are, however, one or two points on the accuracy of which I am less confident than elsewhere. The possibility that adopted children may have been included in a family in some cases I have already discussed. When a man had more than one wife, I do not feel confident that they have been given in order of seniority. On looking through the genealogies, one notices that in nearly every case (Magasu (14) is an exception) the wife who is placed first is the wife who had most children and most descendants. There is at least one reason why this should be the case, viz. the later wives of a man were often widows. This fact hardly, however, seems sufficient to explain the greater fecundity of the first wife, and I cannot help suspecting that as time went on the wife who had most descendants came gradually to be regarded as the most important wife and was placed first.

The different accounts obtained by myself and that obtained by Mr Cowling sometimes disagreed as to the exact order of the children of a family, but on the whole there is substantial agreement. This agreement might be expected, since the position in the family determines in many cases the form of the terms of kinship, especially as terms of address. (See Kinship.)

I am confident as to the accuracy of the *augud* (totems) of most of the clans, but in some cases I am doubtful. In the account taken down from Waria, Mr Cowling does not give the totems, and it is chiefly in the cases of those families which are largely derived from this account, that I am uncertain. In any case of doubt I have added a note of interrogation to the names of the totems at the head of the clan in question, but have not thought it necessary to add the note of interrogation in every place in which a member of the clan appears.

I think it probable that I have not obtained a complete record of all the cases of polygamy. The natives are now ashamed of this custom, and I cannot help suspecting that they denied its existence in some cases.

There is another question which must be regarded as doubtful. At the time of Peid, Maku, Waiir, etc. these men were certainly not the only representatives of their respective clans. One would, therefore, expect to find in the earlier parts of the genealogies numerous examples of members of these clans who were not descendants of Peid, Maku, etc. There are such cases, as that of Dainei and Gaber in Table 12 A and that of Mugidan, the wife of Kalua, in Table 4. There are also numerous examples of men and women whose clans are not recorded, such as Mugua and Danakubi in Table 1, and Tuni, the wife of Kaigasi, in Table 2 A. It is probable that most of these were members of other branches of the clans which have been recorded, but their number is not so great as might perhaps be expected. It also seemed to be the case that in the accounts obtained by myself and in that sent to me by Mr Cowling, there is an even closer agreement in the records of the earlier than in those of the later generations. The accounts of the children of Peid, Maku, etc. appear to have become "stereotyped," and during the frequent repetition of many years, doubtful features have become effaced, a change which is probably inevitable in the process of oral transmission through several generations. This being the case, the possibility is suggested

that there has been a tendency to regard all or most of those members of the *Dangal*, *Kodal* clan, who were clan children¹ of Peid, as his real children, and similarly in the case of Maku, etc. If this has been done it would account for the small number of members of other branches of the clan. Against this supposition is, however, the fact that in the case of the children of Maku, there was general agreement as to those of his progeny who were children of his first wife and those who were children of his second wife, while in other cases the first generation given consists of so few members that this possible explanation cannot hold.

I do not myself think that there has been any appreciable deviation here from the accuracy of the genealogical record, though there is evidently a possibility that clan children have been included among the real children of the earliest recorded ancestor.

Another feature of the earliest generations is that comparatively few children are recorded who died young. It is probable that there were such but that their names have been forgotten. Having had no descendants, they would be of little importance and in the process of oral transmission, their names may have gradually disappeared. This feature is perhaps in favour of the view that the earlier generations have become more or less "stereotyped."

One other feature of the genealogies calls for special mention. It will be noticed that nearly all the genealogies go back for four or five generations, and then stop abruptly. Though nearly every one of the older men in Mabuiag could give me the names of all the children of Peid and Maku, no one could tell me the names of the father or mother of Peid or of Maku. There seemed to be an abrupt break in the genealogical record at a certain point agreeing fairly closely in the different clans.

In some communities conditions exist which make it intelligible that genealogies should be recorded for a certain distance back and no further. Thus if all those who are descendants of great-grandparents are responsible for blood-money and also receive blood-money if one of their kin be killed², it would be intelligible that genealogies should be recorded for four generations. Again, if people admitted into the tribe or clan only obtained full rights after four generations, we should have another reason for the setting of a limit to the genealogical record. There is no evidence, however, of the existence of such conditions in Torres Straits. As will be shown later, the genealogies had their chief practical importance in the regulation of marriage, but there did not appear to be any feature in this regulation involving any definite number of generations. Indeed, the ideas of number were so vague and undeveloped among the people of Torres Straits that any definite limitation of this kind was extremely improbable.

There is another possible explanation of the abrupt break in the record. There is much reason to believe not only that there has been a change from maternal to paternal descent in Mabuiag, but also that this change is comparatively recent. It is just possible that this change took place in the time of Peid, Maku, etc., and that these men formed a new starting-point in tracing descent. There is no definite evidence of this, but it is a possible explanation of an obscure feature of the genealogical record.

¹ According to the system of kinship in Mabuiag, all those members of the clan of the generation succeeding a given man would be regarded as the *kazi* (children) of that man.

² See Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 1902.

III. KINSHIP.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

THE system of kinship in Mabuiag was studied by means of the genealogies. I ascertained the terms of kinship which a given man would apply to other members of the community, and by collecting a large number of such data from different individuals and families, I obtained material which enables me to give the meanings of the terms of kinship with a considerable degree of exactness.

In Table 18 I have drawn up a genealogy of an ideal family with the terms of relationship which a given individual would apply to all the other individuals represented in the table.

The system of kinship is of the kind known as "classificatory," and none of the terms have exact English equivalents, but it may perhaps be advantageous to begin with a list of the words used with their approximate meanings. Some of the terms have two forms, an ordinary form used when speaking of a man or woman and a vocative form used in direct address.

Ai, great-grandfather or great-grandmother or older ancestor.

Atei or *bübát*, grandfather.

Kaiad or *aka*, grandmother.

Tati, vocative form *baba*, father.

Apu, „ „ *ama*, mother.

Kazi, child.

Ngép, grandchild.

Alai, husband.

Ipi, wife.

Tukoiab, name of brother for brother and of sister for sister.

Babat, name of brother for sister and sister for brother.

Wadwam, mother's brother and sister's child.

Ngaibat or *kutapu*, father's sister and brother's child.

Ira, father- or mother-in-law and son- or daughter-in-law.

Imi, name of man for brother-in-law and of woman for sister-in-law.

Ngaubat, name of man for sister-in-law and of woman for brother-in-law.

Yakai, men who marry two sisters.

Yatowat, women who marry two brothers.

The terms for grandfather and for the brother-sister relation resembled one another closely but in the former the stress was placed on the second syllable and the first vowel was shorter than in *babat*.

All the terms in this list from *tukoiab* onwards are reciprocal terms; thus a man applies the same term to his sister which his sister applies to him; a maternal uncle calls his nephew by the same name which the nephew calls the uncle, etc. This reciprocity was a frequent source of confusion when the natives attempted to use English terms of relationship; they would use the word "uncle" when they meant nephew and often used the terms "brother" and "sister" incorrectly. As a general rule, they translated *tukoiab* by "brother" and *babat* by "sister"; so that when they spoke of their mother's sister, they usually meant the mother's brother. Their use of the English terms was so indefinite that if a man used them, I always asked if the individual in question was a man or a woman and, as already mentioned, I avoided these terms altogether in compiling the genealogies.

In giving a more detailed account of the exact meaning of the terms of kinship, it will be most convenient to begin with the words for brother and sister.

Tukoiab. This was a reciprocal term (*a*) for brothers; (*b*) for all men of the same generation in the father's clan, corresponding to first, second and third cousins, etc. through the male side; (*c*) for all men of the same generation in the mother's clan; (*d*) for all men of the same generation in the father's mother's clan; (*e*) for the sons of a brother and sister; (*f*) for the sons of two sisters.

In the case of the last two heads not only were the sons of own brother and sister and of own sisters regarded as *tukoiab* but the relationship also extended to the sons of all those who stood to one another in the relationship of *babat* or in the case of two women in the relationship of *tukoiab*.

The following instances according to the different heads may be given from the genealogies.

Waria (1) would give the name of *tukoiab* to (*a*) Sama, his brother; (*b*) Paiwain, his father's brother's son and to Wata, the son of Gaulai (1 A), his third cousin, both being great-great-grandsons of Peid; (*c*) Dugui (8), his mother's brother's son and also the sons of Nagu, Bazi and Kilai (8), his mother's first cousins.

(*d*) Waria's relatives under this head are uncertain owing to the incompleteness of my account of Kawangai's family. The deficiency may be supplied from another family. Alis (3 A) was *tukoiab* to the sons of Nagu, Bazi and Kilai (8), who were the sons of Sagaukazi, the brother of Mokei, Alis' father's mother.

(*e*) Under this head Waria called *tukoiab* Niki, Dubu and Magala (4 B), the sons of Uruba, the second cousin of Ganair, Waria's father. Ganair would have called Uruba *babat* and their children were therefore *tukoiab* to one another.

(*f*) Under this head, Waria was *tukoiab* to Mam (3 A), his mother's sister's son and to Nauwi or Tom (9 A) because Panai and Neru called each other *tukoiab*, being children of own brothers and sisters (see 2 and 8). In this case Panai and Neru were *tukoiab* under head (*e*) and their sons were also *tukoiab* to one another.

Tukoiab was also a term applied to women by one another. It was a reciprocal term for sisters, for women of the same generation in the same clan, etc. etc., exactly

as in the case of the male sex. The following instances are given for the different heads. Magena (4) called *tukoiab* (a) Kuris, her own sister; (b) Kalahu (4), her father's brother's daughter and Kaidui (4), the daughter of Guamtera, her father's first cousin; (c) Maui and Maupas (3), daughters of Badi and Susua, her mother's brothers; (d) Mogur (9), the granddaughter of Aruba, who was *babat* (and of the same clan) to Abei, Magena's father's mother; (e) Us (5 A), her father's sister's daughter; (f) Daudai and Sarbi (1 A), her mother's sister's daughters.

Babat. This term of relationship corresponded exactly to *tukoiab* with the exception that it was a reciprocal term used between men and women while *tukoiab* was a reciprocal term applied by men to one another or by women to one another. The following instance may be given according to the same heads as in the case of *tukoiab*. Waria called *babat* (a) Wipa, his sister; (b) Imad, his father's brother's daughter and also the daughters of Gaulai (1 A); (c) Gepa and Seri and Nakobad (8), daughters of his mother's brothers, and also the daughters of Nagu (8), his mother's first cousin.

(d) The deficiency in Waria's genealogy may here be supplied from that of Pasar (9 A), who was *babat* to Aitam, Malil, Kagar and Kautaii (4), granddaughters of Kadi, brother of Dibidibi, Pasar's father's mother.

(e) Under this head Waria was *babat* to Urkar and Maria, daughters of Kalauub (1 A), who was *babat* to Ganair, Waria's father. Waria was also in the same way *babat* to Dauwa (4 B), daughter of Uruba (1 A).

(f) Under this head Waria was *babat* to Gawagi (3 A), his mother's sister's daughter and would also have been *babat* to the daughters of Mengoi and Tatalu (9) if they had survived.

Babat being a reciprocal term, all these women would also apply this name to Waria.

The relationships extend so far especially under heads (e) and (f) that it would seem as if all the members of the community must in time become *tukoiab* or *babat* to one another. It was evident, however, that there was a limit under these heads. Different degrees of nearness in the relationship of *tukoiab* and *babat* were recognized. A man was sometimes said to be "little bit *tukoiab*." Waria described Josiah (9 A) in this way, Josiah being his father's father's father's brother's daughter's son's son, or third cousin through Dareki (1 A), the daughter of his great-great uncle. Similar differences of nearness were recognized in the relationship of *babat*. So far as I could tell, the limits under heads (e) and (f) were determined by reference to the genealogies. The children of *tukoiab* and *babat* were only regarded as *tukoiab* or *babat* when the relationship could be directly traced through the genealogies.

As will be shown later, a man was not allowed to marry his *babat*, but in deciding whether a marriage was or was not to take place, there is no doubt that the degree of nearness of the relation was taken into account and the genealogies show that a certain number of marriages have taken place between those who stood to one another in some more or less remote degree of the *babat* relationship.

Two men might also set up the relationship of *tukoiab* with each other, and this artificial relationship was apparently regarded as equivalent to the real relationship so far as those individuals were concerned. The artificial tie also involved the relationship

of *babat* between each of the men and the sisters of the other and thereby prevented marriages between them.

I was told that in some cases the sons of such *tukoiab* would also call each other *tukoiab*, but it seemed that this was not right and they were not regarded as such by others. An instance is that of Ganair (1) and Ausa (6) who became *tukoiab*; their sons, Waria and Peter, call each other *tukoiab* though Waria acknowledges that they are not properly in this relation.

In the case of the relationship of *tukoiab* and *babat* a distinction was made between elder and younger brothers or sisters and between elder and younger branches of the clan.

In any given family, an elder brother was called *kuikuig* and a younger brother *kutaig*. A son in the middle of the family would call his elder brother *kuikuig* and his younger *kutaig*, while the latter would call him *kuikuig*. Thus Waria would call Sama *kuikuig* and Enoko *kutaig*, and Enoko would call Waria *kuikuig*. These were the usual terms of address; a man would not address his brother or clan brother as *tukoiab* but as *kuikuig* or *kutaig*.

A third term was said to be used sometimes, viz. *dadaig* (*dada*, middle) or more properly *seiwadadaig*. It meant the next brother or sister, thus Waria would call Wipa *seiwadadaig*. This word was not, however, used as a term of address but only when counting over brothers and sisters.

In Tutu Dr Haddon found a larger number of names for the different members of a family. The eldest boy was called *kwoikwoig* (*kuikuig*), the second *sauergamuz*, the third *dadaig*, the fourth *wagelgamuz*, the fifth *akutaig*, the sixth *mopakutaig*. The eldest boy called all the others *kutaig* and the youngest called all his elder brothers *kwoikwoig* (*kuikuig*).

The eldest girl was called *kwoikwoig* or *kuikuig*, the second *ngungamuz*, the third *inungadadaig*, the fourth and fifth *inungangungamuz*, the youngest *mopakutaig*.

In Saibai, Dr Seligmann ascertained that the eldest child was called *kuikuig*, the second *dadalaig* (middle), the third *sipapa* (a little further), and the youngest *mopakutaig*. The first would call all the others *kutaig* and they would all call him *kuikuig*. The younger children would call the second *dadakuikuig* and the youngest would call the third *sipakepakukuig*. The elder children would call the youngest *kobarkutaig* (*kobar*, top of head or ? *kouba*, *kob*, tail).

It will be noticed that there is a difference in the meaning assigned to *dadaig* in the different islands. MacGillivray gives *dadaig* as third child, agreeing thus with the account from Saibai. The use of terms other than *kuikuig*, *kutaig* and *dadaig* in Mabuiag may have become obsolete or it may be that my informants did not know them.

The distinction between elder and younger was also applied to different branches of the clan. As a general rule, the members of a younger branch called those of an elder branch *kuikuig*, while the latter called the former *kutaig*. Thus Waria called Paiwain *kutaig*, though the latter would be *kuikuig* in his own family. An exception was however made in the case of the oldest representatives of the chief branches of the clan. Thus if Wanekai (1A) or Yeawa (1) had had sons, they would have been

the oldest representatives of the lines of two of the younger sons of Peid, and Waria would have called them *kuikuig* but they would also have called Waria *kuikuig*.

The same distinction between *kuikuig* and *kutaig* was also made on the mother's side of the family; thus, Waria called Mam (3A) *kuikuig*, because Mam's mother, Mazar, was an elder sister of Neru, Waria's mother, and Mam called Waria *kutaig*. The children of the women of the father's clan were distinguished in the same way; thus Waria gave the name of *kutaig* to Gib or Min (1), the son of the daughter of a younger brother of his grandfather, and to Niki (4B), the son of the granddaughter of the younger brother of Waria's great-grandfather. On the other hand if Sagigi (3) had had a son Waria would have called him *kuikuig* because he would have been the eldest representative in the female line through Maiau of the line of the second son of Peid.

The relationships of **Tati** and **Apu** may next be considered.

Tati. A man or woman would give this name to (a) the father; (b) the father's *tukoiab*; (c) the husband of the father's *babat* (also called *wadwam*); (d) the husband of the mother's *tukoiab*.

As instances under the different heads, Waria called *tati* (a) Ganair, his father, (b) Kokoa, Nomoa, Paipi, Wanekai, Gaulai and Yeawa, members of his own clan and of his father's generation; also Kaiku and Dadatiam (4B) the sons of Wabizu; Sagigi and Sama (3), the sons of Maiau; Pasar (9A), the son of Dareki, etc.

Under head (c) Waria called *tati* Birua and Aikui (1), Wairu (3), Banaii (4B) and Karum (9A). (These were also called *wadwam*.)

Under head (d), Waria called *tati* Supir and Sasi (3A) and Mengoi (9) who married own sisters of Neru, Waria's mother, and Iwau who married Panai, first cousin of Neru.

There was also some evidence that the term of *tati* was applied to the clan *tukoiab* of those called *tati* under headings (c) and (d). There is little doubt that different degrees of nearness in the relationship of *tati* were recognized as in the case of the *tukoiab*, and if the *tukoiab* of a *tati* were called *tati*, they probably were regarded as being such in a more or less remote degree.

Those standing in the relation of *tati* were distinguished as *kuikutati* and *kuta-tati* according to position in the family. The rules were the same as those applying to the relationship of *tukoiab*. Waria called all the men in his clan of the generation older than himself *kutatati* except Wanekai and Yeawa, who were the representatives of the Ngaragi and Dadabu branches of the clan. He also called Sagigi (3) *kuikutati* as the oldest member of the family of the eldest daughter of Ngaragi.

The reciprocal term to *tati* is *kazi* or *kadzi*, and all those who call a man *tati* are in turn called by him *kazi*. A distinction is made according to position in the family. Waria would be called *kuikukazi* by all the men of his father's clan of the generation next above his own. All younger children or children of a younger generation were called *kazi*, and it did not appear that the term *kutukazi* was employed.

Kuikukazi might be applied to a girl as much as to a boy, thus Tom (9A) called Taum, the eldest girl of his elder brother, by this name.

Apu. A man or woman would give this name to (a) his mother or stepmother; (b) his mother's *tukoiab*; (c) his father's *babat* (also called *ngaibat*); (d) the wife of his father's *tukoiab*; (e) the wife of his mother's *babat*.

If a man had two wives, the children of the first wife called his own mother *apu* and the other wife *kutapu*. I believe that the child of the second wife also called the first wife *apu* and his own mother *kutapu*, but I cannot speak positively on this point.

The following are instances of the application of *apu*. Waria gave this name to (a) Neru, his mother; (b) to Mazar and Tatalu (8), his mother's sisters; to Gatap and Kamazi (8), daughters of Mau, Neru's father's brother; to Panai, *tukoiab* of Neru through both Neru's father and mother.

The relationship under head (c) will be considered under *ngaibat*.

Under head (d) Waria called *apu* Numagu, Taum and Ulud (1), wives of his father's own brothers; Gaiba and Azigo (1), wives of his father's clan brothers and Gurba, wife of Kaiku and Dadatiam (4 B), *tukoiab* of Ganair through Wabizu.

Under head (e) Waria called *apu*, Malil and Kurbad, wives of Walit (8); Kaima and Kupa, wives of Nagu and Bazi (8); Pipit, wife of Moigub (2) whom Neru called *babat* through both the father and mother.

Ngaibat. A man or woman gave this name to the *babat* of the father. It was quite clear that *ngaibat* was limited to the father's side of the family and was not applied to the wife of a *tati* but only to those whom the father would call *babat*.

Waria gave the name to Siai and Gabei, his father's sisters; to Kausa, his grandfather's brother's daughter; to Wet, Kalauub (1 A) and Poioii (1), his great-grandfather's brothers' sons' daughters.

The *ngaibat* was also called *kutapu*, and it seemed as if the term *ngaibat* as a term for a father's *babat* was in process of becoming obsolete, and was being replaced by *kutapu*.

Ngaibat was a reciprocal term. A woman would give this name to all the children of a *babat*. She might also, however, call them *kazi*, just as they would call her *kutapu*. *Ngaibat* was therefore a term applied by a woman of one generation to both sexes of a younger generation, and reciprocally by both sexes of one generation to a woman of the older generation.

So far as I could find, there was in the case of the *apu* no distinction between elder and younger as in the case of father, brother and sister. As I have already mentioned a distinction was made between the wives of the father if there were more than one; all others standing in the relation of *apu* were often called *kutapu*, even when they were older than the father or mother or belonged to an older branch of the family. The word *kutapu* seemed to be used much more frequently when speaking of the father's *babat* (*ngaibat*) than when speaking of the mother's *tukoiab*. This may have been accidental and I cannot speak definitely on the point.

Wadwam. This term, of which the old form appears to have been *awadi*, was applied by both men and women to all those whom the mother would call *babat*. The following stood in the relation of *wadwam* to Waria; Anu, Iburu and Walit (8), his mother's brothers; Taiak, Nagu, Bazi and Kilai (8), his mother's father's brother's

sons; Waime (3A), the son of Mokei, his mother's father's sister; Gizu and Waimaga, his mother's mother's brother's sons.

The husband of a *ngaibat* was also called *wadwam*. Thus Waria called *wadwam*, Wairu, Anu and Akuru, the husbands of Wet, Kalauub and Poioii respectively. These men were also called *tati*. It seems to be anomalous that the term for mother's brother should be applied to the husband of a father's sister. The anomaly is, however, readily explained by the frequency of marriage between brother and sister on the one hand and sister and brother on the other. Owing to this custom it would be very common for a man to be at the same time brother of the mother of a man and husband of his father's sister. In some of the cases in which the husband of a father's sister was called *wadwam*, this is actually the case. Thus Waime (3A) called Sagaukazi (8) both *tati* and *wadwam*; Sagaukazi was the brother of Mokei, Waime's mother, and also the husband of Wuga and Katatai, the sisters of Tatau, Waime's father; and numerous other instances could be given. In other cases however I have been quite unable to trace any relationship through the mother, and can only suppose that the frequency with which a man was both mother's *babat* and husband of father's *babat* was so great that there has come about the custom of calling the latter *wadwam*. I hope to show later (p. 141) that there is another factor which would assist the growth of this custom. It seems as if there is some indication of a tendency to confuse the relationships of *wadwam* and *tati*, though not so marked as in the case of the relationships of *ngaibat* and *apu*.

The term *wadwam* is reciprocal and is therefore applied by a man to his sister's children; thus Waria would have given this name to any children of his sister's wife. Kesia (7), the daughter of Imad and the children of Maki (6) and Bagari (4) were his *wadwam*; in the case of the latter because these men had married Urkar and Maria whom Waria called *babat*.

A man will also be *wadwam* to the children of his wife's brother to whom he stands in the relation of *ngaibat's* husband; thus Waria is *wadwam* to the children of Agi (5), the half-brother of Uruba.

A man gave the name of *wadwam* to all the children of his *babat* so that this term is applied by males of one generation to both sexes of a younger generation, and by both sexes of one generation to males only of an older generation. It is analogous to *ngaibat* in this respect.

Both Dr Haddon and Dr Seligmann were told that a girl called the husband of her mother's sister *wadwam*. Unfortunately my evidence on the point is not clear. I have many instances showing that a boy gave the name of *tati* to the husband of his mother's sister, but I failed to ascertain definitely whether this also happened in the case of a girl, and so far as my own evidence goes I must leave this point doubtful. There is no doubt that at present there is a good deal of looseness in distinguishing between the relationship of *tati* and *wadwam* just as there seemed to be between those of *apu* and *ngaibat*.

Bubat or **Atei**. These terms were applied by a man or woman to the father's father and his *tukoiab*; to the mother's father and his *tukoiab*; to the husband of the father's father's *babat*, and to the husband of the mother's father's *babat*. Thus

Waria gave this name to Newar, his paternal grandfather; to Matai, Kame, Pedia and Gib, his grandfather's *tukoiab*; to Uwaga, his maternal grandfather; to Mau and Sagaukazi, his maternal grandfather's *tukoiab*; to Kabarimai and Waiaba, the husbands of his paternal grandfather's *babat* and to Gemini, the husband of Gebi, his paternal grandfather's sister.

It is probable that the terms *bubat* and *utei* would also be applied to the *babat* of the father's mother and of the mother's mother, but unfortunately my examples do not include any individuals coming under these two heads. This extension of the terms must therefore be left uncertain.

Kaiad and **Aka**. These names were given by a man or woman to the father's mother and her *tukoiab*; to the *babat* of the father's father; to the mother's mother and her *tukoiab*; to the *babat* of the mother's father and to the wife of a *bubat*.

Waria gave the name to Kawangai, his father's mother; to Wabizu, the sister of Newar (1); to Gaibida (8), his mother's mother; to Mokei and Gebi (8), sisters of his mother's father.

As wives of *bubat* Waria would give this name to Ulud, wife of Matai, and to Kabati, Wagud and Maid (1), wives of Newar's clan brothers.

All those who called a man *babat* or a woman *kaiad* were called by these *ngep*, thus Newar, Kawangai, etc. would call Waria *ngep*, and Waria will give this name to his grandchildren and those of his *tukoiab* and *babat*.

Ai. This term may be translated ancestor and was applied to any progenitor farther back than *bubat* and *kaiad* and to their *tukoiab* and *babat*. Waria gave the name of *ai* to Peid and Makasar, and to all the sons of Peid and their wives. The same name was also given to Mungai and Gisu (8), and I have little doubt that it would have been applied to the father and mother of Kawangai, though I did not ascertain this point definitely.

In Tutu, Dr Haddon found that the name for those belonging to generations older than that of grandfather was *adi*. This word also occurs in the Western Tribe (Muralug) as a name for objects of reverence, and in the Eastern Tribe *ad* was the regular name for a sacred object or legend and had been adopted by the missionaries as the name for God. There can be little doubt that *ai* is a form of the same word.

Alai and **Ipi**. These terms were used for the husband by the wife and for the wife by the husband respectively. The latter term was not, so far as I could find, used also for the brother's wives as happens in some forms of the classificatory system.

These words were often used under certain conditions (see p. 142) in such forms as Magenanalai, husband of Magena and Gagainipi, wife of Gagai.

When a man had more than one wife the one married first was called *kwikwipi*. The succeeding wives were called *kutaipi*.

Imi. This term is applied by a man to the *babat* of his wife and by a woman to the *babat* of her husband. It is a reciprocal term and is therefore applied by a man to the husband of his *babat* and by a woman to the wife of her *babat*. The word is used in the same way as *tukoiab* as a reciprocal term for the relationship of men to one another and of women to one another, and has therefore no English equivalent.

The following were some of those whom Waria called *imi*: Agi (5), his wife's half-brother; Gemitu, the son of Baiberi (5); Urma and Bagari (4), the sons of Ibigan and Bamer, whose *babat*, Mitagi, was Uruba's mother. Urma and Bagari were also *imi* as husbands of Biskop and Maria (1 A), who stood to Waria in the relation of *babat*. Another *imi* through marriage with Waria's *babat* was Maki (6), who married Urkar, *babat* of Waria through his father. Maki's second wife Dauwa, was also Waria's *babat* through Uruba (1 A), wife of Banaii (4 B). Waria was also *imi* to husbands of his *babat* through his mother, such as Imari and Pakir, who married Gepa (8) and Kami (15 A), the husband of Nakobad (8).

The following were instances of the applications of *imi* as a term of relationship between women. Uruba, Waria's wife, was *imi* to Wipa, her husband's sister, and to Imad (1), Gepa and Nakobad (8), her husband's cousins. She was also *imi* to Taum, her half-brother's wife, and to Biskop, the wife of Urma (4), her *babat* through her mother.

Ngaubat. This term was applied by a man to the *tukoia*b of his wife and to the wives of his *tukoia*b. It was a reciprocal term and was therefore used by a woman for the *tukoia*b of her husband and for the husband of her *tukoia*b. It resembled *babat* in being a reciprocal term for the relationship between a man and a woman.

The following were *ngaubat* to Waria, (i) as *tukoia*b of his wife:—Imu (5), also *ngaubat* as wife of Wame (9 A), Waria's *tukoia*b; Pad, daughter of Baiberi (5). (ii) as wives of his *tukoia*b, Pad, wife of Paiwain (1); Kautaii, wife of Mam (3 A), his *tukoia*b through Mazar, sister of Neru; Paparu, wife of Nauwi (9 A), Waria's *tukoia*b through Gaibida, Neru's mother, and, as already mentioned, Imu, wife of Wame, Nauwi's brother.

Ngaubat being a reciprocal term, it was applied by all these women to Waria.

It will be noticed that owing to the custom of brothers marrying sisters, a woman might be *ngaubat* to a man in two ways, as wife's sister and as brother's wife, of which Imu is an example. Similarly, owing to the custom of exchanging brothers and sisters, both men and women might be *imi* to one another in two ways.

Ira. This term is applied by a man to all those whom his wife would call *tati* or *apu* and also to those whom she would call *atei* or *kaiad*¹. Similarly a woman would give this name to the *tati*, *apu*, *atei* and *kaiad* of her husband. The term was, like *imi* and *ngaubat*, reciprocal, so that it would also be applied by a man or woman to the husbands of their daughters and granddaughters and to the wives of their sons and grandsons.

The following were among those called *ira* by Waria:—Anu (5), his wife's father; Mitagi and Malil, his wife's mother and step-mother; Wadu, his wife's father's brother; Swopei, Pad and Teguli, his wife's father's sisters, and Nobua and Kamui, their husbands. He also gave the name of *ira* to Ngagalaig, his wife's grandfather, and to Baiberi, the *tukoia*b of Anu. All these would also call Waria *ira*. Similarly Uruba's *ira* were Ganair, Neru, Nomoa, Ulud, etc.

Yakai. This was the term applied to one another by two men who had married women who were *tukoia*b to one another. Thus Waria called Wame by this name,

¹ I am not quite certain whether this applies to the relatives of the wife's mother as well as to those of the wife's father.

Uruba and Imu (5), their wives, being daughters of two brothers. He also called Charlie Tanna by this name, their wives, Uruba and Lily, being daughters of a brother and sister.

It usually happened that the men who married two sisters were related to one another in some other way, thus, in one of the instances given, Waria and Wame were also *tukoiab* and consequently the term was not often used.

Yatowat. This term was similarly applied to one another by women who had married two *tukoiab*. Here again such women were often themselves *tukoiab* to one another and the term was not often used.

Instances occurred not uncommonly in which individuals were related in more than one way. Thus Waria called Tatakū (3 A) both *bubat* and *tati*. Tatakū was *bubat*, owing to his being the husband of Mokei (8), *ngaibat* of Neru, Waria's mother. He was also *tati* because he was the *tukoiab*¹ of Supir (3 A), who married Mazar, Neru's sister. The double relationship was due in this case to the *Dangal*, *Gapu* clan having married into the *Kodal* clan in two successive generations. For the same reasons Waime, son of Tatakū, was both *wadwam* and *tukoiab* to Waria, and Alis, the son of Waime, was both *tukoiab* and *kazi*. As *tukoiab*, Alis was *kutaig* to Waria because Mokei, through whom this relationship was traced, was a younger sister of Uwaga (8), Neru's father.

Another instance is that of Josiah (9 A), who was both *wadwam* and *tukoiab* to Waria; the former because he was the son of Gawagi (3 A), whom Waria called *babat* and the latter because Josiah's paternal grandfather married Dareki of Waria's clan (see p. 131).

An instance of another kind is that of Nauwi or Tom (9 A), who calls Merkai (4 A) both *ira* and *kaiad*; the former because Merkai is the mother of Paparu, Tom's wife, and the latter because she had been the wife of Min (2 A), who was the *tukoiab* of Gemini, Tom's mother's father. She was *kaiad* as having been the wife of a *bubat*.

I have already mentioned the probable influence of the double relationship of *tati* and *wadwam* brought about by the practice of exchanging brothers and sisters. It seems probable that the husband of a father's sister (*ngaibat*) was properly (and is often now) called *tati*. Owing to the practice of exchange he would often be also the mother's brother, and therefore *wadwam*, and it seems as if it has now come about that the husband of a *ngaibat* is called *wadwam* even when he is not the mother's brother.

The definitions and descriptions of the various terms of relationship which have been given are derived from a study of the genealogies and of the terms which given individuals apply to other members of the community. I also obtained, however, the definitions of the terms of relationship given by the natives themselves and these agree in general with those deduced from the genealogies. The definitions given by the natives were, however, in some cases insufficient and misleading. No good definition could be given by the natives of the terms *tukoiab* and *babat*, and any attempt to give their English equivalents was also futile for causes already considered. They were

¹ This is one of the instances which shows that the *tukoiab* of a *tati* by marriage was regarded as a *tati* (see p. 133).

able to say in any given case, however, why a man or woman was *tukoiab* or *babat*, thus, in the case of Waria, they would know that one man was *tukoiab* because he was the son of Mazar, Waria's mother's sister, and another because he was son of Uruba, the *babat* of Waria's father.

The definition of *wadwam* which was given was "all *babat* of mother," but they did not include the husbands of the *ngaibat*, though there seemed to be no doubt that these were also called *wadwam*, and in many cases these might not be *babat* of the mother. *Ngaibat* was defined as including all *babat* of the father, and this appears to be strictly accurate.

The definition given of *ira* was that it included all the wife's people, while all the sons of an *ira* were *imi*, and all daughters of an *ira* were *ngaubat*; the husband of a *babat* was also *imi*, and the wife of a *tukoiab* was *ngaubat*. The children of an *imi* were *wadwam*. These definitions agree with those deduced from the genealogies.

The terms of kinship used in Muralug were obtained both by Dr Haddon and myself by means of the genealogy of Painauda. The different terms were used exactly as in Mabuiag, the only difference being in the form of the word used for the brother-sister relation, which both Dr Haddon and I agreed in spelling *brabat* or *bröbat* instead of *babat*. Painauda's pronunciation was indistinct and it may only have been an individual peculiarity.

I am also indebted to Dr Haddon for some terms of kinship from Tutu and Saibai¹. In both cases the terms were the same as those of Mabuiag with one exception.

In Tutu an individual gave the name *nagwam* to the children of his *ngaibat*; thus both Sergi and Gada in Table 16 called Kebisu and Komadz *nagwam*. The latter were the sons of Magena, the *ngaibat* of the former. Kebisu was also called *tukoiab*. We may take it for granted that Kebisu and his sister would have called Sergi and Gada *nagwum* also, the latter being the children of the *wadwam* of the former. Similarly in Saibai, Dr Haddon records a case in which an individual gave the name *nagwam* to the children of his *wadwam*.

The Murray Island term for the same kind of relationship is *negwum*, and it is an open question whether the term used in Tutu and Saibai is indigenous or has been borrowed by the inhabitants of these islands from Murray Island. There has recently been a good deal of intercourse and some intermarriage between the different people, and it is probable that the term has been borrowed, especially in view of the fact that the Mabuiag people distinctly repudiated any knowledge of the word *negwum*.

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP.

The system of kinship which has been described is a definite example of what is known as the "classificatory" system. It possesses the ten characters which Morgan² has called the indicative features of the system. It differs, however, in one respect from many forms of the classificatory system. Usually a distinction is made in the names applied to one another by the children of brother and brother and of sister and

¹ According to Mr Ray *igalaig* is the Saibai equivalent for the Mabuiag *tukoiab* (or *tukuiap* as he spells it).

² *System of Consanguinity and Affinity in the Human Family*, p. 155. See also *Ancient Society*, p. 437.

sister on the one hand, and by children of brother and sister on the other, or according to Mabuia terminology the children of *tukoia* do not give the same name to one another as the children of *babat*. As we shall see, this indicative feature is still present in Murray Island¹, and was recorded by Dr Haddon in Tutu and Saibai. The distinction may have existed at one time in Mabuia, but is now completely lost, and, as we saw, there is reason to believe that other indicative features, viz. the distinction between father's brother and mother's brother, and between father's sister and mother's sister, may be following in its wake.

Another feature in which the Mabuia system differs from that of the American and Asian forms is in the marked reciprocal character of the terms. The use of different terms according to position in the family is, on the other hand, a common feature of the classificatory system.

To the European mind accustomed to a very different system of kinship such a scheme as that described seems extremely complicated. The terms of relationship are used in the ordinary intercourse of every-day life and, as I shall presently show, the relations they denote carry with them certain important duties and privileges. It is absolutely necessary that every member of the community should be intimately acquainted with this system, which appears so complicated to the European. I think it is obvious that there must be some simple rules which render the system simple and readily intelligible to those who have grown up in its midst. I venture to give a hypothetical sketch of the way a member of the Mabuia community becomes familiar with the system.

As the child grows up and talks, he learns the terms of relationship which he should give to the various people who surround him. He learns to give to each individual person his special term of kinship just as he learns to give a special name to other objects around him. There seemed to be little doubt that the child used terms of kinship as commonly as, or more commonly than personal names. In view of the specialization of nomenclature which seems to be a feature of the savage mind (see *Reports*, vol. II. pp. 44 and 64 etc.), it is possible that the child may reach a considerable age before he begins to think why he addresses certain groups of individuals by the same name, but it is also possible that as he grows up he begins to notice this, and also that there is a definite relation between the terms which he employs and those used by his father and mother. If he does not notice this for himself, there can I think be little doubt that it is, sooner or later, pointed out to him and that he is taught how to apply the correct name to every member of the community, and especially to those members of the community who enter into new relations towards himself through marriage, adoption or artificial brotherhood. There is little doubt that such knowledge was imparted in the instruction given at the period of initiation.

If this view is correct, I think it is possible to frame certain simple rules which will enable the individual not only to apply the correct terms to the different members of the community, but will also give him a general grasp of the system of kinship as a whole. He will notice, or it will be pointed out to him, that everyone whom his

¹ A full discussion of the relation of the Mabuia to other systems may be deferred till the system of Murray Island has been considered in vol. VI.

father called *tukoiab* is his *tati*; that everyone whom his mother calls *tukoiab* is his *apu*; that everyone whom his father calls *babat* is his *ngaibat* and that he may also call these *kutapu*; that everyone whom his mother calls *babat* is his *wadwam*. He will further find out that everyone whom his father calls *tukoiab* will be called by his mother *ngaibat*, and everyone whom his father calls *babat* will be his mother's *imi*. Further, he will find that everyone whom his mother calls *tukoiab* will be called by his father *ngaibat*, and that everyone whom his mother calls *babat* will be his father's *imi*. It is possible that this latter fact gives an explanation, or helps to explain, why the husband of a *ngaibat* is called *wadwam* (see p. 135). A boy notices or learns that those whom his mother calls *babat* and his father calls *imi* are his *wadwam*. He tends to go beyond this and to give the name of *wadwam* to everyone whom his father calls *imi* even when he is not the *babat* of his mother. If this suggestion is correct, it follows, however, that every *imi* of his mother should be *ngaibat*, which does not appear to be the case, the wife of a mother's brother being called *apu*, but as we have seen the term *apu* is now often used in the place of *ngaibat*, and consequently the tendency to extend the application of the latter term would not be so strong as in the case of the *wadwam*. I have already pointed out that the fact that the husband of a *ngaibat* should be called *wadwam* is probably in part connected with the custom of exchanging brothers and sisters. It may also be pointed out that this custom would be a necessary result of the Australian and Fijian custom which Tylor has called "cross-cousin marriage," in which the children of brother and sister marry one another, and it is possible that both the exchange of brother and sister, and the fact that the husband of a *ngaibat* is *wadwam*, may be survivals of the custom of cross-cousin marriage. If such be the case, the influence of the factor which I have considered above may be one of the means by which the latter survival has maintained its existence.

We have now taken the individual to the stage at which he will have learned the suitable terms of kinship for those in the generation to which his father and mother belong. At the same time he will have been learning that all whom his father or mother call *tati* or *wadwam* will be his *atei* or *babat*, and that all whom they call *apu* or *ngaibat* will be his *kaiad* or *aka*. A boy will find that all whom his father or mother call *kazi* are his *tukoiab* or *babat*, according as they are male or female, while a girl finds that her parents' *kazi* are her *tukoiab* or *babat*, according as they are female or male. They will also find that they give the same name to those whom their *wadwam* calls *kazi*, and their father calls *wadwam*, and to those whom their *ngaibat* calls *kazi* and their father calls *wadwam*.

This is the stage which we may suppose the individual has reached when he grows up and is prepared to marry. It is probable that at or before this stage he has learned the names for the relatives of a wife, but if not, he finds when he marries that the *tati* and *apu*, the *wadwam* and *ngaibat*, the *atei* and *kaiad* of his wife become his *ira*; those whom his wife calls *babat* become his *imi*, and those whom his wife calls *tukoiab* become his *ngaibat*. His brothers marry and their wives become his *ngaibat*. His sisters marry and their husbands become his *imi*. He has children and calls them *kazi*. His *tukoiab* has children and he calls them *kazi*. His *babat* has children and he calls them *wadwam*. His wife's *babat*, his *imi*, marries and he calls his children

wadwam, just as he calls the children of his *imi* in another way (his sister's husband) by this name. His wife's *tukoia*b, his *ngaubat*, marries and he calls her children *kazi*.

Finally he reaches the stage at which his *kazi* marry and their husbands or wives become his *ira*. They have children whom he calls *ngep*.

At a comparatively early stage of his life the individual probably begins to learn his own genealogy. When he marries, he learns that of his wife, and as he grows older, he may learn the genealogy of every individual of the community with all their ramifications and crossings with one another. If he lives to be one of the old men of the community, he may become one of the recognized authorities on kinship, and in the case of any disputed point, such as that of two people who wish to marry in spite of some distant bond of relationship between them, it may be his knowledge of the exact relation in which they stand to one another, and probably of the precedents for and against such a marriage, which decides the point.

The sketch which I have given shows the way in which an individual can grow into the system of kinship till he becomes absolutely familiar with its smallest details. The sketch is hypothetical but not purely so. It is largely founded on the definitions of the terms of kinship which the natives gave me, and on observations of the behaviour of the natives on many occasions. The people would often discuss the term which a given boy would apply to a given individual in the presence of the boy in question. Possibly in the old days such questions would not have been discussed in the presence of a boy before initiation, but there can be little doubt that such questions have always been favourite subjects of discussion, and that the younger members of the community were thus gradually familiarized with the details of the system of kinship in some such way as that which I have described.

There was no doubt that the genealogies formed the ultimate resort in any case of doubtful relationship, and the great importance of the kinship system in the social organization of the people is a sufficient reason for the thoroughness with which the genealogical record is preserved.

KINSHIP TABOOS.

All the terms of relationship which have been given were regularly used as terms of address, in some cases with the prefix "ngau" "my" as in *ngauimi* or *ngauim*, my brother-in-law; *ngaungaubat*, my sister-in-law (in both cases man speaking).

In the case of most of the classes of kin, I did not ascertain the existence of any rules regulating the use of personal and kinship names respectively, but the evidence was quite clear as regards the relatives by marriage.

A man never mentioned the personal name of his *ira*, his *imi*, or his *ngaubat*, and a woman was subject to the same restriction. A brother-in-law was spoken of as *imi* or *ngauim*, or as the husband or brother of someone whose name could be mentioned, thus Peter (6) might be called by his *imi*, *Magenanalai*, husband of Magena, and Waria (1) might be called *Wipababat*, brother of Wipa. If the brother-in-law was married, the usual method appeared to be to speak of him as husband of his wife, thus, I was told that Peter would call Bagari (4), his wife's brother, *ngauim*.

so long as Bagari was unmarried, but that after his marriage, Peter would call him *Marianalai*. Similarly a man would call his sister-in-law wife of a man, thus any of Waria's *tukoib* would call Uruba *ngaungaubat* or *Warianipi*, wife of Waria (more commonly now *Netanipi*, Ned being the name by which Waria was usually known). In the formation of these terms it was now common to use the English names which many possessed in addition to their various Mabuiag names, and one had in consequence such combinations as *Georgeanipi*, *Emilynalai*, *Petanipi*, etc. I was only told of this form of kinship name in the case of the *imi* and *ngaubat*, and unfortunately omitted to ascertain if it was also used of the *ira*. So far as my information goes, the *tati* and *apu* of the wife or husband were always spoken of as *ira* in conversation.

All the other kin including the *wadwam* could be spoken of by means of the personal name.

If by any chance a man used the personal name of his *imi*, he was ashamed and hung down his head. This shame was only relieved when he had made a present "of some good thing" as a compensation for the offence. The same presents were made in the case of the *ngaubat* and *ira*.

This disability to use the personal names of relatives by marriage was associated with the custom so prevalent throughout the world that a man or woman is not allowed to speak to these relatives. If a man wished to communicate with his *ira* he spoke to his wife and she spoke to her parent. If any direct communication became absolutely necessary, it was said that a man might talk a very little to his *ira*, but he would in this case speak in a low voice ("speak very low, small talk, not high big talk"). I gathered that the behaviour of a man on such an occasion would be very subdued and that he would suffer more or less from shame¹.

The behaviour towards the *imi* was the same. The special relations between two men who were *imi* to one another, which will be described presently, must have rendered some intercourse absolutely necessary on certain occasions, but here again it was stated that any conversation was limited in amount and carried on in a low voice. Sometimes they communicated through the wife of one of them. At the present day, if two men who are *imi* to one another wish to converse, it seemed as if they often do so. One man said to me, "Suppose my *imi* want to yarn, I yarn." This is probably only an example of the laxity in keeping up old customs which is becoming common.

The relationship of *ngaubat* was also a bar to conversation. The restriction hardly seemed so definite as in the other cases, or this may be again an example of recent laxity. One man told me that he might talk a little to his *ngaubat*, but he would be "half ashamed."

It did not seem as if there were any strict regulations against every kind of intercourse between a man and the relatives of his wife, but there seemed to be a certain amount of mutual avoidance of each other. If a woman had her sister or mother with her and they saw the husband coming, the sister and mother would go, and if they delayed in going the husband would wait about outside the house till

¹ Kuduma of Nagir told Dr Haddon that the wife would not give food directly to her father-in-law but could do so through her mother-in-law and similarly the husband would give food designed for his mother-in-law to her husband.

they had gone. I could not ascertain that the restriction on intercourse and conversation was greater in the case of the mother-in-law¹ than in the case of other *ira*, and similarly it seemed that the restrictions were the same between a woman and her husband's relatives as between a man and his wife's relatives. All these restrictions were, like the kinship terms, reciprocal, and existed between all who stood to one another in the relationship of *ira*, *imi* or *ngaubat*. There was no evidence of any law as to restriction of conversation or intercourse in general between a man and his *wadwam* or any other blood relation.

It happened not infrequently that a man might stand to another in some other relation in addition to that through his wife. In such a case the blood relationship relieved the individuals from these disabilities. An instance of this is the following: Masi (2) was *ira* to Dakanetai (13), his wife's father's sister. Iburu (8), Dakanetai's husband, was Masi's *tati*, viz. his father's father's sister's son. Owing to this Masi would also call Dakanetai *apu*, and he was therefore allowed to speak to her though she was his *ira*. The fact that Dakanetai was his *apu* relieved Masi of the restrictions on intercourse which were involved in his relationship of *ira* to this woman.

THE FUNCTIONS OF CERTAIN KIN.

These facts show that the kinship system in Mabuiag was partly a system which regulated how one individual should address another. It was a means of regulating social etiquette, but it was much more than this. While going over the various names which one man would apply to others, I was occasionally told that such and such a man would stop a fight, another would bury a dead man, and so on. When the clues given by these occasional remarks were followed up, it was found that there were certain very definite duties and privileges attached to certain bonds of kinship.

If two men were fighting, certain relatives of either of the combatants had the power of stopping the fight. The relation who possessed this power in the highest degree was the *wadwam*. The *wadwam* of a man could make him desist from fighting immediately by a mere word or by simply holding up his hand. This power was so pronounced that even tribal fights would be stopped if a man on one side saw his *wadwam* on the opposite side. The inhabitants of Mabuiag seem to have been in a more or less chronic state of warfare with those of Moa. I was told that if, on one of their expeditions, the Mabuiag men were to see the *wadwam* of one of their number among the Moa men, they would not fight. According to another account, the Mabuiag man who was *wadwam* to the Moa man would go over and stand by the side of his uncle or nephew and no fighting would take place. I was told that the motive for this was that sometimes when an expedition was in preparation, and a Mabuiag boy had a *wadwam* on Moa, the boy would go on first and tell his *wadwam* that the Mabuiag men were coming to fight and that he had better run away. The Mabuiag men would not fight if they saw the *wadwam* of one, or probably several, of their number because

¹ MacGillivray (II. p. 11) says, "Among the Kowraregas and Gudangs, a man must carefully avoid speaking to or even mentioning the name of his mother-in-law and his wife acts similarly with regard to her father-in-law."

they did not like to see their relative run away. Marriages between Mabuiag men and Moa women were not infrequent, and it probably was often the case that one of the Mabuiag combatants had one of his mother's brothers in the opposing ranks.

The power of stopping an ordinary fight between two men was not limited to the *wadwam*. The *tati* of one of the combatants could sometimes stop a fight; if the man wished to go on fighting, however, he would do so, even if the *tati* in question was his own father. In such a case the father would show his penis, saying, "You (have) come from that." When this was done, the man would probably stop, but if very anxious to fight, he might continue even after this. It was not necessary that the *wadwam*, on the other hand, should do anything of the kind, a mere word or gesture being in his case sufficient.

The *apu* or *ngaibat* could also stop a fight, and if a word was not sufficient, they would show their breasts, when the fighters usually desisted.

It seemed to be doubtful whether an *atei* or *kaiad* could stop a fight, but my informants thought they had the same degree of power as the father and mother.

The *ira* and the *imi* of a man could also stop a fight and the man would cease without any demur, but the power of these relatives was distinguished from that of the *wadwam* by the fact that the man who had been stopped had to make a present to the *ira* or *imi*, while nothing was given to the *wadwam*.

The *tukoiab* could not stop a fight, on the other hand he would often join in on his brother's side.

In stopping a fight between individuals, a *wadwam* had a higher degree of power than any other relative, while in the case of intertribal fights it was only the relationship of *wadwam* between the combatants which had any efficacy¹. Owing to the nature of the classificatory system a man had many *wadwam*. So far as I could ascertain this power of stopping a fight was possessed by any of these. In one or two cases, I went through the list of all those whom a given man would call *wadwam*, and they were all said to possess the power. *Wadwam* being a reciprocal term applied by uncle to nephew as well as by nephew to uncle, it was necessary to find out if any *wadwam* could stop a fight, i.e. if a nephew could stop his uncle fighting. The natives were very confused on this point, but so far as I could ascertain, the duties were in some cases more or less reciprocated. It might often happen that two men who stood to one another in the relationship of *wadwam* (uncle and nephew) were about the same age. The nephew might even be older than his uncle, and in such cases it appeared that either could stop the other fighting. It is probable that originally the custom was one showing the power of the mother's brother over the children of his sister but that the original significance of the custom having been largely lost, the power of stopping a fight is now regarded as the privilege or duty of anyone who stands in the relation of *wadwam* to another.

¹ An interesting remark was dropped one day by Waria while discussing the power of the *wadwam*. Waria said that the *wadwam* was *idi*, a word meaning oil. He explained his meaning by saying that he was "all same oil, stop rough sea." The Torres Straits islanders were accustomed to employ oil to prevent the breaking of the waves when diving in shallow water, and this practice was undoubtedly indigenous, and there can be little doubt that Waria's simile was also original.

Another privilege of the *wadwam* was that he could take anything belonging to the man to whom he stood in this relation. Here again there seemed to be considerable confusion in the minds of the natives as to whether this privilege was reciprocal, but there seemed to be very little doubt that it was mainly, possibly altogether, the privilege of a man in relation to his mother's brother. The nephew, even if quite a small boy, could take, lose, spoil or destroy anything belonging to his uncle and the uncle would utter no word of reproach or anger. If a man had lost anything and on enquiry found that it was his sister's son who had taken it, nothing more would be said. One of the most valued possessions, or the most valued possession, of a Mabuiag man is his canoe, and it was said that, if a nephew were to spoil his uncle's canoe not a word would be said about it.

From one account given to me it appears also that a boy could take anything from his father and give it to his *wadwam*. Peter and Kamui (the latter an old man) said that if one of them had a canoe newly arrived from Saibai, his son might go to his *wadwam* and say that his father had a new canoe. "What you think? you like that canoe?" If the *wadwam* said he liked the canoe, the boy would take it and give it to the *wadwam* and the father of the boy would say nothing. If this account is correct, it looks as if a man might obtain property from his nephew's family to balance anything obtained from himself.

There seemed to be very little doubt that the custom was not put into practice to any extent and most of the instances given seemed to be hypothetical ones. I did not obtain any actual examples of cases in which property had passed from one family to another in this way.

In Fiji, where a similar custom exists, the right of the nephew is said to have had a great effect on the life of the community, but it did not seem as if the custom in Mabuiag had any very great practical consequences. It is possible that some degree of reciprocity in this custom prevented its going beyond a very limited extent. The origin of the custom was ascribed to the legendary hero Kwoiam who was *wadwam* or *awadi* to Tomagani. It is probable that the custom was introduced by Kwoiam from Australia (see pp. 80, 81).

Other relatives had also some power of taking property. The *tati* and *atei* were said to be able to take property, but the son or grandson would only let them have it in some cases, and in any case, the owner of the property would discuss the matter or express dissatisfaction. If the *tati*, *atei*, or the *tukoiab* of a man were by accident to lose anything belonging to the man, there would similarly be a good deal of dissatisfaction expressed and probably some compensation expected, while in the case of the *wadwam*, nothing would be said.

If the *ira* or the *imi* of a man took anything belonging to him, nothing would be said, but the natives seemed to lay far less stress on the custom in their case than in that of the *wadwam*. It will be noticed that in the account of the canoe given by Peter and Kamui, the *wadwam* of the boy would be the *imi* of the man from whom the canoe was taken, but it seemed quite clear in this case that the transference of the property took place through the nephew, i.e. through the relationship of *wadwam* and not through that of *imi*.

A still more important fact showing the closeness of the bond between a man and his mother's brothers is that the *mowai* or guardians of a boy during initiation were the boy's *wadwam*. It seemed quite clear that the chief *mowai* was the eldest brother of the mother and the second *mowai* was the next in order of seniority either in the family of the mother or in the clan. If the boy had no *wadwam*, the duties of the *mowai* might be taken by some other men, but owing to the abundance of relatives which the classificatory system ensures, this was probably a very rare occurrence.

The duties of the *mowai* will be fully described by Dr Haddon in his account of initiation, and I need only point out here that the special guardianship of a man at the most important period of his life was entrusted, not to his father but to the brother of his mother. In connection with this I was told that as the boy grew up to manhood, he cared more for his *wadwam* and less for his father. It seemed that this bond between nephew and uncle becomes especially close after initiation.

The *mowai* or guardians of a girl during the ceremonies connected with puberty were found by Dr Seligmann to be the mother's sisters in Mabuiag but in some of the other islands there seemed to be reason to believe that the *mowai* was the father's sister (*ngaibat*).

Dr Haddon ascertained that when a boy's nose is pierced, the boy is placed on the back of his *wadwam*, though the actual piercing may be done by anyone. In Hammond Island Dr Seligmann records that the prepared skull of a dead man is kept by his *wadwam*.

The only other special custom connected with the *wadwam* of which I could learn was in connection with marriage. The presents which had to be made to the parents of the wife were collected by the father, but the actual presentation was made by the *wadwam* of the bridegroom.

Similar customs connected with the maternal uncle probably existed elsewhere among the Western Tribe of Torres Straits. In Muralug I obtained an account of the duties and privileges of the *wadwam* which tallied very closely with that obtained in Mabuiag. The only incident which did not come out spontaneously was that referred to on p. 145, but a guarded leading question elicited that fact also. The information given by "King Tarbucket" of Muralug differed in one or two respects from that given in Mabuiag. He stated that if two men were fighting, the *imi* of one of the combatants would help him, but the *tukoia*b would help the other man. He seemed quite clear about the point and said that if he were fighting Wallaby, the *tukoia*b of himself (Tarbucket) would help Wallaby. In the absence of confirmation, the account must be taken with reserve. Tarbucket was not a good informant, but I give his account for what it may be worth. He also differed from the Mabuiag account in another minor respect. He distinguished between the *apu* and the *ngaibat* as regards the power of taking property; "*tati* take thing, me growl; *apu* take thing, me growl; *wadwam* take thing, me no speak; *ngaibat* take thing, me no speak." Again I give his account with reserve, but the close relation between mother's brother and father's sister so common in the classificatory system renders his account not improbable.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that the *ira* and *imi* shared certain duties and privileges with the *wadwam*. It is significant, however, that the act of

stopping a fight which appears to have been a duty on the part of the *wadwam* was, when undertaken by the *ira*, an act which required some kind of compensation. A further important difference was that in the case of the *wadwam* there was none of that reserve which accompanied the association between a man and his relatives by marriage.

The *ira* and *imi*, and especially the latter, had other functions in addition to those already described, the duties here distinctly predominating over the privileges. The chief actor at the ceremonies taking place in connection with death was the *imi*, who on this occasion was called *mariget*. A full account of the *imi*'s duties in this office will be given in the article on "Death." It will be enough to say here that it was his duty to announce the death, to start and stop the crying, to prepare the body, to give the first food to the mourners and to fill the pipe of the brother of the dead man. If no *imi* were present, the duties devolved on the *ira*, and if no *ira* were present, on the *ngaubat*. It will be noticed that the duties in question would be performed by a woman rather than by anyone of the dead man's own family. In fact, I was told that if no *imi*, *ira* or *ngaubat* were present, some parts of the death ceremonies were omitted altogether. Owing to the large number of relatives-in-law ensured by the classificatory system, the necessity for such omissions probably never occurred, but it seemed quite clear that it would have been wrong for any of the dead man's own family to have acted. Cf. the Story of Aukum and Tiai, pp. 61, 62.

An *imi* might be the brother of the dead man's wife or the husband of the dead man's sister. So far as I could tell both could act as *mariget*, but if more than one *imi* were present, the part of *mariget* was taken by the eldest brother of the wife of the dead man. If there were several *imi* present, they might all assist.

In the *Markai* ceremonies which took place some time after death, one of the chief parts was again taken by the *imi*, who on this occasion was termed *Toena*.

In the case of the offices of *Mariget*, *Toena* and also that of *Mowai* in the initiation ceremonies, we have interesting examples of certain terms of office being associated with definite bonds of kinship. The *Mariget* and *Toena* were *imi*, but the terms "*Mariget*" and "*Toena*" were not terms of kinship and similarly in the case of "*Mowai*." Another example of a similar association occurs in the *vasu* of Fiji, where the *vasu* of a man is a *vungo* or sister's son (Mbau). *Vasu* is not itself a term of kinship¹, though the *vasu* is a *vungo* which is a kinship term.

The *imi* had also a series of very definite duties in connection with fishing. In a canoe belonging to a given man the *imi* of this man had his definite place in the fore-part of the canoe. (This place with its associated duties might also fall to the *ira* of the owner.) In the canoe the *imi* was known as "*buaigarka*." It was his duty to hoist the sail, anchor, heave the anchor, light the fire, prepare the food, and as I was told by my informants, he had very hard work. I had an opportunity of observing this while I was being taken by three men in a small boat from Mabuiag to Thursday Island. The boat belonged to Tom or Nauwi (9 A). One of the three men was Charlie or Kebesu (3), the *babat* (the second cousin) of Paparu, Tom's wife and therefore Tom's *imi*. Charlie was hard at work the whole day and when not

¹ See Fison, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* x. p. 339, 1881.

attending to the sails or cooking the food he was employed in baling out. Tom steered, gave orders, and talked to me, and quite appreciated the humour of the situation and very much enjoyed seeing his *imi* do all the hard work.

I was given a detailed account of what was done in fishing for turtle by means of the *gapu* (sucker-fish), which shows very well the specialization of the work assigned to different individuals in such an operation. The owner (or captain) of the boat gave the general order where to go to find the turtle and gave the order when to let go the anchor when they had reached their approximate destination. The work of the *imi* (*buaigarka*) was then to make a fire on which he placed some turtle bone which the owner had brought with him. When the bone was charred the *imi* broke it up and threw it in the water so as to attract the *gapu*. When the *gapu* was caught it was the work of the *imi* to fasten a cord in the mouth of the *gapu*. The direction of affairs was now assumed by the *imi* who gave the word for moving to another place and the directions where to go. When he gave the word to stop, the mat-sail of the canoe was rolled up by the other men, the *imi* not taking part. The *imi* gave the order to paddle till he saw the turtle, when he gave the word to stop and the anchor was now let go by the owner of the boat, the anchor having previously been moved to the hinder part of the canoe. The *imi* then threw the *gapu* overboard with the cord attached. When the *gapu* had attached itself to a turtle, it was the *imi* again who gave the word to heave anchor and move the boat up to the position of the turtle. The turtle was not secured by the *imi* but by anyone else who might wish to go. As soon as enough turtle had been obtained it was the owner of the boat who gave the order to go home, and the *imi* resumed his subordinate functions and resigned into the hands of his brother-in-law the direction of affairs which had been his part during the actual process of fishing.

Another duty, or rather privilege, of the *imi* was to wear the mask (*krar*) belonging to his brother-in-law. This privilege appeared, however, to be reciprocated; each of two brothers-in-law would wear the mask of the other. I was also told that a man would not put the mask on his own head but that it was placed there by his *imi*.

Another example of the bond involved in the relationship of *imi* was that if a number of canoes were going out for a fight and if the canoe of one man were to turn back, the *imi* of this man would also turn back and then all the others would follow his example.

The essential feature of the various customs connected with the relationship of brother-in-law (and to a less extent with the relation between a man and his wife's kin in general) is that an individual could demand certain services of anyone who stood to him in this relation. The whole group of customs is strongly suggestive of a survival of a condition of society in which a man was closely associated with and had to render service to the family of his wife. There was other evidence that such a state of society had existed in the Western Tribe. When a man married a wife from another island he often went to live on his wife's island, and this was especially frequent as regards the islands of Badu and Mabuiag. The subject will be discussed more fully elsewhere. It must be sufficient here to point out that the customs which have been described may be survivals of what is often known as the *beena* marriage.

If these customs are to be regarded as survivals of the *beena* marriage, or of a state of affairs in which a man had to render service to his wife's family, one might expect that the service could only be demanded by a man from the husband of his sister and that the duties would not be reciprocal. It is apparently inconsistent with this proposed explanation that a man should also be able to demand service from his wife's brother. In Mabuiag there seemed to be little doubt that the duties of *imi* were reciprocal and that a man could demand service of his sister's husband, while the latter could in return demand service of the former, his wife's brother. The instance already quoted which came under my own observation was an example of the latter case, Charlie being the clan brother (*bubat*) of Tom's wife. It is quite possible, however, that originally the duties were only those of an *imi*, as sister's husband, and that, by a process of generalization, these duties have now come to be regarded as pertaining to the relationship of *imi* in general. The same kind of process appears to have occurred in the case of the *wadwam*. As already stated, natives are now far from clear as to whether a nephew can stop his uncle fighting as well as *vice versa*. There seems to be a tendency to assign a duty which was at one time the duty of a mother's brother to anyone who would be called *wadwam*. There was also some reason to believe that the same process of generalization had occurred in connection with the power of taking property. In dealing with colour vision (vol. II. pp. 49, 93)¹, I have considered a similar tendency, viz. a tendency to confuse together things possessing the same name, and I think there can be little doubt that the influence of nomenclature in the case of kinship has been a cause which has led to the confusion of duties originally distinct.

The close relations between a man and his mother's brother which exist in Mabuiag may similarly be regarded as a survival of a state of society which has now disappeared, viz. that of maternal descent. Here again there were not wanting indications that descent through the mother had existed in the Western Tribe. Even now the natives say that a man sometimes belongs to his mother's clan though the genealogical record shows that such cases are rare.

It is beyond the purpose of the present article to discuss this subject fully, but a few instances may be given of customs existing elsewhere which are exactly comparable with those found in Torres Straits. I have not found any other instance in which the maternal uncle has the special power of stopping a fight. Of the privilege of taking anything belonging to the mother's brother there is, however, a very notorious example in Fiji. In Fiji, the *vasu* of a man has the right of taking anything belonging to the man to whom he stands in the relation of *vasu*. In most parts of Fiji the *vasu* is the sister's son (*Mbau, vungu*) of the man. This custom in Fiji is not limited to the family or clan but the *vasu* of a chief is able to take at will the property of any of the chief's subjects. I am indebted to Mr Lorimer Fison for the information that this custom is found especially in those parts of Fiji in which there is now paternal descent, and most of those who have studied this custom have regarded it as a relic of a previous condition of descent through the mother. We seem to have in the '*vasu*' institution of Fiji exactly the same custom as that existing

¹ See also *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xxxi. p. 236, 1901.

in Torres Straits, but enormously developed, so that it has become an important element in the social life of the community. A custom which in Mabuia was apparently little more than a potential right, probably rarely enforced, had in Fiji grown into an institution which largely influenced the social life of the people.

Though the bond between a man and his mother's brother in many parts of Africa and America is very close, I have only met with one instance in which the privilege of taking anything from the mother's brother is expressly mentioned. This instance is, however, of considerable theoretical interest. Among the tribes of Northern Abyssinia, Munzinger¹ found various stages of transition from the system of maternal descent to that of paternal descent, the transition being associated with a change from a democratic to an aristocratic form of government. Among the Barea and Bazen the social organization was democratic and the only legal relationship was on the mother's side. In their case and that of the Kunama, the life and freedom of the child belonged to the maternal uncle. The duty of blood-revenge fell on the brothers by the same mother and on the mother's brothers or sister's sons, a man killing his own son being responsible to the child's maternal uncle.

In another tribe, the Takue, there was paternal descent, but the duty of blood-revenge still fell on the sister's sons.

The most highly developed of these Abyssinian tribes was that of the Bogos, who have strictly paternal descent. In the account of this tribe given by Munzinger², he states that a person who steals anything from the family of his maternal uncle is never held responsible. We have in the case of this African tribe exactly the same custom as that found in Mabuia. There can be little doubt that the Bogos have passed through the stage of maternal descent which still persists in the surrounding closely allied tribes and that the relation still existing between a man and his mother's brother is a survival. There can, I think, be equally little doubt that the Mabuia custom is also a survival of a condition of maternal descent from which the islanders have emerged at a comparatively recent date.

There is another aspect of the question which requires brief mention. Some writers have regarded the terms of kinship in the classificatory system as little more than terms of address; the system itself as little more than an instrument of social etiquette. In Mabuia it is true that kinship terms are terms of address, but the duties and privileges connected with certain bonds of kinship show that they are much more than this. As will be seen later, the kinship system has a still more important place in the community, in that it is the means of regulating marriage. There can be no doubt that in the every-day life of the community, and still more at critical times in the life of the individual and of the community, the system of kinship was of fundamental importance and determined to a large extent the relations of individuals to one another.

The custom of adoption existed in Mabuia but was not, so far as could be ascertained, very common. The people stated, however, that the fact of adoption was kept very secret and that an adopted child might be unaware of his real parentage. I have already mentioned that this custom introduces an element of uncertainty into the genealogical record, but though the adopted individual might himself be unaware of his parentage, the other members of the community knew, and my informants were

¹ *Ostafrikanische Studien*, 1864.

² *Sitten und Recht der Bogos*, 1859, S. 75.

fully aware that I wished to distinguish between real and adopted children and yet I only obtained a few cases in which adoption was said to have taken place.

Six of these were cases in which people now living were concerned. (i) Birua (1) adopted Alis, the son of Waime (3 A), Birua and Waime being *tukoia*b to one another. Birua died and Waime took Alis back again; (ii) Waime (3 A) adopted Tanrog, Gubi and Ata, the children of Samaka (9) and Dabangai. Waime was the own brother of Dabangai and would therefore have been the *wadwam* of the children he adopted; (iii) Ngailu (9) adopted Gatap, the daughter of Agi (5). Agi was *babat* to Maui (3), Ngailu's wife, and Maui was therefore *ngaibat* to the children adopted by her husband, whose relation to them would be that of *wadwam*; (iv) Kadiab (13) adopted Paiwain, the son of Wasam, Kadiab's *tukoia*b. When Kadiab died, his widow, Paiwain's mother, was married by Wasam, so that Paiwain became step-son to his real father; (v) another son of Wasam, Doi or Gaulai, was adopted by Mengoi or Kokoa (9); (vi) Sagigi (6) was adopted by Agi (9). In the two last cases it is doubtful whether there was any relationship between the adopting and adopted individuals.

For older generations I only obtained a record of three cases of adoption and all from the same clan, viz. the *Tabu*, *Surlal*, *Gapu* clan (6). One case was that of Ausa, who was adopted by Dagai (2 A), brother of Penipan, Ausa's mother, i.e. by his *wadwam*. Another son of Sagul, Gauri, was adopted by Gauri, another brother of Penipan, and was therefore also adopted by his *wadwam*. The third case was that of Waba or Bamaga¹ who was adopted by Anaii (12). Ausa and Gauri became members of the clan of their adoptive fathers, but Waba appears to have continued to be regarded as a member of the clan of his real father and Maki, his son now living, is a *Tabu* man.

It will be noticed that in four of the nine cases of adoption, the children were adopted by the *wadwam* and in two cases by the father's *tukoia*b, whom the children would therefore have called *tati* even without adoption. In the other three cases there is no evidence of such relationship. The cases are too few in number to allow any generalization, but it is perhaps significant that in so large a proportion of the cases the children should have been adopted by the *wadwam*.

¹ Unfortunately my account of this case was only obtained from one source, and I did not have the opportunity of enquiring into it fully.

Dr Haddon has noted the following cases of adoption:

Muralug. *Adoption into the same totem.* Tugana (*Uzi*), who had no children by his wife Siabi (*Unoa*), adopted Zagra (*Uzi*) (17) when his father Waitu died and also Sak when his father (Zagra) died. Later he adopted Dati, Garab and Modani, the children of his dead brother Kobariz, who were thus his *kazi*. Similarly Butuma, "George Trooper," (*Kursi*), who had no children, adopted his dead brother's two children.

Adoption into another totem. Languram (*Kwoiam*, etc.) (17) adopted Gadiwa (*Kursi*) (17 A). Ubal (*Wad*), who had no children, adopted a son of Bagi (*Kursi*) apparently in his father's lifetime. Gida, "Tarbucket" (pp. 80, 147) (*Kursi*), adopted Kaur (*Omai*). Pamur (*Uzi*) adopted Neru (*Gapu*, *Kewe*) on the death of his grandfather who took care of Neru when his father died.

Tutu-Yam. Iosa or Kebisu (16) son of Gabai (*Kursi*, *Womer*) and Mugena (*Kodal*) took his mother's totem, as did also his three sisters, but he was adopted by Mabua (*Kursi*) and thereby became chief of that clan, but he, and his son Maino in his turn, regarded himself as a *Kodal*-man and was also chief of that clan (cf. Government).

Saibai. There are one or two cases of adoption into the same totem, one being a case of the adoption of a brother's son (*kazi*), and there are two instances of a *Sam*-man marrying a widow of another *Sam*-man and adopting the children. On the other hand, Walit, son of Serbadi (*Umai*) and Sigi (*Kodal*), was adopted by Asa (*Daibau*), and Kakau (*Tabu*) was adopted by Muka (*Umai*) and Asia (*Tabu*).

IV. TOTEMISM.

BY A. C. HADDON AND W. H. R. RIVERS.

1. INTRODUCTION.

THE Western Islands of Torres Straits afford a well-marked instance of a totemic community. A totem, in the usual acceptation of the term, is a class of objects that is revered by a body of men and women who acknowledge a definite relationship to that class of objects. The group of men and women united by a common totem is known as a clan or kin, and there are social obligations that are binding on the fellow clansmen. On the other hand, several ceremonies will be described which indicate that there is a sympathetic connection between the members of a clan and their totem. There are thus social and religious aspects of totemism which are sufficiently distinct to make it advisable to deal with them separately; we shall take the social aspects first.

The idea of totem is expressed by the word *augūd*¹.

All the totems are groups, usually a single species, of animals with the following five exceptions. In Saibai there are: the *Daibau*, a tuber like a sweet potato, the *Kokwam* or hibiscus, and *Goba*, a stone that was used for making stone-headed clubs; in Moa: *Kula*, a stone; and in Muralug: *Titui*, a star.

It will be seen from what follows that the relation between a man and his totem is, on the whole, very similar to clan totemism elsewhere. In Mabuiag, however, an interesting extension of the term has been adopted which will be referred to subsequently at greater length when dealing with the Cult of Kwoiam. This hero made two crescentic turtle-shell objects which were called respectively *kutibu* and *giribu*². To these sacred objects the name of *augud* was applied, and each became the emblem of a group of clans or phratry. There can be little doubt that the employment of "*augud*" in this instance was an extension of the meaning of the term. For some unexplained reason these two relics became peculiarly sacred, and when this occurred the name of *augud* was given to them; probably, from a paucity of vocabulary, the natives not knowing what else to call them.

¹ The short *a* and the short *u* are used indiscriminately in Torres Straits, consequently the word *augūd* is often pronounced, and has been written, *augād*. The plural is *augūdal*, but we prefer neither to adopt the native plural suffix nor to employ the usual English suffix.

² Cf. pp. 70, 71, 79, 80.

Further, Kwoiam himself was regarded as an *augud* in Muralug¹; indeed, he was the chief *augud* of everyone on the island. In the same way Sigai and Maiau, the legendary heroes of Yam², who respectively were identified with *Kursi* and *Kodal*, were regarded as *augud*; thus we have prayer which begins "O *Augud* Sigai and *Augud* Maiau." These are further instances of the extension of the term beyond its original meaning.

2. THE TOTEMS OF THE WESTERN TRIBE.

The following lists of the *augud* of the Western Islands of Torres Straits are as complete as we can make them. Figures of most of these totems will be found on plates v. to xi.; they are mainly copies of drawings or carvings by various natives.

MABUIAG.

Dangal, dugong, *Halicore australis*; **Gapu**, sucker-fish, *Echeneis naucrates*, and probably other species; **Kaigas**, shovel-nosed skate, *Rhinobatis* sp.; **Kodal**, crocodile, *Crocodylus porosus*; **Sam** or **Morau**, cassowary, *Casuarius Beccarii*; **Sapor**³, flying-fox, *Pteropus*, probably *P. macrotis* (which is the same as *P. epularius*, Ramsay), *P. Gouldii* also occurs in Torres Straits; in the drawings by the natives the light head and neck and the dark body are clearly rendered, hence the former species is probably intended; **Surlal** or **Waru**, green or edible turtle, *Chelone mydas* [*waru* is the name for the turtle, while *surlal* means copulating turtle (cf. Vol. iv.)]; **Tabu**, snake; **Umai**, dog, *Canis dingo*; **Wad**, a fish with blue spots, that lives in crevices in the coral-reefs, probably a kind of blenny (cf. Vol. iv.); **Womer** or **Wauumer**, frigate-bird, *Fregata minor*.

The following were given as *augud*, but there do not appear to be any living representatives of their respective clans; **Baidam**, shark, *Carcharias*, and perhaps other genera; **Kursi**, hammer-headed shark, *Zyæna*; **Tapimul**, various kinds of ray.

BADU.

Most, if not all, of the Mabuiag *augud* occurred in Badu, **Tapimul** was the *augud* of the chief clan.

MOA.

The only *augud* of which we have any record from Moa are:—**Baidam**; **Dangal**; **Kaigas**; **Kodal**; **Kursi**; **Tabu**; **Tapimul**; **Umai**; **Kula**, a stone; **Tolupai**, a kind of ray.

It is probable that the majority of the Muralug *augud* occur in Moa and *vice versa*.

¹ In Table 17 the first totem of the clan is given as *Kwoiam*, but for social and ceremonial purposes the real totem was *Unawa* (cf. p. 186).

² Cf. pp. 64-66.

³ Sometimes called *Madub* (cf. pp. 86, 91) and very rarely *Magagei*.

MURALUG.

We know of the following *augud* in Muralug:

Baidam; **Dangal**; **Gapu**; **Kaigas**; **Kodal**; **Kula**; **Kursi**; **Sam**; **Surlal** or **Waru**; **Tabu**; **Tapimul**; **Umai**; **Wad**. The following, except **Ger**, appear to be confined to Muralug: **Aubu**, a large kind of accipitrine bird, described as a "hawk"; **Ger**, a marine snake; **Kewe**; **Kiak**, a sea-bird; **Kutikuti**, a kind of "shark with a hard skin"; **Kwoiam**, the hero; **Ngagalaig**, the fish-eagle, *Haliastur girrenera*; **Sawi**, a tall, wading bird; **Titui**, a star; **Unawa**, turtle-shell turtle, *Chelone imbricata*; **Uzi**, a scorpenoid fish, probably of more than one kind; from native drawings one appears to be a species of *Pelor*, and another a species of *Synanecia*.

NAGIR.

The following list is very imperfect:

Baidam; **Dangal**; **Kodal**; **Kursi** or **Sigai** (cf. pp. 64—66); **Tabu**; **Waru**; **Womer**. We do not know whether the following *augud* occur elsewhere: **Gôt**, a yellowish bird; **Karum**, monitor lizard, locally, but erroneously, called "iguana," *Varanus* sp.; **Maiwa**¹; **Saker**², a small fish that jumps on the surface of the sea; **Sis**, a kind of gecko.

TUTU AND YAM.

Ger; **Kodal** or **Maiau** (cf. pp. 64—66); **Kursi** or **Sigai**; **Tabu**; **Tapimul**; **Umai**; **Waru**; **Womer**. The following were formerly *augud*, but the clans appear to be now extinct: **Baidam** and **Sam**.

The information we have about the following five small islands is too meagre to have any value, except to prove that totemism does occur in them: **GEBAR**; **Dangal**; **Sam**; **Tapimul**. **WARABER**: **Dangal**; **Ger**; **Kodal**; **Surlal**; **Tabu**; **Womer**. **PAREMAR**: **Dangal**; **Tabu**. **MASIG**: **Tabu**; **Umai**. **DAMUT**: **Waru**; **Womer**.

SAIBAI.

The following are the Saibai *augud*; as these people intermarry and have constant intercourse with the inhabitants of Dauan it is probable that the same totems occur in the latter island. The same also applies to Boigu, but it is probable there are some variations in this island.

Baidam; **Karum**; **Kodal**; **Sam**; **Tabu**; **Umai**; **Waru**. The following, so far as we are aware, are peculiar to Saibai (Dauan and Boigu?): **Daibau**, a wild tuber; **Goba**, a stone which is used for making stone-headed clubs; **Karbai**, reef heron (white form), *Demigretta sacra*; **Kokwam**, hibiscus; **Wiag**, a small gasteropod that lives among the mangroves.

¹ Wallaby informed one of us that *Maiwa* was a kind of turtle that has a large head (pl. vi. fig. 4) but *maiwa* is also the name for the giant clam (*Tridacna gigas*). Possibly it is also a Muralug *augud*.

² We think this may also be a Muralug *augud*.

The *Daibau*¹ was a *kai augud*, or "chief totem," of which *Kokwam* was a *mugina augud*, or "little totem." These are the only two plant totems recorded from Torres Straits, and as they occur in Saibai they constitute a link with the numerous plant totems in Kiwai. Judging from the analogy of *Korobi*, a crab that lives in the nipa palm (*Soko*), which in Kiwai is a totem that is associated with the more important *Soko* totem, we suspect that *Wiag* is in some way related to the mangrove, which is of considerable importance in the industrial life of the people. *Wiag* is the other "little totem" associated with *Daibau*.

TOTEMS OF THE KADAWARUBI OF DAUDAI.

The following is a list of all the totems (*ibihara*, *ibēhari* or *ebiara*) we can find of the Kadawarubi who live on the adjacent mainland of New Guinea in the villages of Mawāta and Tureture.

Apidi, an insect; **Baidam**, shark; **Diwari**, cassowary; **Gera**, rock snake; **Haer**, a large fruit-tree; **Hibara**, crocodile; **Komuhoro**, ground shark; **Lo-ora**, a deep water stone that "stops in (Malukawa?) an island near Saibai"; **Omeri**, a tree (with large fruit) from which rope is made; **Pamoa**, a long-necked swamp tortoise; **Topinguro**², sting-ray; **Umu**, dog; **Usara**, kangaroo; **Wario**, hawk.

TOTEMS IN KIWAI.

The following are the totems, *nurumara*, in Kiwai, the large island at the mouth of the Fly River. Native representations of them are shown in fig. 11.

Abio-mabu, mangrove (A); **Bud-uru**, a kind of fig-tree (B); **Demauro-uru**, cat-fish (C);

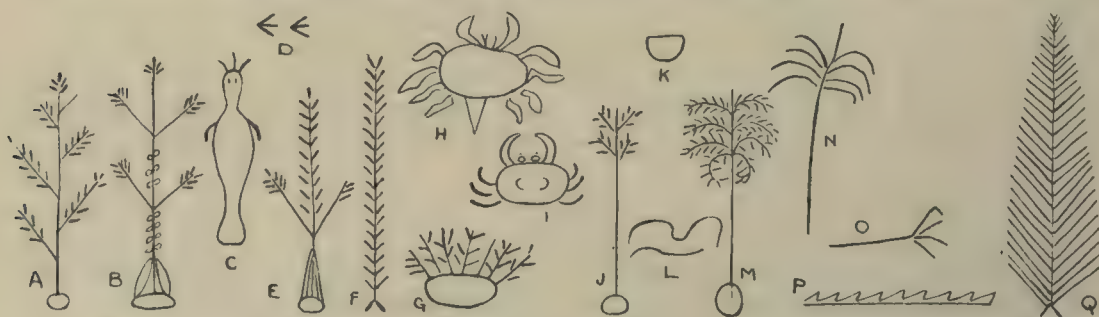


FIG. 11. Drawings of totems by Kiwai natives: A, B, C, E, F, G, I, J, K, L, P, Q from Hely, the remainder original.

Diwari, cassowary (D); **Duburo-mabu**, pandanus (E); **Dudu-mabu**, reed (F); **Gagari-mabu**, a small variety of bamboo (G); **Korobi**, a crab that lives in the nipa palm (H, I);

¹ We are unable to identify this plant. Mr Seligmann sent some tubers to Mr J. H. Maiden of the Botanic Gardens, Sydney, and he replied on May 2nd, 1902, as follows: "I am sorry the New Guinea tubers (? Asclepiad) you sent here never developed sufficiently for us to name them or even to be absolutely certain of the order. They sprouted and formed long shoots but we could never get satisfactory leaves and they died back." The *Daibau* is frequently represented on *buruburu* drums as in fig. 18 and plate VIII. figs. 1, 2.

² Or *Topimoro*, cf. p. 188.

Maberi-uru, a certain tree with inedible fruit (J); **Noora**, a stone (K); **Nowaldua**, Polynesian chestnut (L); **Oi**, coco-nut palm (M), the *tu-paara*, or arm scarification, of a Kiwai woman (pl. x. fig. 1) was said to represent the *Oi nurumara*; **Ōso**, croton or dracæna (N); **Sibara**, crocodile (O, P); **Soko**, nipa palm (Q).

SYSTEMATIC LIST OF ALL THE TOTEMS KNOWN FROM THE WESTERN TRIBE OF
TORRES STRAITS.

Mammals: *Umai*, dog; *Sapor*, flying-fox; *Dangal*, dugong.

Birds: *Ngagalaig*, fish-eagle; *Aubu*, hawk; *Kiak*, a sea-bird; *Womer*, frigate-bird; *Sawi*, a wading bird; *Gdt*, a yellowish bird; *Karbai*, reef heron; *Sam*, cassowary.

Reptiles: *Kodal*, crocodile; *Karum*, monitor; *Sis*, gecko; *Tabu*, snake; *Ger*, sea-snake; *Surlal* or *Waru*, green turtle; *Unawa*, turtle-shell turtle; *Maiwa*, a turtle?

Fishes: *Gapu*, sucker-fish; *Saker*; *Wad*; *Kaigas*, shovel-nosed skate; *Tapimul*, various kinds of ray; *Tolupai*, a species of ray; *Kursi*, hammer-headed shark; *Baidam*, shark; *Kutikuti*, a kind of shark; *Uzi*.

Invertebrates: *Wiag*, a sea-snail.

Plants: *Daibau*, a tuber; *Kokwam*, hibiscus.

Inanimate objects: *Kula*, a stone; *Goba*, a stone; *Titui*, a star.

SYSTEMATIC LIST OF ALL THE TOTEMS KNOWN FROM DAUDAI AND KIWAI.

Mammals: dog (D); kangaroo (D).

Birds: cassowary (D, K); hawk (D).

Reptiles: crocodile (D, K); rock-snake (D); tortoise (D).

Fish: cat-fish (K); shark (D); ground-shark (D); sting-ray (D).

Invertebrates: insect (D); crab (K).

Plants: fruit-tree (D); tree from which rope is made (D); mangrove (K); fig-tree (K); pandanus (K); reed (K); bamboo (K); tree with inedible fruit (K); Polynesian chestnut (K); coco-nut palm (K); croton or dracæna (K); nipa palm (K).

Inanimate objects: a stone from deep water (D); a stone (K).

The lists are interesting as they show the relative frequency of members of various groups of natural objects as totems. Of 36 totems in the Western Tribe, 31 are animals, 2 are plants, and these occur only in Saibai, and 3 are inanimate objects. Of 14 totems in Daudai, 11 are animals, 2 are plants, and there is one inanimate object. Of 15 totems in Kiwai, 4 are animals, 10 are plants, and 1 is an inanimate object. These lists may not be complete, but probably they are fairly representative.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TOTEMS.

It was customary for the members of a clan to bear some distinguishing emblem of their totem which was sometimes a portion of the *augud* or a carved representation of it. More rarely was the emblem cut on the person of the individual. Personal belongings were frequently decorated with the *augud* of the owner.

The respective emblems will be given in detail in the description of the several clans, but the method of the representation of the *augud* on the person must now be referred to briefly. In the description given in the next section a record has been made of what the natives said was done formerly; as a matter of fact the following is all that we actually observed.

The marking of a person is done by means of cicatrices and keloids; the method of producing these is described in the first volume. We have sketches and photographs to show that the *Dangal*, *Kodal*, and *Tabu augud* were cut on the loins of four women, but it certainly was not a universal custom.

During the Expedition of 1888-89 only four of these *kibuminar*¹ were seen, and they were on elderly women, and the scars were not very distinct; repeated enquiries failed to elicit other examples. Owing to the present custom of wearing calico gowns, the marks are not ordinarily visible, but in former days they would readily be seen above the waistband of the leaf petticoat. Patagam of Mabuiag (5A) and Wagud (5) both belong to the *Tabu*, *Dangal* clan of Mabuiag, but the former has the *Tabu augud* on her back (pl. IX. fig. 2), while the latter has the *Dangal* (pl. IX. fig. 4). Wagud married a Tutu man and was living in that island in 1888 and was then half silly. Ado of Badu has a dugong cut on her back (pl. IX. fig. 3). Though several enquiries have been made we have found considerable difficulty in determining the *augud* cut on Mēke of Tutu (pl. IX. fig. 1). In 1888 it was stated to represent the serrated spine of a sting-ray; since then we have been informed it was a conventional representation of the tail of a crocodile; on the other hand, Maino, the chief of Tutu, said she had *baibesam* which belonged to Sigai, *Kursi*, as her chief *augud* and *Waru* as her little *augud*; the cicatrice would thus represent the *baibesam*, a crescentic object decorated with cassowary feathers which probably had a magical significance similar to the emblems of Kwoiam.

The Boigu women appear to scarify themselves more than any other of the island women; the information we have on this head was given to us by Mr Robert Bruce, to whom we are also indebted for tracings of the cicatrices. Abaka of Boigu is marked on the abdomen with the cicatrices shown in pl. X. fig. 4; Mr Bruce was told they represented the leaf of a water-lily that grows in the fresh-water lakes of that island; we were told that they were the scutes of the back or tail of a crocodile. The scars on the arms of two Boigu women (fig. 19, p. 168) were called totem marks. Bonel of Saibai has scars on her leg (pl. X. fig. 3) which represent pelicans flying or floating on the water. The mark was called *awaiaw ita labai*, and we were told it was cut by the father on the right leg of a girl as a puberty mark and a sign that she was ready to be married. Bonel belongs to the *Sam* clan and is married to Zangaur (*Kodal*).

¹ *Kibu*, the loins; *minar*, mark.

The woman Kaubi (pl. x. fig. 2), who is now on Saibai, is a native of Sui on the mainland at the mouth of the Fly, her arm-scars were said to represent an edible shell-fish that lives in crevices of rocks. Kaubi has *Umai* as her chief totem, and she is married to Gabia (*Kodal*). At Iasa, Kiwai, we came across a woman (pl. x. fig. 1) whose right arm was scarred with a design, *tu-paraara*, that represented the *oi nurumara*, or coco-nut totem.

Although the men of several of the clans are stated to have had their *augud* cut on the right shoulder we have never seen any indication of it. A complicated mark, the *koimai*, was certainly very frequently cut on that spot, but there is no evidence that it ever represented an animal; Macgillivray¹ was informed it had "some connection with a turtle." For further information on this subject the section in the first volume dealing with scarification should be consulted.

Allusion has been made to the custom of adorning personal belongings with a representation of the owner's totem; owing, however, to the lack of authentic specimens in collections we have been able to give but very few actual examples. In various museums there are numerous objects from Torres Straits on which are carved or engraved representations of totemic and other animals, but as only a few of these have definite localities, it is impossible to say from what island they were obtained, or whether they came from the neighbouring coast of New Guinea.

3. THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TOTEMISM.

The importance of totemism in the social organization of the Western Islanders is considerable, though probably less so than at a former period, especially in connection with the regulation of marriage.

In each island there were a number of clans, all the members of each clan having the same totem or totems. Most of these clans had more than one totem; one totem was more important than the others and may be called the chief totem, while the others may be spoken of as subsidiary totems. In some cases two or more clans might have the same chief totem, while differing in their subsidiary totems; thus, there were in Mabuiag two clans in which the dugong was the chief totem; in one the subsidiary totem was the crocodile, and in the other the sucker-fish. The exact meaning of these subsidiary totems is a matter of some doubt, the discussion of which may be deferred till later.

The members of each clan generally lived in one locality, at any rate in Mabuiag. At present in this island all the people live in one village, but they still recognize that each clan has its established place, and the members of a given clan were often spoken of by the name of the place; thus the *Dangal*, *Kodal* clan of Mabuiag, living at Panai, were often spoken of as *Panai buai*² or Panai people. A man did not change

¹ *Voyage of Rattlesnake*, II. p. 13.

² In the translation of the Gospels the term *buai* is employed to signify relations. The idea evidently is that all the inhabitants of a place are relatives; probably this originally was the case in Mabuiag.

his clan if he changed his locality; if a *Panai buai* went to live elsewhere, he would not cease to be a dugong man. This definite connection between clan and locality has now ceased, and at the present time members of different clans may even live in the same house.

At the present time, and as far back as records have been preserved in the genealogies, descent in the clan has been reckoned in the male line. A man has the same totem or totems as his father. When questioned on this point the natives stated that a man or woman sometimes took the totem of his mother, but could give very few instances; the most definite in Mabuiag being that of Ausa (6)¹. This man, however, was adopted by his mother's brother, Dagai (2A), and it is not clear whether he became a *Kaigas* man because *Kaigas* was the totem of his mother or because it was that of his adopted father. Gauri, a brother of Ausa, was adopted by, and took the name of Gauri, another brother of his mother, but in this case it was uncertain whether he became a *Kaigas* man or retained the totem of his real father.

Another instance in which the children of a man appeared to have had different totems is that of Moigida (9), who was the progenitor of the numerous *Sam*, *Dangal*, *Tabu* clan. Gadia (10) of the *Dangal* clan was said to have been his younger son, but there was some doubt on this point. It is possible that this is an example of a child taking the totem of his mother.

There was no doubt that there was considerable confusion in the minds of the Mabuiag people on the subject of their rules of descent, and about two years before our visit the men had had a great talk about the totems and had agreed to allow some children to take the totem of the mother, but we do not know of any instance since that time in which this has taken place.

Descent in the male line was also the rule in the other islands of Torres Straits, but in the genealogy from Tutu (16) an instance will be found in which all the children of one family took the totem of their mother Mugena. This seems, however, to have been an exceptional case, probably connected with the succession to the chieftainship of the island. Kuduma (17) originally of Muralug took his mother's totem and went to live in Nagir, but his sister Kuzam retained her paternal totem. Kuduma's action was probably due to the retention of property in the family and possibly to certain duties connected with it, as scarcely any natives now exist in Nagir.

A man was not able to change his totem. The custom of exchanging names did not involve any change of totem. It has been stated by one of us on the authority of Maino (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. 1890, p. 410), "If a man sat [in the *kai kwod*] by the fire or upon the mat of a clan other than his own he was painted black, and thenceforth belonged to that clan." We have no further information on this point. Mr B. A. Hely has stated that in Saibai "In past times the wrongful assumption of a totem was punishable by death" (*Ann. Rep. B. N. G.* 1898, p. 136).

The regulation of marriage forms one of the most important aspects of totemism in most totemic communities, but in Mabuiag certainly, and probably throughout the Western Islands, marriage is at the present time regulated more by kinship than by

¹ The numbers in brackets after the names of different individuals refer to the tables recording the genealogies of the clans to which the individuals belong.

clanship. This subject will be more fully discussed in the article on the regulation of marriage, but it may be mentioned here that throughout the Western Islands marriages were not allowed within the clan. At one period of our work in Mabuiag it seemed as if this was the case. The natives told us that a *Dangal* man never married a *Dangal* woman nor a *Kodal* man a *Kodal* woman, etc. Nevertheless in the genealogies several such marriages are recorded (that between Ganair and Neru in Table 1, and that between Bamer and San in Table 4). On further investigation it was found, however, that in all these cases the people in question belonged to different clans though these clans had the same chief totem. In the same way there was no bar to the marriage of people having the same totem but belonging to different islands.

Maino (*Kodal*, *Womer*) of Tutu-Yam, Table 16, married Pauna (*Kodal*, *Womer*); Amu (*Kodal*), Table 16 A, who was Maino's grandmother's father, married Aubid (*Kodal*) after Daimoni and Irua, who was Amu's father or grandfather, married Maitoi (*Kodal*). As Pauna comes from Mawata and Aubid came from Kiwai, two of these apparent cases of clan incest disappear and it is highly probable that the same explanation applied to Maitoi.

In Muralug one case was found in which a man married within the clan, viz. that of Amura, who married his own sister, but this man was said to be "cranky." In Saibai one case was found in which a *Sam* man married a *Sam* woman. This may have been a case in which the people belonged to different clans, though having the same totem, as occurred in Mabuiag, but it was more probably a case of clan-incest, for the man was said to be "wild."

The prohibition of marriage within the clan also extended to sexual intercourse.

The wife keeps her own totem and does not take that of her husband.

The solidarity of the totem-clan was a marked feature in the social life of the people and it took precedence of all other considerations, not only so, but there was an intimate relationship between all members of the same totem irrespective of the island or locality to which they might belong and even warfare did not affect the friendship of totem-brethren.

Any man who visited another island would be looked after and entertained as a matter of course by the residents who belonged to the same totem as himself. A trivial personal experience will illustrate this point. In 1888 Maino, the chief of Tutu, who is a crocodile-man, as a sign of friendship exchanged names with one of us, and on the strength of this on arriving at Saibai in 1898 the white man claimed to be a crocodile-man also, and in this assertion he was supported by Maino, who happened to be present. The other crocodile-men at once acknowledged the fact, and a few minutes after landing on the island a crocodile-man made a present of some coco-nuts, and stated in doing so that he was a relative.

If a man visited an island where there were no individuals who had the same totem as himself he would stay with a clan which was recognised as being in some way associated with his own. Thus a *Umai* man of Tutu would visit the *Kaigas* people of Mabuiag who had *Umai* as one of their subsidiary totems.

Mr Hely¹ states that in Saibai "In working or in tribal discussions the various septs [clans] are separated"; and we were informed that even in warfare a man would never willingly or intentionally kill an enemy whom he knew to belong to the same totem as himself; fair warning would always be given.

These aspects of totemism prove that it was a distinct ameliorating influence in social intercourse and tended to minimise intertribal antagonism.

4. THE CLANS OF THE WESTERN ISLANDS.

MABUIAG.

The following are the clans which are at present in existence in Mabuiag or of which there are records in the genealogies.

Dangal. This is the totem of several clans. The most important is that in which *Dangal* is associated with *Kodal*. It is the clan of the chiefs of Mabuiag and belongs to Panai. The rites connected with the dugong took place at the *kwod* at Dabungai, which is close to Panai.

Another clan which is now extinct in the male line was said to have belonged to the island of Pulu and its chief men appear from Mr Wilkin's account to have been important people in connection with the *kwod* at that place. It was quite clear that the totem of this clan was *Dangal* but it could not be ascertained whether the subsidiary totem was *Kodal*, or indeed that there was a subsidiary totem at all. The pedigree of this clan is traced back to Gadia, who was said to have been the son of a man of the *Sam* clan, and, as already mentioned, it is possible that this is a case of female descent.

A clan which now seems to be quite distinct is that in which *Dangal* is associated with *Gapu*. The people of this clan were spoken of as Kaulak people belonging to the island of Pulu. The genealogy is traced back to two brothers, Watikarum and Bawari (8). The family of the latter has become extinct in the male line, but there are a fair number of representatives of the descendants of Mungai, the son of Watikarum. Mungai went to live in Badu and his descendants have continued to live chiefly in that island and were often spoken of as Badu people. It seemed, however, to be generally recognized that they really belonged to Mabuiag, and this clan has therefore been included among the Mabuiag families in Table 19, p. 176. The members of this clan have married more into Badu families than the other Mabuiag clans, but their place of residence would make this natural. It is worthy of notice that only one marriage is recorded between this clan and the *Dangal*, *Kodal* clan. The clans

¹ *Ann. Rep. B. N. G.* 1898, p. 136.

were said to be "half blood" with one another, but no connection between the two clans was to be traced as far back as the genealogies were kept. The fact however,

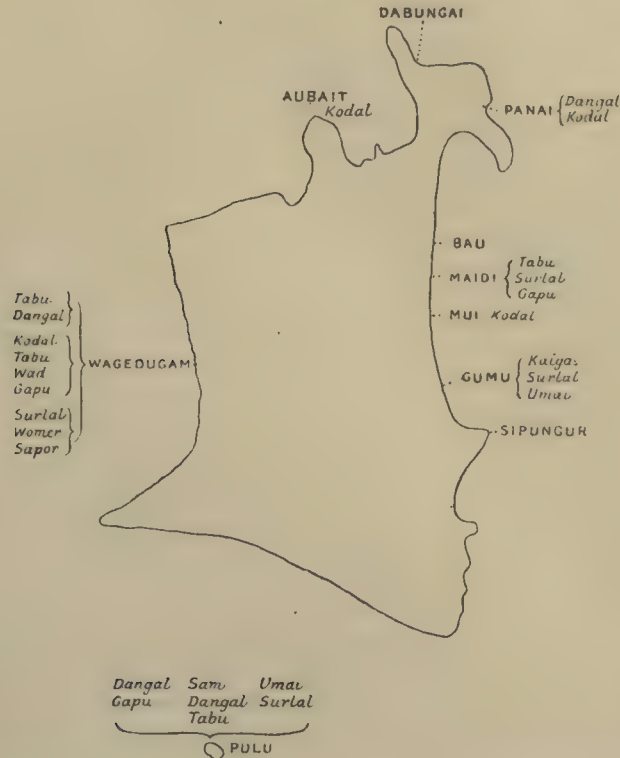


FIG. 12. Sketch map of Mabuig drawn by Waria, showing the distribution of the totem clans.

that only one marriage is recorded seems to show a reluctance to allow marriages between the two clans to take place.



FIG. 13. Drum (*warup*) from Saibai.

Important men of the *Dangal* clans were said to have had a representation of a dugong on the right shoulder, while the women had two such representations on the loins (*kibuminar*) (pl. IX. figs. 3, 4).

Representations of a dugong are frequently found on tobacco-pipes, occasionally on

drums (fig. 13 and pl. v. fig. 3)¹ and various other objects (pl. xi. fig. 1, the lines on the left-hand dugong in this figure indicate a way in which the meat is cut up).

Kaigas. This was the chief totem of an important clan living at Gumu. The subsidiary totems were *Surlal* and *Umai*. The genealogies were traced back to Maku, who had two wives from the islands of Boigu and Dauan and had many descendants by both, especially in the female line.

A few records are given in the genealogies of other people whose totem was *Kaigas*, but there is unfortunately no definite evidence that they were members of the same clan. In one case (12 A) *Kaigas* was said to be associated with *Kodal*, though there seemed to be some doubt as to whether *Kodal* was not the chief and *Kaigas* the subsidiary totem.

Kaigas people were said to be a quiet and peaceable folk, not given to much talking. The men of this clan would cut the figure of a *Kaigas* on their tobacco-pipes (pl. vi. fig. 9), and there was also some reason to believe that they scarified the right shoulder with a *Kaigas* emblem, while the women cut two figures on the loins. The representation of a *Kaigas* may be carved on a drum (fig. 13) and is worn as a pendant in the Fly River (pl. xi. fig. 3).

Kodal. There was certainly more than one clan of which the chief totem was *Kodal*.

Records were obtained of two genealogies in which the only totem was *Kodal*. One of these was traced back to Waiir (3), who lived at Aubait, the other to Waika (3A), who lived at Mui.

It is significant, however, that not a single marriage is recorded between these two families and there can be little doubt that they are divisions of one clan. We have no actual evidence on the point but it is probable that because the clan became too large or for some other reason part of the clan went to live away from its original locality. According to one account the members of the *Kodal* clan lived along the south-east shore from Sipungur to Panai, and it is probable that this was the original habitat of the clan and that the "Waiir" division moved away to live at Aubait. Though the relation between the clans was recognized as sufficiently close to prevent any intermarriage between them, it seems probable that the divisions were regarded as more or less distinct, for it will be noticed in Table 19 that some clans intermarried only into one division and others only into the other. Thus, no marriage took place between the *Surlal* clan and the Aubait division, while only one marriage occurred between this division and the *Dangal*, *Gapu* clan, though both these clans married into the Mui division. On the other hand, the *Kodal*, *Tabu*, *Wad*, *Gapu* clan married freely into the Aubait division, while no marriages took place between this clan and the Mui division.

Another *Kodal* clan was that just mentioned in which *Kodal* was associated with *Tabu*, *Wad* and *Gapu* as subsidiary totems. This clan lived at Wagedugam on the north-west side of the island and seems to have been important and influential, and has now numerous representatives. It appears to be quite distinct from the *Kodal* clans

¹ In this case, and in some of the figures that follow, the object represented did not come from Mabuig; but in every case, where it is known, the exact locality is mentioned.

of Mui and Aubait, and, as already mentioned, several marriages have occurred between it and the Aubait division.

In the genealogies a record is given of the descendants of Dibi (4 B) whose totem was said to have been *Kodal*. He belonged to Wagedugam and probably therefore belonged to the *Kodal*, *Tabu*, *Wad*, *Gapu* clan, but as we have no certain information on this point, the subsidiary totems have been omitted in the genealogies.

Another doubtful family was that of Dau (12), whose chief totem was said to be either *Kodal* or *Surlal* or *Kaigas*. If *Kodal*, this totem was almost certainly associated with *Surlal*, but we could not ascertain which of the two was the chief totem. The preponderance of evidence was in favour of *Surlal*, *Kodal*, *Tabu*, and these have been adopted as the totems in Table 12.

The *Kodal* people were said to be very strong and to have no pity. The men and women might wear, as a badge, a piece of the skin, or two or three scutes of a crocodile hung by a piece of string round the neck, the badge hanging down either in front or behind (fig. 14). Usually, instead of the badge, the men would put some kind of leaf in the hair over the forehead when walking in the bush. On certain occasions a round spot of red paint (*parma*) would be placed on the chest at the pit of the stomach.

Mr R. Bruce gave one of us a sketch (pl. x. fig. 4) of the scarifications on the abdomen of a Boigu woman named Abaka; we were informed at Saibai that these marks (fig. 15) represented the scutes on the shoulder or tail of a crocodile. A crocodile is engraved on a pipe (fig. 16) we obtained at Saibai.



FIG. 14. Scutes of a crocodile painted red and worn as a totem badge, Saibai, a little less than $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. Cambridge Museum.



FIG. 15. Cicatrice, natural size, representing the scutes of a crocodile's tail. Boigu.

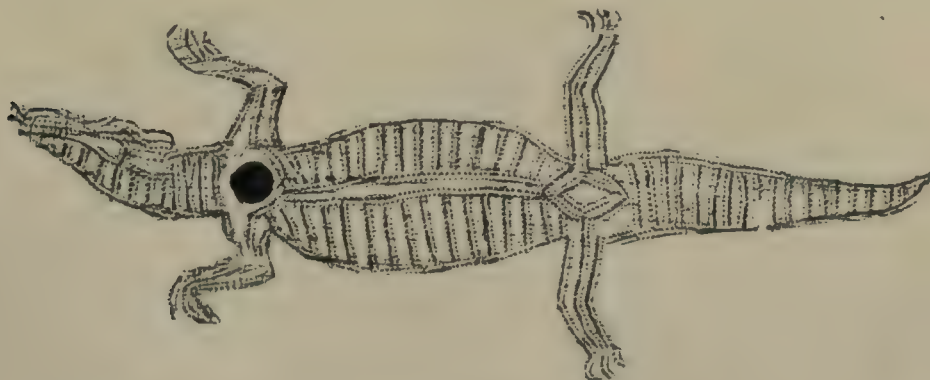


FIG. 16. Engraving of a crocodile on a bamboo tobacco-pipe from Saibai, one-half natural size. Cambridge Museum.

Fig. 17 is a somewhat similar decoration on a pipe in the Liverpool Museum which probably came from Daudai or Kiwai.

Sam. There was only one clan which had the cassowary as its chief totem with the dugong and snake as its subsidiary totems. This clan was said to belong to the island of Pulu, but there seems to be no doubt that it was also connected with both Maidi and Wagedugam on Mabuiag. A glance at the genealogies will show that this clan has been for several generations important as regards numbers, and many of its members appear also to have been influential. It has now more representatives than any other clan in Mabuiag, and some of its members have taken on duties belonging to other clans (cf. Government).

The members of the clan trace back their descent to Moigida, who appears also to have been the progenitor of one branch of the *Dangal* clan (p. 160).

The clan of Taibi (12 B) was doubtful. According to one account his totem was *Sam* or *Morau*; according to another, it was *Kodal* associated with *Tabu*. The balance of evidence appeared to be in favour of *Sam*, which has therefore been adopted in the genealogies. No subsidiary totems were given and we have no evidence to show whether this family is a branch of the *Sam*, *Dangal*, *Tabu* clan.

The *Sam* men were fond of fighting and also practised sorcery in connection with fighting. The members of the clan were said to be especially fast runners and prided themselves on their thin long legs, which they likened to those of a cassowary. If there was going to be a fight, a *Sam* man would say to himself, "My leg is long and thin, I can run and not feel tired; my legs will go quickly and the grass will not entangle them."

The men of this clan did not mark themselves in any way, but the girls might scarify the calf of each leg with a mark like ∇ , which represents the footprint of the cassowary, or they might have an appropriate *kibuminar*.

Representations of cassowaries are rather common on drums of the *buruburu* type (fig. 18 and pl. VIII. figs. 2, 3), otherwise they do not appear to be represented in decorative art.

There are some features of special interest in connection with the *Sam* clan. In the first place, the cassowary does not now inhabit the islands of Torres Straits, and if it had been present when they were first inhabited by men the bird must rapidly have become extinct. The existence of this clan therefore suggests either that the clan was introduced from outside or that the clan was in existence when the inhabitants migrated from a country that was inhabited by cassowaries¹. In the second place, the *Sam* clan

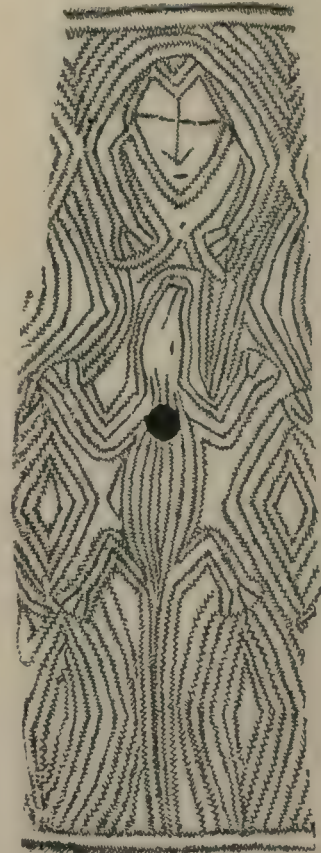


FIG. 17. One of four engravings of crocodiles on a pipe, probably from Daudai or Kiwai. Liverpool Museum (5010. M).

¹ Mawata is the only locality in New Guinea from which Mr Ray has the word *sam* for cassowary.

was said to have had no locality on the island of Mabuiag; it was said to belong to the island of Pulu. Some of the clans located in Pulu were connected with Badu, and it is possible that the *Sam* clan may have been at one time a Badu clan. It is perhaps significant that *Sam* did not occur as the subsidiary totem of any clan in Mabuiag. There is some indication in these facts that in the case of the *Sam* clan of Mabuiag we have an example of an insignificant, or perhaps altogether new clan, becoming one of the most important clans of the community, probably owing to its fecundity. We may mention here that in Tutu the *Sam* clan, at one time one of the chief clans, appears now to have become extinct (see p. 171).

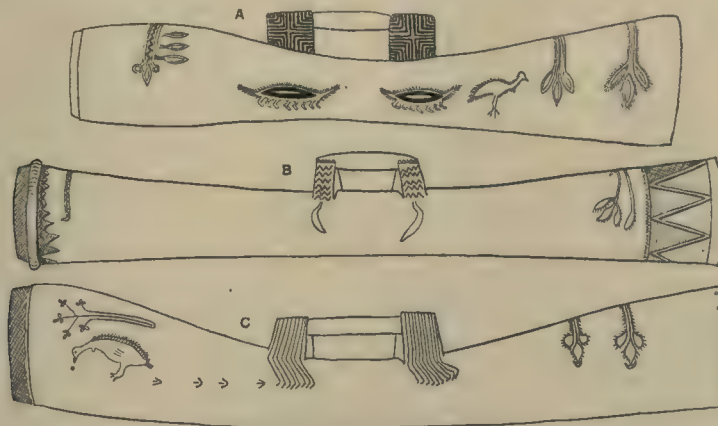


FIG. 18. Drums (*buruburu*) with engravings of the *Daibau* and *Sam* totems. The leaf-like decoration to the right, on each drum, represents the *Daibau*. B, Dresden Museum (6400), C, Cambridge Museum (O. III. 86. 71).

Surlal. The clan which has the turtle as its chief totem has the frigate-bird and flying-fox as subsidiary totems. This clan lived at Wagedugam and appears to have been at one time numerous and influential. It has at present only three male representatives, and if Utui should have no children it will become extinct.

It is possible that *Surlal* was also the chief totem of Dau (12) associated in this case with *Kodal* and *Tabu*, but as already mentioned this is one of the families whose totems were doubtful.

The *Surlal* people were said not to wear any badge of their totem.

Tabu. There were two distinct clans having the snake as the chief totem. In one *Tabu* was associated with *Dangal*, and this clan lived at Wagedugam, and is now well represented on the island.

The other snake clan lived at Maidi and *Tabu* was here associated with *Surlal* and *Gapu*. It is in this clan that instances of adoption chiefly occurred (see p. 151). We seem to have here a case of a clan naturally becoming small and having its numbers still further reduced by adoption of its members into other clans. On the other hand, it may be that we have in this clan a persistence of the custom of following the mother's clan, which was probably at one time general. If such a custom persisted in one clan, even occasionally, after paternal descent had become the universal

rule in other clans, the natural result would be the absorption of the clan into others, and it seems not improbable that something of this kind has occurred among the descendants of Pitu.

The *Tabu* people were said to be fond of fighting, and wherever a scrimmage occurred they got out their stone clubs and hit other people, putting out their tongues at the same time and wagging them like a snake. The names of members of the *Tabu*, *Dangal* clan occur frequently in the accounts of expeditions to Moa, etc. (see War). The *Tabu* people were also said to be sorcerers¹.

The men were said to have cut a coiled snake on the calf of each leg, while the women had two coiled snakes as *kibuminar* (pl. ix. fig. 2). The drawings by Mr R. Bruce of scarifications on the arms of two Boigu women (fig. 19) were shown by us to some Saibai people and they were said to be *Tabu augud*, and the design was called *Augud taman*. The men were said to have also had two small holes in the tip of the nose which were evidently intended to represent the nostrils of the snake. Fig. 20 represents two *Tabu* that are engraved on a bamboo tobacco-pipe, one on each side of the orifice for the bowl.

Umai. This clan, in which the dog has the turtle as subsidiary totem, is also nearly extinct, Malakula and his children were said to belong to the island of Pulu but its members appear to have lived for some time on Badu, and there is considerable doubt as to whether it is not properly a Badu clan. It is noteworthy that both the *Umai* and the *Dangal*, *Gapu* clans which now live on Badu should be said by the Mabuiag natives to belong to Pulu. It is possible that both were really Badu clans which the Mabuiag natives chose for some reason to claim as part of themselves, but as these clans had no land on Mabuiag, they assigned them to the island of Pulu.

¹ Bauri, father of Wakepatai (9 A), who was said to be a great *maidelaig*, was a *Tabu* man. His genealogy could not be obtained.



FIG. 19. Scarifications on arms of two Boigu women, said to be representations of *Tabu*.

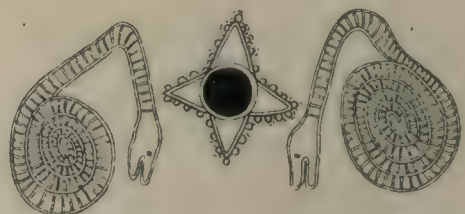


FIG. 20. Engraving of snakes on a bamboo pipe said to come from Cape York, but really from Torres Straits. British Museum (6520).

The *Umai* men were said to be sometimes fierce and fond of fighting like the *Tabu* men; at other times they were friendly and "glad to see people."



FIG. 21. Belt of decorated pearl-shells, on one of which are etched two *Baidam*. Cf. pl. vi. figs. 3 and 11. Berlin Museum (VI. 657).

The men wore no badge but would ornament their tobacco-pipes with representations of their *augud*, and they were said to do the same with their bamboo bows (*gagai*). The women were also said not to have any scarifications.

The foregoing clans are all those which now exist in Mabuiag, or appear to have existed in any numbers during the time of which records have been preserved in the genealogies. Among the totems of Mabuiag the natives included *Baidam* and *Tapimul*. No trace of clans with these totems were met with in the genealogies¹, and it is probable that they became extinct long ago and their names are only preserved in tradition.

The *Baidam* men were said to have been quarrelsome like the *Tabu* men, while the *Tapimul* people were quiet and harmless like the members of the *Kaigas* clan.

We were told that the men of both clans did not mark themselves in any way, though they might decorate their tobacco-pipes or other objects with their respective totems (figs. 21, 22). The women of the *Baidam* clan were said to have had a representation of the mouth of a shark as a *kibuminar*, while those of the *Tapimul* clan had a *kibuminar* representing a ray.

Here and there throughout the genealogies individuals were met with who were said to have totems differing from any clans now existing in Mabuiag. Thus, Dibag, the second wife of Gubi (9), was the daughter of Bigi, whose totems were said to be *Womer* and *Sapor*. These are now the subsidiary totems of the



FIG. 22. Comb from Yam, which belonged to a woman who had the *Tapimul augud*, $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. Cambridge Museum.

¹ The *Tapimul* clan was that of the chief in Badu and it is possible that this may have had at one time a branch in Mabuiag.

Surlal clan, but it is possible that at one time there may have been a clan of which *Womer* was the chief totem and that Bigi was one of the last surviving members of this now extinct clan. Nakobad, the first wife of Tabukara (7), was the daughter of Idai, whose totems were said to be *Sapor* and *Tabu*. He may have been a survivor of another extinct clan. Iakoma, the wife of Dawiri (6), was said to have *Madub* as her totem. This was another name of *Sapor*, and this woman may, therefore, have been another member of the same clan.

The totems of Mugusi, the wife of Gadia (10), were said to be *Surlal* and *Gapu*. These were the subsidiary totems of one of the *Tabu* clans (6), but may at one time have been the totems of a separate clan.

In any tribe, consisting of a number of clans, we might expect that the relative importance of the various clans, both in numbers and influence, would undergo considerable fluctuations. Once-important clans may become insignificant or extinct, while others may increase in importance.

In the genealogies of Mabuiag we have a record of what may happen in this respect in a few generations. One of the clans or subclans, the *Dangal* clan of Pulu, has become quite extinct, while others, such as the *Surlal*, *Umai*, and one of the *Tabu* clans, have almost followed in its wake. Other clans, such as the *Sam* clan, have probably increased greatly in numbers and importance.

It is probable that among most communities the extinction of a clan is prevented by the custom of adoption, and indeed it is possible that they may furnish a motive for the wide prevalence of the custom. So far as could be ascertained adoption was not very frequent in Mabuiag, and even when present, as we have seen in the case of the *Tabu* clan of Maidi, it may seem rather to have helped in the extinction of the clan, or its absorption into others.

BADU.

The record of the Badu clans was not obtained in so complete a manner as that of Mabuiag. A complete record was only taken of two clans, but fragments of several others were collected.

Tapimul. This was the only totem of the clan of the chiefs of Badu. Careful enquiry failed to elicit the existence of any subsidiary totem. The clan appears to have had numerous members, and the names of several *Tapimul* people occur in the genealogies in addition to those given in Table 13.

Kodal. This was the chief totem of a large clan of which the subsidiary totems were *Surlal* and *Gapu*. Its members appear to have been influential in the past and it has a fair number of living representatives.

Tabu. The genealogy of this clan was only obtained in a fragmentary manner and no subsidiary totem was given. Bauri, the father of Wakapatai (9A), probably belonged to this clan.

Dangal. Several representatives of this clan are living in Badu. The subsidiary totem was *Sam*. Only a few fragments of this clan were collected in the genealogies.

Sam. A few members of this clan are recorded in Table 15 B. The subsidiary totem was *Tapimul*.

The relation of the *Umai* and *Dangal*, *Gapu* clans to Badu has already been discussed. It is possible that they were Badu clans; though, if so, they seem to have been also closely connected with *Mabuiag*.

TUTU AND YAM.

Originally there were four chief clans in Tutu, *Baidam*, *Kodal*, *Umai*, and *Sam*; of these the first and the last are now extinct as such. So far as our imperfect evidence goes the following order expresses the numerical importance of the existing clans in Yam (Tutu is now only temporarily inhabited): *Kodal*, *Kursi*, *Umai*, *Waru*, *Tabu*. The *Waru* totem is also associated with *Kursi* as a subsidiary totem, and the clan has been reinforced from elsewhere. The *Tabu* clan appears to have been greatly reinforced by marriages with the small islands to the east, and we did not find it at all numerically important. Although *Womer* is a subsidiary totem to both *Kodal* and *Kursi* we do not find any record of it as a true Tutu-Yam clan, but Waraber and Damut *Womer* women have married Yam men, and now reside on that island. It is not clear whether there are any members of a true *Ger* clan in Yam, though there is, as we shall see in the section on Religion, a *Ger* shrine in Yam. There is a *Ger* clan in Waraber. We obtained in Yam a comb (fig. 22) which belonged to Mami, a woman who was said to have the *Tapimul* as her *augud*, but we have no record of such a clan, and she was probably from another island.

SAIBAI.

In Saibai there are five clans, which Mr. Hely placed in the following order of precedence: *Kodal*, *Sam*, *Daibau*, *Umai*, and *Tabu*; according to our census the numerical preponderance of the clans is as follows: *Kodal* (104), *Daibau* (84), *Sam* (82), *Tabu* (47), *Umai* (36): total of men, women, and children in Saibai 353. Each clan had a "little totem" associated with the "big totem"; these are discussed later.

5. THE DUAL GROUPING OF THE CLANS.

We have now to consider the evidence for a former grouping of the clans in the islands of Mabuiag, Tutu, Yam, Muralug, and Saibai.

MABUIAG.

We were definitely informed that the clans in Mabuiag were formerly grouped into two divisions, which were called respectively *Kai augudau kazi* and *Mugi augudau kazi*, that is "the Children, or People, of the Great" and of "the Little Totem."

This dual division is doubtless primitive, but we are of the opinion that these names of the groups are comparatively recent, as they evidently refer to the magical insignia of Kwoiam, the *kutibu*, and *giribu*, to which reference has already been made (pp. 70, 80), and which will be dealt with again when the cult of Kwoiam is described.

The *Kai augudau kazi* were *Kodal*, *Sam*, and *Tabu*, with whom were associated *Umai*.

The *Mugi augudau kazi* were *Dangal* and *Kaigas*, with these were associated *Baidam*, *Tapimul*, and *Surlal* (or *Waru*).

It is interesting to note that this grouping corresponds with the mode of life of the totem animals. Those of the first group are all land animals, the four legs of the crocodile evidently outweighing in the native mind the amphibious habits of that reptile. Whereas the members of the second group are all marine animals; or, to quote the words of an informant, "They all belong to the water, they are all friends" (*tukoiab¹ kazi*). The names mentioned on this occasion were *Dangal*, *Kaigas*, *Kursi*, *Baidam*, *Puri*, and *Surlal*. *Kursi* is not a Mabuiag *augud*, neither is *Puri*, which is a species of shark, and there are no longer any people of the *Baidam* clan.

It is evident that there was an approach to a geographical separation of these two groups, but at the present time this is entirely lost as the missionaries have induced those who formerly lived scattered over the island to congregate in one village, and in this village there is no segregation of totemic groups.

Formerly the *Dangal* clan lived at Panai and the *Kaigas* at Sipungur and Gumu, all of which places are on the windward, or south-east, side of the island.

Wagedugam, on the north-west side of the island, was regarded as the district of the *Kai augudau kazi*, and one of the *Kodal* clans (*Kodal*, *Tabu*, *Wad*, *Gapu*) and one of the *Tabu* clans (*Tabu*, *Dangal*) undoubtedly lived here, but the other *Kodal* clan or clans and the other *Tabu* clan lived on the south-east side, close to the district which was said to be that of *Mugi augudau kazi*. We have no evidence as to the origin of these clans possessing the same totem, but it is probable that they arose by a process of splitting up of the original *Kodal* and *Tabu* clans, and both the clans may have originally lived at Wagedugam. There are, however, other discrepancies between the accounts of the localities of the two groups as given by the natives and the localities

¹ Cf. Kinship, p. 180, originally a man's brother, a woman's sister, a cousin, but extended to a friend and a guest.

of individual clans; thus *Surlal*, one of the *Mugi augudau kazi*, was located at Wagedugam. The locality of *Sam* and *Umai*, both *Kai augudau kazi*, was very doubtful; both clans were said to belong to the island of Pulu, but at present *Sam* men are said to be connected both with Wagedugam and Maidi, i.e. with what were said to be districts of both groups.

Our evidence as to the localities of the clans is not very satisfactory, and the subject does not seem to be altogether clear in the minds of the natives. It is probable that they are correct in stating that the two groups had separate localities. This ancient separation appears, however, to have become obscured by various causes, some clans having changed their places, while others, such as the *Dangal*, *Kodal* and *Kaigas* clans of the one group and the *Kodal*, *Tabu* and *Tabu*, *Dangal* clans of the other group, have retained their original localities.

TUTU AND YAM.

The natives of Tutu and Yam live at different periods of the year in either island, and they are all one people, the Tutulaig; but it will be convenient to deal separately with the islands as different ceremonies took place in each island.

In describing the initiation ceremonies it will be pointed out that when these and the death ceremonies were being performed in the *Kai kwod* in Tutu four mats were placed down the centre of the *kwod*, and by the side of each mat there was an appropriate fireplace. Each mat with its fireplace belonged to a particular clan, these were *Kodal*, *Baidam*, *Sam*, and *Umai*, and the mats were placed side by side in this order. When tracing the relationships and totems of certain individuals it was found that the second and third of these were unrepresented and that several totems of living people were not provided for in the *kwod* at Tutu.

The *Kodal* and *Baidam* clans formed one group, indeed Maino used the phrase "like brothers" in order to describe their association. *Kodal* was termed *Kai augud*, or great totem, of which *Baidam* was the *Mugi augud*, or little totem. These terms of great and little totems must not be confused with the great and little totems (*kutibu* and *giribu*) of Mabuiag, both of which were great totems in the Tutu sense of the word. The Tutulaig acknowledged a second *Kai augud*, *Kursi*, of which *Sam* and *Umai* were the *Mugi augud*.

The island was correspondingly divided into two districts, the northern half belonged to the *Kodal* and the southern half to the *Kursi* group. The *Kai kwod* was probably at the boundary line between these two territories, but in the *kwod* the *Baidam* and *Kodal* ~~the~~ mats and fireplaces were south of those of the *Sam* and *Umai*. During the ceremonies the lads (*kernge*) who were being initiated sat at opposite ends of the *kwod* to the position of their respective mats; that is, the *Kodal kernge* sat at the northern end of the *kwod* and the *Kursi kernge* at its southern end.

The shrines in the *kwod* at Yam will be described in the section dealing with Hero cult. It is only necessary to state here that there were two main totem shrines, that of *Kodal* and *Kursi* respectively. The small and unimportant *Ger augud* was an offshoot from the latter totem.

The explanation of this discrepancy between the totems of the *kwods* of the two islands is perhaps as follows. We may regard the *Baidam* and *Kodal* on the one hand and the *Umai* and *Sam* as the original totems of the two clan-groups of the Tutulaig. Later it appears that the *Baidam* and *Sam* clans died out or became insignificant and other clans were introduced from elsewhere or grew in importance locally, these were *Kursi*, *Waru* and *Tabu*. The *Kodal* clan thus became the important member of its group and the associated totem became insignificant. What happened to the other group is not quite so clear. So far as our imperfect data go the *Umai* and *Kursi* clans together are about equal numerically with the *Kodal*; but the new clan of *Kursi* is the important member of its group and has *Umai* and *Sam* as its "*mugi augud*" or little totems.

Owing to the greater fertility and the presence of good drinking-water in Yam the natives lived a good deal of their time in that island and it came to be the chief residence of the bulk of the Tutulaig. Hence it is not surprising that another *kwod* was prepared, or that this *kwod* represented the changed conditions. The obsolete clans were unrepresented and the two *kai augud* received increased respect.

It is very suggestive to find that the *Markai* or death ceremonies were performed in Tutu only. Funeral customs are conservative and the death-dances would naturally be performed where they had taken place from time immemorial and where they were associated with a social order that had passed away. The initiation ceremonies were also performed in the time-honoured *kwod*. A modification of the old totemic religion arose in Yam, this was associated with the names of the heroes Sigai and Maiau (cf. Folk-Tales, p. 64) who were directly invoked by the prefix of "*augud*" (p. 154). We were told that the women and uninitiated only knew of them as Sigai and Maiau, whereas the initiates were informed that Sigai was the same as *Kursi*, the hammer-headed shark, and that Maiau was *Kodal*, the crocodile. Maino definitely stated that the "*augud*" was confined to Yam, and it seems as if this new cult (to which Maino applied the term "*augud*") was in process of being evolved from totemism.

MURALUG.

In the *kwod* of the *kula augud* during the performance of the *kulan terai* there was a dual arrangement of clan mats and fireplaces, apparently analogous to the quadruple arrangement in the *kai kwod* of Tutu (for further particulars, cf. Initiation).

SAIBAI.

When enquiries were made respecting the inhabitants of the houses in Saibai the fact was soon elicited that formerly the single village consisted of a double row of houses separated by a long open space or street and the houses of each clan were placed side by side, the arrangement being as follows:

Tabu	Daibau	
Kodal	Umai	Sam.

The people who lived on one side of the street were friends, while there were constant quarrels between the two sides of the street, although, as Table 20 shows, the bulk of the marriages took place across the street. Finding that this division of the village fostered faction fights the South Sea teacher (Jakobi) at Saibai had endeavoured to mix up the houses, with the result that the old grouping has disappeared. The residents of every house were recorded and it became apparent that a tendency towards clan segregation is still discernible. This is shown by the village consisting of groups of houses, each group being mainly owned by members of the same clan, and further the inhabitants of each house belonged to the same clan. The very few exceptions to this rule being cases where a man was living in a house which belonged to his wife's people.

We are justified in assuming that the *Tabu-Daibau* clans constituted one group and the *Kodal-Umai-Sam* another; but we did not obtain any definite names for these two groups.

In a typical totemic community a man may not marry into his own clan, usually the prohibition extends to several clans. A group of exogamous clans within a community is generally termed a phratry.

As an example of what occurs in parts of Melanesia we will refer only to the evidence the Rev. B. Danks¹ collected in New Britain, Duke of York Island, and New Ireland, where the communities are divided into two groups and no man may marry or have intercourse with a woman of his own group. Each group is associated with a single totem or with a "mythological personage."

An Australian tribe is usually composed of two phratries, which divide between them all the clans; very often there are two classes or subphratries to each of the phratries. In the Western Islands of Torres Straits we have shown that there is a dual division of the community, but there is nothing comparable to the classes.

The essential feature of a phratry is that its members cannot intermarry, that is, it is an exogamous division of the community. We have now to see how far this definition will carry us in the Western Islands.

MABUIAG.

We have analysed the records of the Mabuiag genealogies with the object of ascertaining if they show any indication that marriages were more frequent between the clans of the two groups than between those belonging to the same group. In Table 19 we have given the marriages between the different clans of Mabuiag. Only those marriages have been included in which the clans of both parties to the marriage are quite certain, thus the marriages of Tables 4 B, 10, 12, 12 A and 12 B have been omitted and we have also omitted the marriages in which the *Umai* clan (11) and the *Tabu, Surlal, Gapu* clan (6) are concerned, the former on account of the small size and incompleteness of the genealogy and the latter because owing to the prevalence of adoption

¹ B. Danks, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xviii. 1889, p. 281.

(and possibly female succession) in this clan, there is considerable doubt about the totems of several individuals included in the genealogy.

This table therefore shows the intermarriages of nine clans (counting the two divisions of the *Kodal* clan as separate clans) and records 161 marriages.

TABLE 19.

FEMALES.

Kai augudau kazi phratry

MALES. Kai augudau kazi phratry

	Kodal 3	Kodal 3 A	Kodal Tabu Wad Gapu	Tabu Dangal	Sam Dangal Tabu	Dangal Kodal	Dangal Gapu	Kaigas Surlal Umai	Surlal Womer Sapor	Total
Kodal 3	...	...	4	3	4	5	1	...	...	17
Kodal 3 A	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	1	1	8
Kodal Tabu Wad Gapu	5	...	...	7	1	2	1	4	...	20
Tabu Dangal	1	1	7	...	...	1	...	4	2	16
Sam Dangal Tabu	3	4	3	1	...	3	1	11	5	31
Dangal Kodal	6	...	6	5	2	...	1	4	...	24
Dangal Gapu	...	4	1	...	2	1	...	8	1	17
Kaigas Surlal Umai	2	3	2	5	1	...	1	...	1	15
Surlal Womer Sapor	...	4	2	1	2	2	...	2	...	13
Total	17	16	25	22	15	14	8	34	10	161

Mugi augudau kazi phratry

Mugi augudau kazi phratry

Mugi augudau kazi phratry

Of the nine clans included in Table 19 five belong to the *Kai augudau kazi* (*Tabu*, *Sam* and the three *Kodal* clans) and four belong to the *Mugi augudau kazi* (*Kaigas*, *Surlal* and the two *Dangal* clans). On examination of the Table it will be found that ninety-three marriages are recorded between members of the former group and those of the latter group. Forty-seven marriages are recorded between *Kai augudau kazi* and twenty-one between *Mugi augudau kazi*, i.e. sixty-eight marriages took place within the two groups. If all the clans had married into one another equally, there would, however, have been a larger number of marriages between the two groups than within the two groups, and it is doubtful whether any importance can be attached to the excess of the former kind of marriage.

Examination of the figures in detail does not show any tendency for marriage to occur especially between members of the two groups. It is true that the largest number of marriages recorded are between the *Dangal* and *Kodal* clans (i.e. 29) belonging to different groups, but the intermarriages which come next in order of frequency are those between *Kodal* and *Tabu*, *Kodal* and *Sam*, *Dangal* and *Kaigas* (i.e. 19, 18 and 13), the two clans in each case belonging to the same group.

We may say then that the Mabuia marriages fail to give any evidence showing that the grouping of the clans in this island was one in which members of one group intermarried especially or exclusively with members of the other. It will be shown, however, in dealing with the regulation of marriage that at present and so far back as the genealogical records extend, marriage has been regulated by kinship rather than by clanship, and it will be shown that the marriage regulations are and have been of such a kind that they must inevitably have destroyed any system of intermarriage between two groups which may at one time have existed.

TUTU AND MURALUG.

We have analysed the Tutu and Muralug marriages from this point of view, but the numbers are too few to give any decisive result.

SAIBAI.

The marriages between the various clans of Saibai are shown in the following Table. Out of 86 marriages, 6 of them, or 7 per cent., were between members of the *Tabu-Daibau* group, 27, or 32 per cent., were between members of the *Kodal-Umai-Sam* group, while 51, or 61.4 per cent., were between the two groups. There is one doubtful record of a marriage between two *Kodal* people, this has been omitted in the tables.

From these figures it is evident that nearly two-thirds of the marriages take place between the two groups and comparatively few between the members of the *Tabu-Daibau* group. On the other hand there appear to be a large number (27) of marriages between the members of the *Kodal-Umai-Sam* group. One of these marriages was clearly a case of clan incest, as Yapia a *Sam* man married Giwai a *Sam* woman, our informant volunteering the information that Yapia was a "wild man." We know that

three of these marriages were between natives of Saibai and those of another island, which as we have already stated is permissible. It is possible that other instances can be explained in a similar way, as the natives of the neighbouring island of Dauan as well as those of the more distant islands of Boigu and Buru habitually intermarried with those of Saibai, and now they all live, or practically so, in Saibai. This fact may be responsible for many of these marriages. On the other hand there is a great disparity between the numbers of the members of the two groups, there being but 58 married adults in the *Tabu-Daibau* group as against 97 in the *Kodal-Umai-Sam* group. Thus there are not enough adults in the one to supply spouses for the other group, and consequently there would be a strong constraint for the system to break down.

TABLE 20.

MALES	FEMALES						
		<i>Tabu</i>	<i>Daibau</i>	<i>Kodal</i>	<i>Umai</i>	<i>Sam</i>	Total
	<i>Tabu</i>	...	3	2	...	5	10
	<i>Daibau</i>	3	...	5	1	14	23
	<i>Kodal</i>	3	3	...	5	9	20
	<i>Umai</i>	3	3	2	...	2	10
	<i>Sam</i>	7	7	8	...	1	23
	Total	16	16	17	8	31	86

The following table gives the approximate number of the native inhabitants of Saibai as distributed among the five clans.

The *Daibau-Tabu* group thus consists of 131 souls, while the other group consists of 222 persons all told.

The Saibai marriages on the whole support the view that members of one group of clans tend to marry into the other group.

We have seen that in Mabuiag all traces of intermarriage between the two phratries have disappeared and we have ascribed this to the fact that marriage in that island has probably for many generations been regulated by kinship. The fact that Saibai still shows a distinct tendency for members of one phratry to marry members of the other suggests that the marriage regulations of this island have not developed in the same way as those of Mabuiag and that marriage in Saibai is at the present day regulated by clanship rather than by kinship.

By collecting the scattered evidence from different islands concerning the disposition of houses, the arrangements of certain *kwods* and the regulation of marriages, we have unequivocal testimony to a previous dual grouping of the clans throughout the Western Islands of Torres Straits.

No data on this point are at present forthcoming from the neighbouring mainland of New Guinea, but there is a dual family grouping in some villages in the Mekeo and Rigo districts of the Central Division of British New Guinea which is suggestive of something of this kind, and, as we have seen, there are records of its occurrence in various Melanesian Islands.

TABLE 21.

<i>Augud</i>	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
<i>Tabu</i>	9	15	15	8	47
<i>Daiban</i>	19	15	23	27	84
<i>Kodal</i>	21	15	38	30	104
<i>Umai</i>	8	6	14	8	36
<i>Sam</i>	19	28	22	13	82
Total	76	79	112	86	353

A dual grouping of clans is at the base of the Australian clan system; this is so well recognised that there is no need to go into further particulars.

We are thus justified in assuming that the grouping of the clans of the Western Islands into two phratries is an ancient feature of the sociology of the Torres Straits Islanders, and although it has ceased to have preponderating importance with regard to marriage regulations it has not been forgotten, and when Hero-worship was in process of evolution the dual system received an increased significance by being incorporated in the new cult.

6. SUBSIDIARY TOTEMS.

We were unable to ascertain definitely the significance of the subsidiary totems in the Western Islands. In Mabuiag and Badu all the clans with two exceptions (*Tapimul* and one *Kodal* clan) had one or more subsidiary totems in addition to the chief totem. In Muralug one clan was said to have as many as seven totems. In Nagir totems were associated together, the examples met with being *Baidam* and *Dangal*, *Sis* and *Waru*, *Saker* and *Maiwa*. In Tutu several cases occurred in which a clan had more than one totem, the examples being *Kursi* and *Womer*, *Kursi* and *Waru*, *Kodal* and *Womer*.

When we asked the Mabuiag people for an explanation of the fact that a man had more than one totem, we were usually told that a man sometimes took the totem of his mother as well as of his father. It is in favour of this explanation that the subsidiary totems of one clan were usually the chief totems of other clans. At the present time, and as far back as the genealogical record extends, the subsidiary totems run through the whole clan, and have not changed from individual to individual except in a few cases. As already mentioned (pp. 128, 150) there is much reason to believe that the practice of maternal descent existed at one time in the Western Islands, and it is an inviting hypothesis to suppose that the existence of subsidiary totems is a survival of the change from one mode of descent to the other, the first man who adopted his father's totem taking his mother's totem in addition and then transmitting both to his descendants. On this hypothesis the existence of two or more subsidiary totems would be accounted for by the continuance of taking the mother's totem for two or more generations. It is in favour of this hypothesis that the natives themselves ascribed the existence of subsidiary totems to the practice of taking the mother's totem; at least one case, that of Ausa (6), in which an allied practice occurred is recorded in the genealogies. Ausa was the son of a *Tabu* man who was adopted by a brother of his mother, and took the totems of his mother's clan, viz. *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, *Umai*, but dropped the last, taking his father's totem, *Tabu*, in its place, so that his totems were *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, *Tabu*. We endeavoured to ascertain whether this grouping of totems would be transmitted to his children, but the natives were not at all certain on the point, and were doubtful whether the totems of Peter, his son, were also *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, *Tabu*. The instance given is one in which a man takes his father's totem in addition to his mother's, and is therefore in the opposite direction to that which would have occurred, according to the hypothesis, in the origin of the practice, but it illustrates the tendency to take the totems of both parents in some cases.

If the suggested hypothesis is correct, we might expect to find that the subsidiary totems would have been those of clans with which the original clan would have intermarried, i.e. the subsidiary totems should be those of *mugi augudau kazi*, when the chief totem is that of one of the *kai augudau kazi* and *vice versa*. The grouping of totems shows, however, no regularity in this respect. In some cases, i.e. *Dangal* and *Kodal*, *Tabu* and *Dangal*, *Umai* and *Surlal*, the associated totems belong to different phratries, and it is noteworthy that marriages between members of the *Dangal*, *Kodal* clan

and those of the *Kodal* clans have been especially frequent. The *Tabu*, *Surlal*, *Gapu* clan gives a case in which the chief totem belongs to one group and both subsidiary totems to the other. The other cases do not, however, support the hypothesis; in the case of *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, and *Umai*, the first and second belong to the *mugi augudau kazi*, while the third belongs to the other group; in the case of *Kodal*, *Tabu*, *Wad* and *Gapu*, the first two belong to the *kai augudau kazi*, while the others probably belong to the other group, being water animals. In the case of *Surlal*, *Womer* and *Sapor*, we have no evidence as to the phratries to which the subsidiary totems belonged. This line of evidence in its bearing on the hypothesis is inconclusive, but it is possible that the origin of subsidiary totems may have been comparatively recent, and possibly long after the dual organization had ceased to be effective.

Some of the totems, viz. *Sam* and *Kaigas*, only occurred as chief totems in Mabuiag; others, viz. *Gapu*, *Wad*, *Womer* and probably *Sapor*, only occurred as subsidiary totems, *Gapu* occurring in no less than four Mabuiag and Badu clans as subsidiary though not once found as chief totem. It is perhaps worthy of notice that in two of these cases *Gapu* is associated with *Surlal*, for the former is used in one method of catching turtle. We have already referred to the peculiar position of the *Sam* clan, and the possibility that it may have been a comparatively recent clan, and it is perhaps in favour of this view that *Sam* does not occur as a subsidiary totem. In connection with the fact that *Kaigas* also only occurred as a chief totem, we may mention that Kwoiam was a *Kaigas* man, and that if Kwoiam was a native of Australia, he may have brought the *Kaigas* totem with him.

On the other hand *Gapu*, *Wad*, *Sapor* and *Womer* may at one time have been the chief totems of clans which have now become extinct, and have been preserved as subsidiary totems owing to one of the causes already discussed.

Another possible explanation of subsidiary totems is that they may be indications of a process of absorption of one clan into another. In the case of the *Tabu*, *Surlal*, *Gapu* clan we have seen an example in which a member of one clan adopted into another has taken with him his original totem as a subsidiary totem, and it is possible that this might also occur if one clan were absorbed by another¹.

Subsidiary totems occurred among the Tutulaig and have been referred to on pp. 173, 174.

In Saibai certain totems, which were termed *mugina augudal* or little totems, were associated with others the *kai augudal* or great totems. Their relation was as follows (the little totems are placed in brackets): *Kodal* (*Baidam*), *Umai* (*Karum*), *Sam* (*Waru*, *Goba*), *Tabu* (*Karbai*), *Daibau* (*Kokwam*, *Wiag*). The *kai augud* and its appropriate *mugina augud* in Saibai were associated with "one people." Owing to our extremely brief visit to Saibai we had no opportunity of discovering whether the association of a great and a little totem ran through a whole clan.

Wallaby, our Muralug informant (17), had *Kwoiam* as his chief totem, and for associated totems had *Unawa*, *Kursi*, *Dangal*, *Ngagalaig*, *Aubu*, and *Titui* (cf. p. 180). So far

¹ It will be noted that this clan has been cited in favour of both hypotheses. Ausa having been adopted by his mother's brother, his new totem was that of both his mother and his adopted father, and his case fits in with either hypothesis.

as our information goes only the first two of these are also primary totems of existing clans in Muralug, but we have no evidence as to the significance of the other associated totems.

We have been unable to find any other examples of subsidiary totems resembling those of the Western Islands. It is quite clear that they are not of the same kind as those which Mr Howitt¹ has called subtotems. In this case each totem has a number of other objects subordinate to it, and these are regarded by Mr Howitt as being "totems in a state of development." In Torres Straits, on the other hand, all are fully developed totems, but any one of them may be at the same time a chief totem to one clan and a subsidiary totem to another. There can be very little doubt that they are intimately connected with the social aspect of totemism, and are the results of various changes which have occurred in the relations of the clans to one another.

On the other hand the *mugina augud* of Saibai and probably those of Muralug appear to resemble the subtotems of Howitt. In each case the chief totem of a clan had another totem associated with it, but in no case was the little totem of one clan the great totem of another.

In Mabuiag the terms *kai augud* and *mugina augud* had attained an altogether different significance, being applied to the emblems of Kwoiam.

7. THE MAGICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF TOTEMISM.

We do not intend to enter into a discussion concerning the nature of Religion; for our present purpose we regard as religious those totemic regulations and practices that have reference more directly to the non-practical side of human life; it is, however, often difficult, sometimes impossible, to discriminate between the social and the religious aspects of totemism.

We have distinguished between the magical and religious aspects of totemism. Magic in this connection among the Western Islands is a pantomimic or symbolic action on the part of the human members of a clan which is designed to have a direct effect upon the non-human members of the same clan.

TOTEMISM AND MAGIC.

We were informed in Mabuiag that only the *Dangal* and *Surlal* (or *Waru*) clans have "medicine" and it was definitely stated that *Sam*, *Kodal*, *Tabu*, *Baidam*, *Kursi*, *Kaigas* and *Tapimul* have none; this phrase evidently refers to the two following ceremonies.

SYMBOLIC MAGIC CONNECTED WITH THE DUGONG.

The headquarters of the *Dangal* clan was at Dabungai and it was in the *kwod* there, close to the sea shore, that the magical ceremony took place, which had for its object the constraining of the dugong to come towards the island to be caught. It

¹ *Smithsonian Report for 1883* (Washington, 1885).

is worthy of note that Dabungai faces Orman's reef and the other extensive uncharted reefs to the north which are the great feeding grounds of the dugong, and consequently this is the area where they are most abundant. The first dugong of the season, obtained by a *Dangal* man, was treated in the following manner.

The *Dangal* men who officiated were painted with a red line from the tip of the nose, up the forehead and down the spine to the small of the back, in order to resemble the wake of mud that streams behind the dugong when it is browsing upon the *Cymodocea*, which grow on a soft bottom. A wooden model of a dugong which we obtained from this island, and which was used as a charm to attract dugong, is painted in a similar manner. *Diwangaugu*¹ and *gulagül* were twisted round the waist and as armlets round the arms of the men, their forehead was decked with upright leaves to represent the spouting of the dugong when it comes to the surface of the water to breathe, and leaves were inserted in the arm-bands to simulate water splashing off a dugong when it comes into very shallow water.

The *pui*, or "medicine," which was appropriate to the dugong was compounded of *diwangaugu*, *gulagül*, *pasarg*, *manu*, *takar*, *ngubur*, *terarmadu*, *kazilaigab*, *mimeg*, *grauut* or *gruat* (*Sesuvium Portulacastrum*), and *pitar*. These plants were put on the ground and the dugong placed on the top of them. Several men hoisted the dugong up by its tail in such a manner as to make it face the rest of the island, thereby indicating to the dugong in the sea the way from the reefs to the island. The dugong used in this ceremony was given to the *Surlal* men.

On the other hand, a *Dangal* man can give bad luck (*zugumungan*)² to anyone who is dugong fishing. If, for example, a man who had caught a dugong and would not give any of the meat to one of the chief *Dangal* men who wanted some, the latter in his anger would perform the following act of magic. He would take the penis of a dugong, through which he would pass an arrow and pushing it up and down would say the following *unewen*³:

"*Ngata aiman dangal ini lämi maigi lak ngapa maigi amadan.*"

I make dugong penis copulate do not again come hither do not near

This would prevent the dugong from coming near the *nešt* which the fisherman had erected, and no dugong would come until the curse had been removed.

SYMBOLIC MAGIC CONNECTED WITH TURTLE.

The first turtle caught during the turtle-breeding season was handed over to the men of the *Surlal* clan. It was taken not to the village, but to the *kwod* of the clan and was there smeared all over with red ochre (*parma*), when it was known as *Parma surlal*. The clansmen painted themselves with a red mark across the chest and another across the abdomen, evidently to represent the anterior and posterior margin of the

¹ The literal meaning of this word is "medicine of joy."

² Literally "to throw zugu."

³ *Unewen* (sometimes pronounced as *wenewen*, *winawen*, etc.) is employed in the translation of the Gospels for "spiritual power" and is probably the equivalent of the *mana* of Oceania. We heard it used also to describe a sentence or form of words; perhaps a magical formula would more often express this employment of the word.

plastron, or under-shell, of the turtle. They wore cassowary-feather head-dresses (*dagoi*) and danced round the turtle whirling bull-roarers (*bigu*) and shaking as rattles the nutshells of *Pangium edule* (*goa*). A length of the *gawai* creeper was cut off and slightly sharpened at one end, this was inserted in the cloaca of the turtle and pushed up and down several times. This was an act of pantomimic magic to "make him (that is, all the turtle) proper fast¹," in other words to ensure a good *surlal* season. The turtle was then given to the *Dangal* men, who ate it. This ceremony was performed at day-time without any attempt at secrecy, but neither women and children nor even members of other clans came near while it lasted.

Mr Seligmann, to whom we are indebted for one or two particulars in the foregoing account, obtained the following information: "An ill-conditioned fellow might make the *surlal* season a very bad one by taking the heart of any turtle, wrapping it up in the bark of the *Ti* tree and, after placing it in a segment of bamboo with more bark, burying the whole secretly in hard ground."

To annul the effect of this charm, the heart was dug up and boiled for some time in sea-water along with the plants *urab* (? *urabar*, *Hibiscus*), *titur* (*Delima*, sp. or *Tetraceras*, sp.), *gabu* (*Heptapleuron*, sp.), *gawai* and *salili* (*Alyxia spicata*). The boiling was done in a canoe, which was then launched and manned by a crew of *Surlal* men. The boiling decoction was slowly poured into the sea while what remained of the heart was hoisted on the mast of the canoe, some words were chanted and the canoe returned to the shore. The *Surlal* men might not go turtle-fishing until a turtle had been caught by members of some other clan.

TOTEMISM AND RELIGION.

We have already referred (pp. 164—169) to various facts showing the mystic affinity which is held to obtain between the members of a clan and their totem. This is a deeply ingrained idea and is evidently of fundamental importance. More than once we were told emphatically, "*Augud* all same as relation he belong same family." A definite physical and psychological resemblance was thus postulated for the human and animal members of the clan. There can be little doubt that this sentiment reacted on the clansmen and constrained them to live up to the traditional character of their respective clans.

We were told that the following clans like fighting: *Sam* (cassowary), *Kodal* (crocodile), *Tabu* (snake), *Baidam* (shark), and *Kursi* (hammer-headed shark). The reason for this is obvious; it may be here noted that the cassowary is of very uncertain temper and can kick with extreme violence.

The following were peaceable clans: *Kaigas* (shovel-nosed skate), *Tapimul* (ray), and *Gapu* (sucker-fish). The *Umai* (dog) clan was sometimes peaceable and at other times ready to fight, which is very characteristic of actual dogs. The phrase was "*Umai* sometime do like *Tabu* (make row, get a stone club and hit people) and sometime friendly and glad to see other people."

¹ "Fast," in the jargon English that is spoken by the islanders, means the act of copulation.

Not only had the *Kodal* men a truculent character, but they were reputed to be always ready to fight the members of the *Mugi augudau kazi* (p. 172).

The following notes illustrate the idea and relationship between them and their totem. If a *Kodal* man killed a crocodile the other *Kodal* men killed him; but a member of any other clan might kill one with impunity, in which case the *Kodal* men would mourn for the death of their relative. If a *Umai* man killed a dog his fellow clansman would 'fight' him but they would not do anything if a member of another clan killed a dog, though they would feel sorry. A member of this clan was supposed to have great sympathy with dogs and to understand their habits better than did other men. No *Sam* man would kill a cassowary; if one was seen doing so his fellow clansmen would injure or kill him as they felt 'sorry.' The members of the *Sam* clan were supposed to be especially good runners. If there was going to be a fight, a *Sam* man would say to himself, "My leg is long and thin, I can run and not feel tired; my legs will go quickly and the grass will not entangle them." The *Tabu* were also a fighting clan, and when angry they put out their tongues and wagged them as snakes do.

We have very little information concerning the way in which the different clans invoked their *augud* when requiring their assistance, but one definite piece of information shows that this was done to some extent.

When a snake man fought a crocodile man, or indeed when he fought anyone, he would cry out "*Tabu taidi!*" "Snake bites!" which, from information received, appeared to be a recognised magical formula. The *Tapimul* had a similar invocation.

We have not much information respecting the relation of totemism to the cult of the dead. The *mariget* were the men whose duty it was to tend to the corpse, and the *mariget*, who must necessarily be of another *augud* than that to which the deceased belonged (p. 148), informed the friends when the preliminary duties had been performed by the *mariget*. This was accomplished by pantomime in the following manner.

For a *Kodal* man, the *mariget* walked on the ground like a crocodile, then he would remain still, like a crocodile resting, and would walk again.

The movements of a snake were similarly imitated for a *Tabu* man.

When a *Kaigas* man died his relatives made a heap of earth shaped like a *kaigas*.

In Muralug when the *mariget* announced the death of a man to the relatives of the dead man he said the name of the deceased and that of his *augud*.

In the case of Languram (17) he would say:

Languram, Unawa, sizarima noi umanga.
Shell turtle has gone down he (is) dead.

If the dead man belonged to the *Umai* clan the *mariget* would "sing out all same dog."

If a *Baidam* man died, the *mariget* would say the man's name followed by:

Baidam sarsa utema noi umanga.
Shark has gone in he (is) dead.

The formula for a *Dangal* man was:

Dangal gabunga noi umanga.
Dugong (is) cold he (is) dead.

It seemed as if for each clan there was a special formula which referred to some characteristic action of the totem animal.

TOTEM TABOOS.

No member of any clan (with two exceptions) might kill or eat the totem of that clan. This prohibition did not apply to the totem of any clan other than that to which the person belonged.

The two exceptions to this rule were in the cases of the *Dangal* and *Surlal* clans which are readily explained by the importance of the dugong and turtle as articles of food. In all the islands flesh-meat, excluding fish, is very scarce, and it would be too much to expect the members of these two clans to abstain entirely from eating their respective totems. Indeed we were informed that the *augud* was eaten in Mabuiag because the island is a "poor place" and "men are hard up."

The *Dangal* men might catch dugong but could not eat the first one they caught on a fishing expedition, the second and following ones they might keep. If only one dugong was caught on one day by a member of the clan he might not partake of it, but was allowed to keep the first obtained on the following day. The *Surlal* men had the same regulations as the *Dangal* men¹. These rules applied also to those who had the dugong and turtle as their subsidiary totems.

The totem taboos are imperfectly observed at the present day owing to the influence of foreigners. The late Hon. B. A. Hely² states that the people of Saibai "kill and eat their totems," and this we can confirm.

¹ There is some obscurity in these statements which we cannot now clear up with certainty. There is no doubt that the *Surlal* men could not keep the first turtle they caught at the beginning of the *Surlal* season. We do not know whether there was a definite dugong season, but if there is the same restriction would certainly hold good.

² *Ann. Rep. B. N. G.* 1898, p. 136.

8. TOTEMISM IN BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

As the subject of Totemism is so important it seems desirable to give an account of the little that is known about its nature and distribution in British New Guinea. The question of the occurrence of Totemism among the Eastern Tribe of Torres Straits will be discussed in the next volume.

DAUDAI.

Kadawarubi (*i.e.* the men, *arubi*, of Kadawa¹) is the name given to the tribe that lives at Mawāta in Daudai, and according to Mr Hely it also includes the natives of Ture-Ture. The following is the account given by the late Hon. B. A. Hely² of totemism among these people; the information we obtained is added in square brackets.

"In the tribe there are nine septs [totem clans], viz.:

<i>Diware</i> (cassowary)	<i>Baidamu</i> (shark)
<i>Hibara</i> (alligator)	<i>Usara</i> (kangaroo)
<i>Umu</i> (dog)	<i>Topimoro</i> (stinging ray)
<i>Pomoa</i> (tortoise)	<i>Komuhoro</i> (ground shark)
<i>Gera</i> (rock snake)	

"The people may neither kill nor eat their totems. [Formerly they might not eat their *ibihara* or *ēbēhari*, but now they do.] Many village squabbles arise from the killing of the totem of one sept [totem clan] by the people of another. A man killing a kangaroo, for instance, and carrying it past a house inhabited by people of the kangaroo sept, may be reviled or insulted in some way. His friends side with him, and a general slanging match ensues, and often sticks and stones are resorted to.

"The septs have always intermarried; the parties to a marriage, however, retaining their own totems, but observing each other's to some extent. For instance, a woman of one sept marrying a man of another sept may not eat his totem or handle it. If she does so he will not use food prepared by her, nor cohabit with her for a period. In the same way the husband must not eat or kill the wife's totem under similar penalties." A year later³ Mr Hely makes the following statement: "In a paper on the totemism of the Kadawarubi, furnished by me in June, 1897, I stated that the members of a sept could, and did, marry; this is true, but I believe that the people of Kadawa, being so much advanced in civilisation, have broken through old laws relating to marriage. Otherwise, and excepting the fact that there are, as in the Pededarimu tribe, many minor totems used for 'tabu' purposes, the paper referred to is correct." [Our informants said

¹ Kadawa is evidently the same as Katau which, according to Mr Beardmore (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* 1890, p. 459), is the original name for the village of Mawāta (Mauāta, Mowat), as well as of the river on which it is situated.

² "Totemism of the Kadawarubi Tribe (Ture-Ture and Mawatta—Western Division)," Appendix CC. *Ann. Report on Brit. New Guinea*, 1898, C. A. 119, 1898, p. 136.

³ These two accounts were published on p. 136 in the same *Report* (1898).

distinctly that members of the same clan (*gu*) may not intermarry as "belong same family," but they may marry into any other "family."]

"Totems are hereditary: an only child invariably follows his father's totem. Where there are two or more children they may be divided between the septs of their parents. [We were told that the children follow the father's *ibihara* only. One of our informants, Sawi, told us his totem was *Umu* (and it was that of his son, father, father's sister, etc.), his mother has *Diwari*, *Pamoa*, and *Omeri*, and he says he does not eat *Umu* nor *Omeri*.] In no case can a person belong to more than one sept.

"Of old each sept lived under one roof; this accounts in a way for the size of the original houses of these people.

"There appears not to be, nor to have been, any punishment for wrongful assumption of a totem—probably the necessity never arose.

"In battle and dance, members of various septs painted effigies of their totems on their backs and chests for the guidance of their fellows should aid or attention be needed. No permanent totem marks are carried.

"All the septs appear to be equal, none being of more importance or distinction than others."

[There appears to be a dual grouping of the clans with *Hibara* for one chief totem, and *Diwari* for the other. Our informant Gerowa told us his father Baker (*Diwari*, cassowary, and *Umu*, dog) married a woman whose *ibihara* were *Hibara*, crocodile and *Baidam*, shark. The former totems he volunteered "stop ashore" and the latter "stop in water." Also associated with *Hibara* are *Komuhoro*, which was described to us as the "crank shark," and a small insect *Apidi*.

At Mawata two fences are erected for the initiation ceremonies, *horiamu* (this was translated as "house belong devil-devil") in this position ♀ ♀



The women sit on one side, and the boys to be initiated *kerenga* on the other. One fence belongs to the *Hibara-Baidam* group of clans, and the other to the *Diwari-Umu*. The ceremonies last for three days. No bull-roarer is employed. The *kerenga* are informed about their totems and turtle-shell, human-face, masks, *karara*, are shown to them.

We were informed when a *Umu* man is going to fight he ties a red poisonous swamp seed round his neck, and paints in white mud a representation of his totems, the *Diwari* on his right chest, and *Pamoa* on his left chest.]

According to the late Rev. James Chalmers the Bugilai are a totemic people with the ordinary taboos; for example: the crocodile clan will on no account eat any part of their totem. "When they can secure a small one alive, it is carried to where they are living, and presents of food and things are laid down beside it¹."

¹ *Journ. Anth. Inst.* vol. xxxiii. 1903.

KIWAI.

The following account of the social aspects of the totemism of the Pededarimu Tribe of Kiwai is taken from the late Hon. B. A. Hely's article¹.

Mr Hely gives the following as the names of the principal septs [totem clans] and their head men: *Diware* (cassowary), Bune; *Sibara* (alligator), Kanani; *Gagarimabu* (bamboo), Mipi; *Korobe* (crab), Daide; *Abiomaboi* (mangrove), Gariam; *Demaururu* (catfish), Gege; *Nowaiduwo* (Polynesian chestnut), Bogera; *Dudumabu* (a reed), Saribi; *Duboromabu* (grass from which mats are made [according to Sir William Macgregor's vocabulary this is the *Pandanus*, and the drawing given by Mr Hely, fig. 11, corroborates this]), Dordor; *Noora* (stone), Aniwa; *Maberi* (tree), Wawi; *Soko* (nipa-palm), Abi; *Buduru* (species of fig-tree), Gariam. I have retained his spelling.

"The native name for totem is '*nurumara*.'

"Totems are hereditary, the *nurumara* descending from father to son [to all his children]. The inhabitants of a house are all of one sept [totem clan], with one *nurumara*. Men and women of the same sept may not marry. They must marry into other septs. A woman assumes the *nurumara* of her husband. For this reason a man when he marries has to give to the brother, or nearest male relative of the bride, his sister, foster-sister, or a female relative, to keep up the strength of the sept from which he takes his wife.

"A *nurumara* may not be killed or eaten.

"No punishment appears to have existed for the wrongful assumption of a *nurumara*.

"In fighting or dancing, the cognisance of the man's *nurumara* is painted on his chest or back with clay or coloured earth. No precedence is given to any sept in fighting; attacks are made in line, each sept under the command of its own head man. Visitors from other tribes are fed and lodged by the followers of the *nurumara* to which they belong.

"It was a fixed law in battle that no man should attack or slay another bearing the same *nurumara* cognisance as himself. This probably accounts for the few casualties in fixed combat, *i.e.* where both sides were prepared. Strangers from hostile tribes could in safety visit villages where the septs of their *nurumaras* were strong.

"There has been no chieftainship, properly so called, in this tribe.

"Every house covers a sept. None others than members of the sept may eat or sleep in their house. The head man of the house has supreme power therein: thus each house in a village is a separate State, so to speak, and fights between houses used to be of frequent occurrence. But in general war, where the tribe assailed, or was assailed by another, the chief direction of the war was left to that man amongst the heads of houses who had the largest experience and reputation. Except in war these men carried no influence outside of their own septs, nor would they attempt to exercise any. Even now it is difficult to teach village chiefs and police in charge of communities to interfere in troubles in houses to which they do not belong.

¹ *Id.* pp. 134, 135.

"There are many other *nurumaras* used by the people for tabu (*sabi*) purposes, to mark trees the fruit of which is not to be eaten, to mark their bodies in memory of vows, &c.

"When a tree is the *nurumara* of a sept, the members of it do not eat the fruit of that tree, or use it for building or any other purposes. For instance, the *Soko* people roof their houses with sago leaves instead of nipa palm (this custom is broken through in Kiwai villages, but is maintained on the mainland). The *Duboro* people make mats from banana leaves. The *Gagarimabu* people do not use bamboo. According to belief, the killing, eating, or use for any purpose of a *nurumara* occasions severe eruptions on the body.

"Totemism comes into use in the everyday life of a Kiwaian."

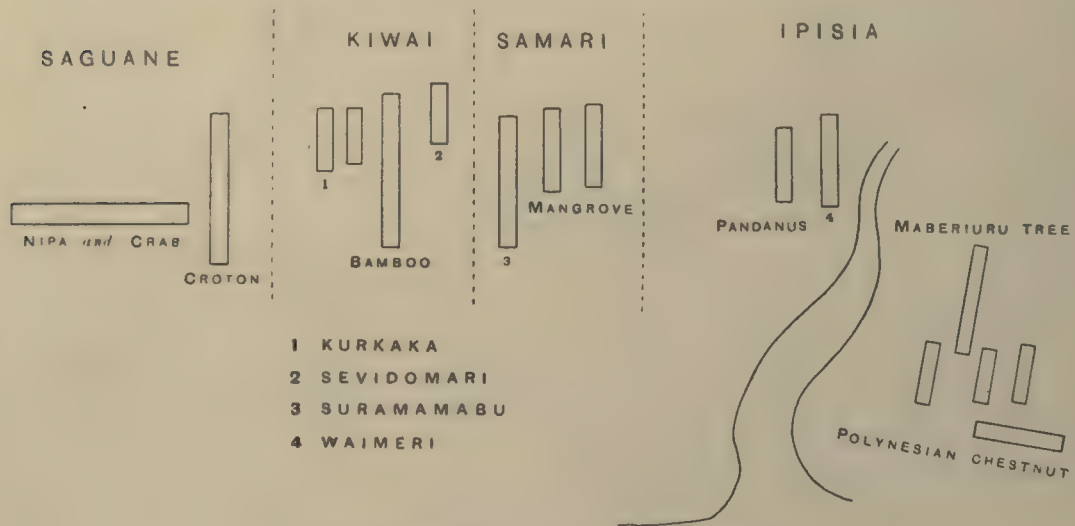


FIG. 23. Diagram of the houses at Iasa, Kiwai.

The houses in Kiwai are clan houses, that is all the inhabitants of a house belong to the same clan by birth or marriage. The natives of the southern portion of the island congregate at Iasa annually for two or three months to cut sago, and this is the opportunity for the initiation ceremonies, which here appear to be connected with agriculture. The natives of Kiwai are more or less migratory, living in various places according to the crops or harvests. Thus at one time Iasa may be thickly populated, while at another time it is nearly empty; and though there are always houses for the reception of the members of certain clans we did not find that all the totems are represented; we have yet to learn the significance of this.

The accompanying diagram illustrates the relative positions of the various houses in the town, it will be observed they have a definite arrangement with regard to their totems and to the districts of the island over which the clans have planting and hunting rights. When we visited Iasa we were taken to the Nipa-crab house, as we had come from Saguane; we occupied the room at the eastern end, as the room at each end is the men's

quarters. Certain houses (1—4) have definite names which were said not to be *nuru-mara* names.

PAPUAN GULF.

The Rev. J. Holmes has recently published a preliminary account¹ of the initiation ceremonies and religious conceptions of certain tribes of the Papuan Gulf. So far as is known at present these natives have a much more complete system of theology than occurs elsewhere in British New Guinea. There is a regular hierarchy of gods, some, at least, of the lesser gods are deified ancestors², for example Kivavea is the deified ancestor of the Vailala tribe (this is the Kivovia of the Toaripi) who made sago, betel nuts, etc. The banana has two gods, the sweet potato has one, the taro has another. Every family of living things from man downwards has its special god, or guardian angel; there is a feeling of respect for these, as well as for the tabooed animal, *ualare*, which was regarded as sacred by the original ancestor. Mr Holmes is making fresh enquiries on this subject, so it would be premature to pass a definite opinion on the existence of typical totemism in the Gulf District. It would seem, however, as if certain tribes had left true totemism behind them.

CENTRAL DISTRICT.

No account of true totemic customs has been published for any portion of the south-eastern peninsula of New Guinea. Allusion is made elsewhere to the dual family grouping in some villages in the Mekeo and Rigo Districts, and in Mekeo³ village exogamy occurs, these may be vestiges of a vanished totemism.

SOUTH-EAST DISTRICT.

Sir William Macgregor, the late Administrator of British New Guinea, writes as follows in his final Annual Report⁴.

"All over the east end of the Possession this strange institution has still very considerable power. It comes west as far as Mairu or Table Bay, when it disappears. It certainly extends a considerable way up the north-east coast. Up to the present time [Oct. 1898] no trace of it has been discovered in the Mambare district, though many inquiries have been made on the subject. It seems probable it exists there, however, for many natives have cicatricial markings on the shoulders and back that would lead one to suppose they had something to do with totemism.

"No trace of it has been met with in the Central district; but it crops up on the Fly River, though it has not in the west nearly the force it has in the east.

"In the east the child inherits the totem of the mother in most places, if not everywhere; in the west the practice is more to inherit the totem from the father. This is quite in harmony with the higher position occupied by women in the east as com-

¹ *Journal Anthropol. Institute*, vol. xxxii. 1902, pp. 418—431.

² From Mr Holmes' MS.

³ *Rept. Brit. Assoc.*, Belfast, 1902.

⁴ *Ann. Report on Brit. New Guinea*, 1898, C. A. 119, 1898, p. xli.

pared with the west. Totemism in the west seems to be fast becoming extinct. The younger generation do not appear to know very much about it—generally nothing. It will long retain some power in the east end.”

In Tubetube (Slade Island) in the Engineer Group, according to the Rev. J. T. Field¹, the inhabitants are divided into six clans, having six different emblems and living in fourteen villages, each village having its chief, or *taubara*, and over the whole is one who is recognised as the head man or chief of the island.

“Members of the same clan have the same totem, bird or fish, and all travellers or visitors from whatever place they may come, and however distant their homes may be, can be assured of a welcome and brotherly treatment from members of the tribe or clan whom they may visit whose emblem is the same as their own. Almost the first question asked by the Tubetubeans of visitors and strangers when they arrive is ‘What is the name of your bird?’ or ‘What is the name of your fish?’—the latter emblem being confined more to the generation now passing away than to the younger members of the community.”

Men and women of the same clan or totem, even though living in different villages, however distant they may be, may neither marry nor have sexual intercourse with one another. All the children belong to the mother's clan, and have her totem. This is the only positive law, as far as is known, amongst the people of Tubetube that touches the question of morality in relation to the different sexes amongst the younger or unmarried natives.

“No member of any clan can use the emblem of his totem as food, nor can others kill it without incurring the resentment of the clan whose emblem has been slain.”

“Anyone has the right, if he be in need or hungry, to help himself, without waiting to ask permission, to any food that may be in the village or house of the people with whom he is associated in the bonds of clanship, and this act will be regarded as perfectly legitimate by the owners of the food thus taken.”

“When a man dies the people of his own village do not perform any of the work in connection with his burial, but members of his clan from another village—*i.e.*, those having the same bird or fish as the deceased had as the emblem of their totem—will carry out all the duties that are connected with the burial of the dead person, digging the grave, burying the body, etc. If there are not any members of the dead person's clan near at hand, messengers will be despatched to inform them of his death, and to summon them to carry out the work of burying his body.

“When a man dies far away from home and amidst strangers, this custom is still adhered to by the people, having ascertained, as they always do, the name of the emblem of his totem when he arrived amongst them. Should there be none of his totem in the village where he died, messengers will be sent to the people of the nearest village who have the same emblem as that of the deceased, and some of these will immediately proceed to the place and perform all the work in connection with the burial of the body.” On the island of Tubetube there is a village called Dekawaiisi, the natives of which are related by totem with the people of Koaria, a village on the island of Naruaruari, lying

¹ “Notes on Totemism, Tubetube,” by the Rev. J. T. Field, of the Wesleyan Mission, *Ann. Report on Brit. New Guinea*, C. A. 119, 1898, p. 134.

to the east of Tubetube in the Engineer Group. If a man of Dekawaiisi dies he must be buried by the people of Koaria and not by those of his own village.

"All members of the same totem can be depended upon to aid one another in the time of need, war, etc., and thus this custom plays an important part in the life of the natives."

9. THE ARI OF THE YARAIKANNA TRIBE, CAPE YORK.

Among the Yaraikanna tribe of Cape York typical totemism does not appear to occur. A man has one or more *ari* which may be acquired in the following way. The *ari* of a lad is determined by the resemblance to a natural object of the clot of blood formed when a tooth is knocked out in the initiation ceremony; this is described later under Initiation. One native, Tomari by name, has three *ari*: (1) *aru*, a crab, which fell to him through blood divination at initiation; (2) *untara*, diamond fish; (3) *alungi*, crayfish. The two latter were given to him as the result of dreams. It appears that if an old man dreams of anything at night, that object is the *ari* of the first person he sees next morning; the idea being that the animal, or whatever appears in the dream, is the spirit of the first person met with on awakening. The *ari* of Tomari's father is a carpet snake, that of his mother an oyster, and his wife's a particular kind of fruit. Women obtain their *ari* in the same manner as men. The *ari* is thus a purely individual affair and is not transmissible, nor has it anything to do with the regulation of marriage.

V. BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CUSTOMS.

By C. G. SELIGMANN.

IN the section on Midwifery in Volume I. the medical aspects of pregnancy and parturition are dealt with, here I shall confine myself to their social and magical aspects.

PREGNANCY CUSTOM IN SAIBAI.

When it is determined that a woman hitherto childless is pregnant her husband collects food which is cooked and eaten by the whole community including the expectant parents. Meanwhile one of the husband's brothers has had a peculiar ornament called *bid* (fig. 24)¹ prepared for his sister-in-law; any sufficiently skilled woman ("he got good hand") may be commissioned to make this.

The *bid* represents the foetus, as is shown by the names of its constituent parts, which are those of the limbs and organs of the body. The specimen obtained consists of a fringe, *kurisai*, some 58 cm. long of shredded sago-leaf, *bisi*, with strips of the leaves of pandanus and of a plant called *bida waba*. This hangs from a short transverse piece of twisted pandanus leaf 3.5 cm. long, called the body, *gamu*. Projecting over the *gamu* are two large knots, the eyes, *purka*, made of the finely shredded cortex of a bamboo; from these there springs a bamboo loop, the nose, *piti*, the free part of which measures nearly 10 cm. At each end of the transversely placed *gamu* are two long pieces of cord representing an arm and a leg. The *bid* is so worn that the *gamu* is immediately over the pit of the stomach, the strings representing the arms and legs being tied at the back of the neck and the back of the body respectively, while the fringe hanging down in front reaches to about the level of the knees (fig. 25).

The *bid* is put on in the pregnant woman's house, after which she walks about the village, the aunts whom she calls *ngaibat* (i.e. her paternal aunts) accompanying her and grasping some fibres of the fringe in their hands. A name for the child is now decided on, generally by the husband's eldest brother, or if the father is the oldest



FIG. 24. *Bid*; Saibai.

¹ Figs. 24—26 are from drawings made by Mrs A. Solomon, to whom my best thanks are due.

of the family by his father or mother. An old man, related to the husband, faces the woman and filling his mouth with the milk of a young coconut spits it into the



FIG. 25. Pregnant woman wearing *bid*; Saibai.



FIG. 26. Position assumed by a woman in divining the sex of her unborn child with the aid of the embryo of the mangrove; Saibai.



FIG. 27. *Gapu*, embryo of the mangrove, *Rhizophora mucronata*; about one-half natural size.

air saying some such formula as "A, wife of B, has a child within her, let its name be C." The name given is always masculine, and often that of one of the unborn

child's paternal uncles older than its father. If a girl is born its name is altered after birth, generally to that of one of its paternal aunts or grandmothers, using these terms in their widest tribal significance.

At the time that the name is given the woman stoops forward and standing with her legs apart throws behind her between them (fig. 26) the embryo of a mangrove, *gapu*¹ (*Rhizophora mucronata*) (fig. 27). From its course and the position in which it comes to rest the sex of the child is judged; if it circles to one side a girl will be born, if it stops directly behind her a boy. The *ngaibat* then conduct their charge home where the *bid* is taken off and given to the oldest *ngaibat* who guards it and the *gapu* most carefully. These she carries about with her wherever she goes, except when fishing, in which case she entrusts them to one of the younger *ngaibat* until her return. It is said that after the child is born no particular care is taken of these objects; they may, however, be kept to be used later by other women.

The following account has been previously published by Dr Haddon², who obtained it from the Rev. Dr S. MacFarlane: "When a woman is pregnant all the women assemble. The husband's sister makes the image of a male child, which is placed on a mat before the pregnant woman, and afterwards nursed till the birth of the child, in order to obtain a male child. Women assemble in the bush and sit in a circle, the husband's sister gets a fruit resembling the penis, gives it to the pregnant woman, who presses it to her abdomen, and then hands it to a woman who has always borne male children, and she passes it to the other women. This ceremony also is to procure male children."

FOOD TABOOS FOR WOMEN.

No food is tabooed to pregnant women in Saibai though she may not eat turtle on the day on which the child is born, and for the first month after childbirth may only eat turtle and dugong by means of a pointed stick; turtle and dugong are however tabooed to menstruous women. Turtle is the only food tabooed to pregnant and menstruous women in Yam and Tutu.

Turtle and turtle eggs may not be eaten by a menstruous, pregnant, or a recently delivered woman in Mabuiag. During the turtle-pairing season the restrictions imposed on such women are much increased in severity; they may not enter a house in which there is turtle flesh, nor may they approach a fire at which turtle is cooking; they must not go too near the sea, and should avoid walking below high water mark. The infection extends to the husband, who may not himself harpoon or otherwise take an active part in catching turtle, though he may form one of the crew of a turtle-spearing canoe provided that he rubs his axillae with leaves of *paiwa* (*Ocimum canum*) and *kaikukua* directly a turtle is sighted. A woman may not eat turtle caught in the turtle-pairing season for a full year after childbirth.

Turtle, dugong and shell-turtle are respectively tabooed to the mother in Muralug until her child laughs, tries to walk erect, and can toddle about by himself. A menstruous woman must not eat anything that lives in the sea or the fisheries would fail.

¹ This must not be confused with the *gapu* fish; cf. footnote 2, p. 106.

² *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, xix., 1890, p. 389.

TREATMENT OF THE AFTERBIRTH.

Saibai. The afterbirth, enclosed in a coconut shell, is buried at arm's depth in the ground and the spot selected so marked by a stone or other natural feature that the mother will subsequently have no difficulty in recognising the place. When old enough the child is taken to where he or she was born. The stump of the cord is tied to the inside of the handle of the bag, *yena*, in which a woman keeps her most cherished trifles. If the child is a boy, when he is considered big enough but before puberty, his mother shows him his cord; it is then given to a pig specially selected as showing promise of successful fattening. This makes the pig "friend belong him, he no go away," some time later the pig is killed and eaten; the boy who supplied the cord taking part in the feast.

"The navel cord of a male infant is preserved; and worn suspended from the neck by the mother till the child is about five years of age, then it is carefully put away till the boy becomes a young man. He is then called to witness its burial beneath his bed, with the injunction that he is always to live there." (MacFarlane, *l.c.*)

Yam and Tutu. The cord must be cut with a bamboo knife, *upi*. The afterbirth is buried where the child was born, the latter being subsequently taken to see his or her birthplace. The stump of the cord is worn round the mother's neck as long as the child is in arms, here it acts as a charm to stop crying, for if the infant did not see it continually it was thought he would feel troubled, fearing that it might have been lost or mislaid. The sight of it, on the other hand, pleases and quiets the child. During the time that the mother wears the cord round her neck she takes it off only when she goes into the sea; then it is carefully hung up in her hut. Should the mother die, the child is taken charge of by a maternal aunt who then wears the cord round her neck. Shortly before puberty the child is shown the cord, afterwards assisting in burying it as near as possible to the place where the afterbirth was buried.

Mabuiag. The afterbirth, *ma*, is buried in hard ground to make the child grow strong. The stump of the cord when it drops from the child's body is for some time worn round the mother's neck, subsequently it is given to the father, who ties it in the hollow centre of the plaited rope, *am*, of his dugong harpoon.

The *maidelaig* is credited with the power of producing retained placenta, which is brought about by tightly twisting a portion of a flexible creeper several times round the waist of a figure, *wauri*, which represents and is named after the pregnant woman. The time at which the patient should die is mentioned and perhaps a charm is muttered.

LIMITATION OF CHILDREN.

Temporary sterility is supposed in Mabuiag to be produced by burying something called *gab*¹ in a termites' nest, where it is left to rot; to remove the effect of this charm the *gab* is dug up and thrown into the sea. The practical methods for producing

¹ Several unsuccessful attempts were made to determine the meaning of *gab*. The meaning of this word is womb and at Muralug it appears to mean afterbirth. One informant said, "girl has family, mother of girl is sorry, no want to see girl sick, take *gab* and put him along anthill." I am of opinion that the process was one to produce sterility rather than abortion.

permanent sterility are described in the first volume, as are various methods for procuring abortion. The latter was by no means uncommon.

Dr Haddon has previously stated¹ that "infanticide was undoubtedly a common practice. At birth a father would decide whether the child was to be permitted to live; if he decreed its death it was simply buried in the sand. As a rule female babies were less likely to be permitted to live than boys. 'Too hard work' was the reason assigned for not rearing their offspring. So far as is known this custom is not continued at the present time. The small size of the islands and the difficulty in procuring food, especially of a vegetable character, were very strong reasons for limiting the population."

Macgillivray² says: "The population of Muralug is kept always about the same numerical standard by the small number of births, and the occasional practice of infanticide. Few women rear more than three children, and besides, most of those born before marriage are doomed to be killed immediately after birth, unless the father—which is seldom the case—is desirous of saving the child; if not, he gives the order *marċma teio* (throw it into the hole), and it is buried alive accordingly. Even of other infants some, especially females, are made away with in a similar manner when the mother is disinclined to support it."

TWINS.

Although an instance is reported of a Moa woman having had four children at a birth, twins seemed decidedly uncommon throughout the Western islands. Their occurrence, which is attributed to excessive intercourse, inspires disgust, and formerly one of them would have been got rid of by being buried alive in a hole dug in the sand beach³.

In Mabuiag twins are also said to be due to the interference of the *maidelaig*, the latter twists *damap*, apparently a kind of creeper brought from New Guinea, round the neck of a wax figure, to which he has given the name of the pregnant woman. The ends of the *damap* are not tied, but cross each other in front of the figure's neck (fig. 28), thus representing the two cords crossing each other in utero. Perhaps connected with this magical explanation is the extreme disfavour with which twins are regarded, so that in former times one of them usually was killed. They are also considered to be produced by the pregnant woman touching or breaking a branch of a loranthaceous plant (*Viscum* sp., probably *V. orientale*) parasitic on a tree, *mader*. The wood of this tree is much esteemed for making digging sticks and as firewood, no twin-producing

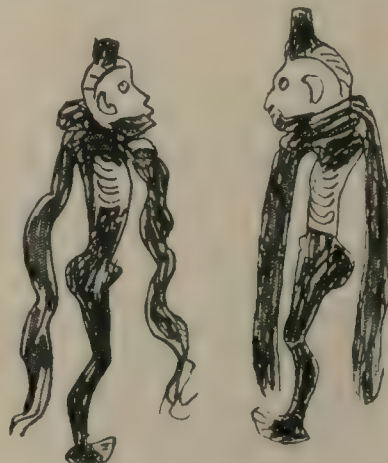


FIG. 28. Drawing by Gizu of two wax figures made by a *maidelaig* to induce twins; Mabuiag.

¹ *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xix. 1890, p. 359.

² *Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, vol. II. p. 11.

³ In many parts of British New Guinea twins are very much disliked, the unfortunate mother is regarded as being like a dog and one of the twins is almost invariably killed, but twins are not disliked among the Sinaugolo.

properties are inherent in it, nor is it regarded as being infected with the properties of its twin-producing parasite.

CUSTOMS AFTER CHILDBIRTH.

Throughout the Western islands cohabitation ceases early in pregnancy and is not resumed for some time, the baby sleeping between the husband and wife. This restriction is in force in Mabuiag until the child spontaneously endeavours to move about. As a matter of fact another child is rarely born until the previous one is some three or four years old.

In Torres Straits, as in Melanesia generally, suckling is continued till the child can run about; it is not an infrequent sight to see a child of three or four years of age run up to its mother for a drink. Macgillivray says that in Muralug children were usually suckled for about two years.

The adoption of children has been dealt with on pp. 151, 152.

In Mabuiag during the time that a woman is confined to the house after childbirth the garden is looked after by her husband's sisters, *i.e.* the child's *ngaibat*.

The food taboos have already been mentioned.

In Mabuiag the father pierces the nasal septum of a child when it first smiles. Macgillivray says this was done in Muralug when the child was about a fortnight old. We could not discover any reason for this custom, nor for that of distending the lobule of the ear and of perforating its margin. The lobule of the ear is pierced when the child is about eight or ten years of age. The details of these operations will be found in the first volume.

TREATMENT OF CHILDREN.

At the present time parents treat their children with kindness and indeed they may be regarded as indulgent towards them, the story of Siwi (p. 26) shows that spoilt children were not unknown, and Amipuru (p. 99) tried to catch a pelican in order to give it to his child.

Although foeticide and infanticide were formerly practised the desire for children is now manifest by the frequency of adoption and by the readiness with which the charge of orphan children is assumed by their relatives.

"Very early in life," as Dr Haddon has previously stated¹, "the children were expected to collect shell-fish and other edible animals found on the reefs at low tide, and according to Macgillivray, as soon as the Muralug children were strong enough to use the stick employed in digging up roots they were supposed to be able to shift for themselves. The boys used to have small bows and arrows with which they shot birds and small many-pronged spears for transfixing fish. The boys and girls played together until the former reached the age of puberty.

"The instruction of the girls was not a very arduous task; practically the whole of their skilled work consisted in the making of mats, baskets and plaited belts."

¹ *L.c.* p. 359.

NOTE ON MAWATA BIRTH CUSTOMS.

Saibai birth customs seem to have been but little influenced by the proximity of the New Guinea coast, if Gerawa's brief accounts of the Mawata customs be accepted as in the main correct.

According to him a small house, *sobo moto*,—which like the other houses of a village is built on piles—is erected for the pregnant woman by her husband's parents on the outskirts of the village in anticipation of the child's birth. The mother and mother-in-law of the parturient woman are said to act as midwives and to receive a fee of yams, taro, etc., for their good offices. They sleep in the *sobo moto* for three nights, and move freely about in the village during the day while their food, together with that of the parturient woman, is cooked by the sisters of the latter at the common fire. The mother and her child stop for three days in the *sobo moto*. Before returning to the communal house, the former performs a ceremonial ablution in fresh water which is brought to the *sobo moto*. Immediately after birth the child is washed in fresh water and the cord is cut with a bamboo knife, *upi*. The fate of the afterbirth was not determined. The mother may not eat any food that comes out of the sea until the child has cut a tooth, and cohabitation should be suspended during pregnancy and suckling. After a woman has left the *sobo moto* the hut is invariably destroyed.

VI. WOMEN'S PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

By C. G. SELIGMANN.

SECLUSION OF GIRLS AT PUBERTY.

A COMPLICATED system of ceremonial, the chief feature of which is seclusion, is observed throughout the Western islands by girls at puberty. The duration and character of this seclusion varies in different islands; it may be in a dark corner of the house (Mabuiag), in the bush (Saibai, Tutu) or on the sea-shore (Muralug), the ceremony in the last case closely resembling that of the tribes of the neighbouring Australian coast. With this there are combined taboos on food, seeing daylight, or the opposite sex, contact with the ground, etc. Their origin seems to be an intense fear of the deleterious and infective powers of the menstrual fluid, which, although varying according to time and place, are broadly speaking greatest at puberty. Objects or individuals infected may in turn prove contagious or offensive to other natural bodies or individuals.

The ritual observed at Mabuiag shows comparatively little resemblance to that observed elsewhere among the Western islands. The Yam and Saibai ceremonies have many points in common and, although at present no evidence can be produced, it may be that these have been influenced by their proximity to New Guinea. It is probable that the influence of the neighbouring Australian continent has made itself felt at Muralug, where the ritual presents certain essentially Australian features.

Saibai. At the time of the appearance of the signs of puberty the girl who previously was called *ipi kazi* but is now called *maubu misin* goes into the bush and squats down under a big tree. With her go a number of girls and women who perform a dance. The girl stops in the bush for about a fortnight, during which time one old woman whom she calls *apu*¹ cooks for and looks after her. The *apu* is helped by two girls, *mowai*², who fetch water, fire-wood, and food. These two girls and the *apu* feed the girl, putting the food into her mouth, as she is not allowed to handle it herself. To her attendants the girl is *suru kazi*. During the whole of this time no man may see the girl, and even the women who have talked to the girl in the bush must wash in salt water before speaking to a man, for "Stink fast in mouth." While in seclusion

¹ Cf. Kinship, p. 134.

² The term *mowai* in the other Western islands of Torres Straits is connected with a definite bond of kinship. Apparently this is not the case here.

dugong and turtle are tabooed to the girl and to all women who may have come in contact with her. At the end of a fortnight the girl and her attendants bathe in salt water while the tide is running out, after which a dance is held. They are then clean, may again speak to men without ceremony and move freely about the village.

Yam and Tutu. A girl is called *ngaiwaki* when the catamenia first appear; during the first period and the subsequent seclusion she is styled *kernge*. Accompanied by the married women of the village she retires into the bush, where she is blackened all over with charcoal and wears a long petticoat reaching to below her knees. Her *mowai*¹ are her special attendants, these are assisted by a varying number (generally six) of other women called *kidugarka*. The girl on first reaching the bush squats on the ground, when one of her *mowai* holds a vessel containing water to the *kernge's* mouth. The *kernge* drinks from the vessel and smells a piece of yam which is held under her nose.

During the girl's seclusion the married women of the village frequently assemble in the bush and perform a dance, *sagulé*. No men may see the girl during this time, nor may her mother; the latter cooks food in the village for the *mowai* and gives them garden produce, which is cooked by the *kidugarka* for themselves and the *mowai*. The mother also gives the *mowai* food for the girl, who does not however eat it. She presents it to the *mowai*, who in turn find food for her. The *kidugarka*, who eat only after the *mowai* have finished, cook for the husbands of the *mowai*. A woman who has been dancing in the bush may not cohabit, though she cooks her husband's food and even fetches his drinking-water. No food is tabooed to the *mowai* and *kidugarka*; turtle caught during the pairing season is forbidden to the *kernge* only during the time that the catamenia are actually present. While the girl is in the bush she is occasionally "hammered"² by her *mowai* as a preparation for matrimony. At the end of a month the whole party go into the sea when the charcoal is washed off the *kernge*. She is then decorated with armlets of *dan*, wood (*Ficus* sp.), with cross shoulder-straps, *moie*, made of young pandanus leaves with *dibidib* on her chest, with necklaces made of *Coix lachrymae* seeds, of dogs' teeth, and of a shell, *uraz* (*Oliva* sp.), found in New Guinea, with a pandanus frontlet, *kusadoi*, and with a second frontlet, *kuikuru*, on her forehead; she also wears leglets, *danalkuk* and *mukamak*.

Four long petticoats reaching to just about the ankle made respectively from the plants *tagar*, *isu* (*Phyllanthus* sp.), *barmeg*, and *dan* (*Ficus*), and hence called by these names, are provided by the *mowai* and given to the girl who wears them in the above order from the skin outwards; the other ornaments with which the girl is decked have been similarly provided by the *mowai*. Coco-nut oil and red ochre (*parma*) are rubbed on the hair of the *kernge*, she is again blackened and a *gub* is inserted in the hole in her nasal septum. In the evening accompanied by the *mowai* she returns to her father's house, where she is received with weeping and lamentation because she has been so long away. Her father then gives her ornaments similar in character and value to those she is wearing which the *mowai* provided. She in turn presents her new

¹ There was no doubt that the *mowai* always stood in a definite relationship to the initiate. Although there was some doubt as to the exact relationship it seems most probable that she was the paternal aunt (*ngaibat*).

² Beaten.

ornaments to her *mowai*, who, with her other attendants, retire, leaving her with her own people.

Mabuiag. A circle of bushes, *marku nunika*, is made in a dark corner of the girl's parents' house; the girl, now styled *kernge gasaman*, fully decked with cross shoulder-belts of young coco-nut leaf, *kamad*, with leglets just below the knees, *makamak*, with anklets, *burua dani*, with a petticoat, *zazi*, with a chaplet round her head, *kuikuru*, with armlets of coco-nut, *musur*, with cut dracaenas, *buzi*, in them, with shell ornaments, *dibidib*, hung on the front and back of her chest and with other shell ornaments, *gagi*, in her ears, squats in the midst of the bushes, which are piled up so high round her that only her head is visible (fig. 29)¹. Here she remains for three months; the bushes being changed nightly, at which time the girl is allowed to slip out of the hut; she is attended by one or two of her maternal aunts called *mowai*, who are specially appointed to look after her. One of these women cooks food for the *kernge* at a special fire in the bush. The latter may not feed herself or handle her food, which is put into her mouth by her *mowai*, nor may she eat turtle caught during their pairing-season or turtle eggs. No vegetable food is forbidden her. No man—not even her own father—may come into the house, for if he saw his daughter during her seclusion he would certainly have bad luck with his fishing and probably smash his canoe the next time he went out in it. The sun may not shine on her, "he can't see daytime, he stop inside dark," said my informant.

At the end of the three months she is carried by her *mowai* to the fresh-water creek, *maibau kasa*, hanging on to their shoulders so that her feet do not touch the ground, while the women of the tribe form a ring round the girl and *mowai* and thus escort them to the creek. Here she is stripped of her ornaments and the *mowai* with their burden stagger into the creek, where the girl is immersed, all the women joining in splashing water over the girl. When they come out of the water one of the *mowai* makes a heap of grass, *burda*, for her charge to squat upon while the other runs to the reef and catches a small crab, *goruba*; she tears off its claws and with these hastens back to the creek where a fire has meanwhile been kindled at which the claws are roasted. The girl is fed with these by the *mowai*. She is then freshly decorated and the whole party marches back to the village in a single rank, the girl walking

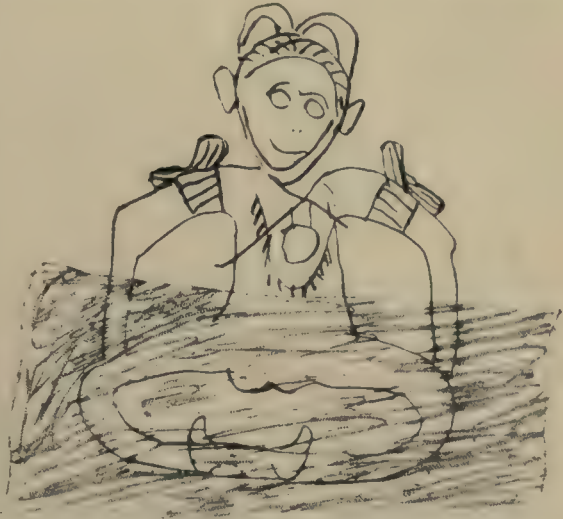


FIG. 29. Drawing by Gizu of a *kernge* during her seclusion at puberty surrounded by a circle of bushes; Mabuiag.

¹ Gizu's drawing, fig. 29, shows the bushes reaching only as high as the *kernge's* waist. My informants Aun and Gugui, the two midwives of Mabuiag, were however very clear that the bushes were piled as high as the girl's neck.

in the centre between her *mowai*, each of whom holds one of the girl's wrists. The husbands of the *mowai*, called by the girl *wadwam*, receive her and lead her into the house of one of them, where all three eat food, the girl for the first time being allowed to feed herself in the usual manner. The rest of the people having meanwhile prepared and eaten a feast, a dance is held in which the girl takes a prominent part, her two *wadwam* dancing one on each side of her. When the dance is finished one of the *mowai* leads the girl into her (the *mowai*'s) house, removes her ornaments and then takes her back to her parents' house.

Muralug. The girl, *watigam*, tells her mother when the signs of puberty appear. She is taken to the beach at some distance from the camp by her paternal aunt, whom she calls *ngaibat*¹; a shallow excavation is made in the sand in which she lies and sand is sprinkled over her². A rough bower-like hut, *mugi mud*, is then built round and over her. Other women besides the *ngaibat* help to look after the girl; these are allowed to circulate freely in the camp. The *ngaibat* sleeps in the hut with the girl but visits the camp, and is even said to cohabit while her charge is secluded. At night the girl is allowed to come out of her hole to lie down and sleep but she may never leave the hut. She feeds herself, her food being cooked in the camp at a special fire. Both the girl and her *ngaibat* must abstain from turtle, dugong and the heads of fish; if the latter were eaten no more fish would be caught. The girl's father, mother, brothers and sisters keep away from her.

After about two months one of the girl's companions, *tukiap*³, squats outside the hut while the *ngaibat* and her assistants "yarn" that the period of seclusion is finished. The *tukiap* and the girl's mother join the group, which presently disperses, leaving the mother and the *ngaibat* together. The latter returns to the girl and finds her companions with her. When the morning star rises the girl and all her attendants bathe in the sea. She is then dressed in two petticoats and goes to the *ngaibat*'s house, where she eats some food, her relatives meanwhile preparing for a feast which is held next morning. She is decorated by the *ngaibat* and her companions, that is blackened all over with charcoal and ornamented with cross shoulder-belts of pandanus, *kamad*, a frontlet made of the dried cortex of the stem of an orchid, *kuikuru*, wristlets of the same material, *tiapuru*; anklets of dry pandanus, *burua*, and a third petticoat, *taban*, is put on over the other two. The girl then leaves the *ngaibat*'s house preceded by a mat which is put down in front of her father's house and on which she squats. Food, which has meanwhile been cooked at the *ngaibat*'s fire, is laid before the girl; her father and the rest of the people also prepare food which is so arranged that each individual or group of individuals has a separate pile. The *ngaibat*'s pile is presented to the girl's father, who in turn presents his to the *ngaibat*.

During the time that the girl is secluded the *ngaibat* has the right before sunrise to enter any house and take anything she likes without payment. *Dögai* is the name used for the *ngaibat* in this predatory mood.

Dr Haddon confirmed the foregoing account and obtained the following additional

¹ It was perfectly clear that in Muralug the *mowai* was a *ngaibat*.

² Dr Haddon was informed that the hole was deep enough to half bury the girl.

³ This is the *tukoia* of Mabuiag, cf. p. 130.

information. Every morning before daybreak the *mowai* (i.e. the *wadwam* and the *ngaibat*) take it in turns to go into the camp and take anything they like however valuable from any house; what they take they can keep, but they may do this only before sunrise. They are known then as "Dògai belong girl." At the conclusion of the two months' seclusion a big feast is given by the father and brothers of the girl. The girl on the rising of the morning star is taken to the sea and washed and is then brought to the camp by her *wadwam* and waits for the feast which takes place in the evening, a large mat is spread on the ground in the centre of which sits the *surukazi*, as the girl is called. The *mowai* places food on one side of the girl for her father, and the father and the elder brother or sister of the girl put a heap of food on the mat at the other side for the *mowai*. Friends add more food to the piles and all scrape hands with the *surukazi*.

SECLUSION OF GIRLS IN NORTH QUEENSLAND.

It has already been pointed out that the Muralug ceremony probably shows Australian characteristics. In support of this view, the following short accounts are given of the ritual practised by three Cape York Peninsula tribes.

Among the Yaraikanna, a girl at puberty is called *umaipano*. She is said to live by herself for from four to six weeks; no man may see her, though any woman may. She stays in a humpy especially made for her, on the floor of which she lies supine. Sand is not sprinkled over her. She may not see the sun, and towards sunset she must keep her eyes shut until the sun has disappeared, "So sun don't strike him," said my informant. The infringement of this taboo involves a diseased nose. The girl may not eat anything that lives in salt water or a snake will kill her. Seclusion is practised for the first four periods and lasts about seven days each time. While secluded the girl lives on roots, yams and water, and an old woman is especially deputed to look after her.

The Uiyumkwi of Red Island call a girl before she has arrived at puberty *amadino*; during her first period she is *umaipana*. The girl, attended by an older woman whom she calls *mowari*, resorts to the foreshore. Here a shallow depression is dug in the sand in which the girl lies at full length. Sand is then lightly thrown over her legs and body reaching as high as the breasts, which are apparently not covered. A rough shelter of boughs is then built over her, beneath which she stays for a few hours, then she and her attendant go into the bush and look for food. This they cook at a fire close to the shelter. They sleep under the boughs, the girl remaining secluded from the camp but apparently not being again buried.

At the end of the period stones are heated; over these the girl stands, and water is sluiced over her so that it trickles on to the hot stones and becomes steam which envelopes her. The girl is then painted with red and white stripes and returns to the camp. If her future husband has already been selected she goes to him and they eat some food together which the girl has previously brought from the bush.

With this may be compared a brief and probably incomplete account of a similar ceremony gathered from the Otati tribe inhabiting the neighbourhood of Cape Granville on the east of Cape York Peninsula. An Otati girl tells one or more of the older women of the tribe when the signs of puberty appear. With them she leaves the camp and a hole is dug on the shore in which she squats; sand is thrown into the hole until she is covered up to her waist, and a rough bower is built over her. She stays here for the first day, but is allowed to come out at night. During the subsequent days of her seclusion, which only lasts while the flow is actually present, she squats under her shelter but is not again buried in the sand. She is subsequently painted with red and white pigments and returns to the camp, where she squats first on the right side, then on the left, and then on the lap of her future husband, who has been previously selected for her.

A number of the Otati tribe were seen at Thursday Island, among these were several women and a girl who had recently attained to puberty. Little difficulty was experienced in persuading her seniors to paint the latter as on her return from being secluded (plate XII.). Recently Dr Walter E. Roth¹ has described similar customs occurring south of Bowen among the Kia blacks of the Proserpine River and on the western coast of the Peninsula among the natives of the Pennefather River. Referring to the latter he says, "At Margaret Bay, on the opposite, eastern, coast of the Peninsula, an Otati woman informed me that a similar ceremonial takes place." No further details are given, but a figure from a photograph "by an individual who was acquainted with the natives of that district" shows the back view of a girl wearing a short petticoat and painted from the nape to the waist and elbows with closely placed spots of white pigment.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS CONCERNING CATAMENIA.

In Sabai and Yam the moon is held responsible for the appearance of the catamenia, the first period at puberty being due to actual connection during sleep with the moon, in the shape of a man. A halo round the moon represents the blood inevitably shed, and it is stated that the word for moon, *ganumi*², may be used instead of *nanamud*, the true word for menstrual blood.

My informant's exact words were "you look moon, sometimes he all some got blood round him, people he say that moon he got blood he go break some young girl." The girl dreams it is a man but really it is the moon who embraces her. This belief prevails at Mawata on the neighbouring New Guinea coast, whence a song was obtained in which an unusually chaste and haughty Maubo girl was reproached by her would-be-lover from Pedia in Kiwai for submitting only to the moon's embraces. The song itself went somewhat as follows:

Mauborubi buserago, ganumi raitaiduma
Awadema yaburi, ganumi duato patoda reaguti
Wiawia awera yagoli.

¹ North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin, No. 5, Superstition, Magic and Medicine. Brisbane, 1903.

² *Ganumi* is the Mawata name for 'moon,' it is not a Torres Straits word.

Which was translated thus:

The moon looked down upon a Maubo girl
He came and embraced her yesterday, he made the blood flow
(So that it sounded) like a cassowary's cry.

The sound of the trickling blood was according to my informant supposed to resemble the bubbling call of the cassowary.

In Saibai the woman, during her periods, sleeps in the hut, but at some distance from her husband, except during the turtle-pairing season, at which time she sleeps in the bush. Even then she may go into the sea to catch fish, but must hide if she sees a turtle-fishing canoe. She may neither cook nor fetch water for others.

During, and for three days after the period, a menstruous woman of Yam sleeps in the hut but apart from her husband. She bathes daily in the sea.

In Mabuiag it was not quite clear whether at other times than during the turtle-pairing season a woman who was unwell would be allowed to wash in the sea, though during this time she might not even walk on the sea-shore below high-water mark, approach a fire at which turtle was cooking, or enter a house in which there was turtle flesh.

During this time a Muralug woman must not walk near high-water mark and never below it.

The food taboos have been mentioned on p. 196.

VII. INITIATION.

By A. C. HADDON.

INITIATION into manhood is such an important function among many primitive peoples that I have dealt with it as fully as my imperfect material will permit. I have kept distinct the accounts of the various islands, as there were undoubtedly local variations, and I have added some parallel customs from the neighbouring coasts of New Guinea and Queensland.

TUTU.

The fathers of growing lads would one day come to the conclusion, as the *nadulza* (hair on pubes) and *iata* (hair on face) were growing on their boys, it was no longer desirable for them to remain among the women and girls, so they would agree to take the next opportunity to initiate the lads into manhood. This ceremony always took place at the beginning of the north-west monsoon.

At the appropriate time each *kernge*, as the lad was now called, was handed over by his father to the lad's mother's brother (*wadwam*), who thenceforth took full charge of him till the rite was completed. During this period the *wadwam* is called *mowai-garka*, that is, the male *manuwai* or *mowai*. The *mowai-garka* takes the *kernge* to the *kwod* which is in the middle of the island.

At the present time the *kwod* is overgrown with grass and scrub. In one corner, about S.W., are three ancient *piner* (*Erythrina*) trees. One of these is recumbent with age, and another was transfixed in several places with turtle bones, which were stuck into the tree by men long since dead; the back of the tree has grown round and more or less imbedded these relics. A considerable portion of a turtle's plastron, *kāpai*, had been placed there by Rosir, a small piece¹ by Taibi, and a very tall man, Wedai by name, had thrust the iron dart¹, *kwiuru*, of his dugong harpoon at a height of 6 feet 9 inches (206 cm.) above the ground as a memorial of himself. Round about are bushes and trees of various ages (pl. XIII.).

The central area is about forty feet (12 m.) long by thirty feet (9 m.) wide, and was formerly nearly covered by four large mats, each of which probably measured about twenty feet (610 cm.), by 10 feet (305 cm.). These were ranged transversely across the

¹ These are now in collection in the Cambridge Museum.

area. At the southerly end of the area about the middle line a fireplace is still to be seen, and at the opposite extremity are the remains of two other fireplaces, separated from each other by a narrow passage some 2 feet (61 cm.) wide. A fourth fireplace, now overgrown by bushes, is situated about half-way up on the westerly side. At the side of the large mats opposite to this fireplace was a small mat, perhaps 6 feet (183 cm.) or 8 feet (244 cm.) square. The mats, of course, have long since been removed, but Maino pointed out to me where they had been. Low circular heaps of ashes still mark the spots where the old fires burned. On the site where the small mat formerly lay are two stones, one marking the seat of the old chiefs of the island, the other an irregular, oval, flattened boulder some 22 inches (56 cm.) by 14 inches (35 cm.) in breadth, this stone, which is called *kerngau matamzi kula*, "*kernge's* killing stone," had a dire significance as will be stated presently.

The four mats with the four fireplaces belonged to four different clans. The single fireplace at one end with its mat belonged to the *Sam* (cassowary) clan. The next mat and the fireplace on the side were allocated to the *Umai* (dog) clan. The third mat was that of the *Kodal* (crocodile) clan, and the last belonged to the *Baidam* (shark) clan. These two last clans were "like brothers," and so had their fireplaces close together, that of the *Kodal* clan being on the western and that of the *Baidam* clan being on the eastern side of the median line. Maino (16), my informant, belongs to the *Kodal* clan.

The elder men sat on the mats belonging to their respective clans. If a man sat by the fire or upon the mat of a clan other than his own he was painted black. The young men who had been last initiated sat round and tended their respective fires. Those men who did not want to sit on the mats, or for whom there was not room, stationed themselves by the encircling bushes and trees. The *kernge* were grouped at each end of the *kwod*. The *Kodal* and *Baidam* lads sat beyond the fireplace of the *Sam* clan, and *kernge* of the *Umai* and *Sam* clans were placed between the twin fires at the other end of the *kwod*. Thus the youths, during initiation, were allocated to that end of the *kwod* farthest away from the mats of their respective clans. The small mat belonged to the chief of the island. During certain ceremonies the large drums were grouped at the common centre of the mats and a large turtle-shell mask, *krar*, was placed in the middle of the east end of each mat. On each side of the *krar* were situated the leafy masks, *markaikui*, which were used in the death dance.

The lads to be initiated were painted all over with *kobikobi*, or soot obtained from the burnt shell of a coco-nut, and every day fresh soot was rubbed on them. The avowed object of covering the body with soot was to render the skin paler in colour. Maino said that the skin of the body assumed that paler and almost South European tint which characterises the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet of the natives (cf. vol. I.). If at the end of the period a *kernge* came out "white," the father was delighted. If the colour did not satisfy him, he considered that the *mowagarka* had not done his duty.

The *kernge* were covered with a kind of mat-tent or covering, *sobera*, which completely enveloped them when sitting down, and, when walking, their legs alone were visible. These *kai* mats came from Daudai and were made of strips of pandanus leaf

sewn together by means of a vegetable fibre. Each *sobera* was like a high-pitched roof with vertical gable ends.

For a month the *kernge* were hidden within these moveable shelters, spending all the day in the silent, stifling darkness. They might neither play nor talk, but had to keep quiet all the time, sitting still and looking down; the heated atmosphere within the *sobera* caused them to perspire profusely. They were not allowed to see, or be seen by, any girl or woman, nor even by their fathers. The *mowaigarka* watched them all the time to see that these rules were obeyed. After night-fall the *kernge* were marched off to a house at the outskirts of the village, and before sunrise, when "wild fowl, he call out," they had to retrace their steps to the *kwod*. If it was wet the *kernge* stopped in the house, but they still had to remain under the *sobera*. Any kind of food might be eaten by the *kernge* during the month except fat, as this would cause an eruption of pimples, *moid*. The *wadwam* always ate a little of the food before giving it to the *kernge*.

Infringement of these rules was punished with death. Once seven youths, tired of the irksomeness of the discipline, broke away from the *kwod*, and seeing their mothers with some yams and sweet potatoes, shouted out to them, and, holding up the left arm to attract attention, asked for some food. The *mowaigarka* ran after the *kernge* and brought them back to the *kwod*, where they were immediately killed by their respective fathers with the stone previously mentioned. The fathers who killed their sons in the *kwod* sung the following song:

"My piccaninny he been born for nothing, he die to-day."

During the period of seclusion the *mowaigarka* (*wadwam*) instructed the *kernge* in their lore and customs; nor was moral instruction omitted. The following is a literal transcript of the code of morals as given by Maino:

You no steal. You no take thing belong another man without leave; if you see a fish-spear and take it, s'pose you break it and you no got spear, how you pay man? S'pose you see a dugong harpoon in a canoe and take it, and man he no savvy, then you lose it or break it, how you pay him? You no got dugong harpoon.

Look here! S'pose man tell you do something, you do it quick. S'pose man ask for *kaikai* (food) or water or anything else, you give him half what you got. If you do, you good boy, if you no do, no one like you.

You work hard to get plenty fish, and dugong, and turtle. You make garden then you full-up of food. S'pose you get plenty fish you give mother and father before you give to brother, if you have wife give her a little and plenty to parents for they have had hard work along you. Look after mother and father; never mind if you and your wife have to go without. Give half of all your fish to your parents, don't be mean. Don't speak bad word to mother. Father and mother all along same as food in belly; when they die you feel hungry and empty. Mind your uncles too and cousins.

You no go and talk a lie, you speak straight.

S'pose man talk to your brother you help him too, you talk too. If your brother is going out to fight, you help him; don't let him go first but go together.

You no play with small play-canoë, or with toy-spear; that all finish now. You no play with boy and girl now; you a man now and no boy.

You no like girl first; if you do, girl laugh at you and call you a woman [that is the young man must not propose marriage to a girl, but must wait for her to ask first]. You no marry your cousin; she all same sister. You no marry sister of your mate or by and by you will be ashamed; mates all same brothers [but "mates," *i.e.* two close friends, like brothers, may marry two sisters].

Finally the *kernge* was instructed about dealings with women. The characters of various girls were made known to the youths so that they might be forewarned. The *kernge* were also taught by the *wadwam* the following magical practices in connection with women so that the latter might fall in love with them:—Spear the ground where the woman, or women, micturate and call her, or their, name when pulling out the spear. Mix "medicine" with tobacco and give to the girl. Mix the medicine with sand and put it on the sand where the women are going to sit round the fire. Put "medicine" on the palm of the hand, and plenty behind the ears and the back of the neck, a little on the nose and plenty in the armpits, on the pubes, under the knees and on the feet. I could not get any of this "girl medicine," it was a scented substance and I think it was mainly—if not entirely—*paiwa* bark.

At the expiration of the month's seclusion the drums were beaten and the *sobera* removed from the *kernge*, who were washed in the sea, leaves of the *sarza* and *urakar* trees were gathered and the boys were rubbed with these together with some sand, until they were clean and light-coloured.

"My word, boy very clean," said Maino on one occasion; finally they were anointed with coco-nut oil and "plenty girl like him." Each *kernge* was then decorated with a headdress of cassowary feathers, a belt, armlets and other finery, and a shell skewer, *gub*, was inserted in his nose. Thus they "made him flash¹—flash-like hell that boy." Two large seeds were put inside the cheeks to make them bulge out and a valve of a kind of white clam was inserted in the mouth, which, distending the latter, showed between the lips as a round white disc. Lastly the youths were anointed down the centre of the abdomen with "girl medicine"—a pungent scented substance, "smell long way he [it] go, make girl come, man can't stop him [her] make him [her] humbug."

At nightfall the *kernge* were led by their *mowai-garka* behind a large mat, held in a vertical position, which was carried by the lads who had been initiated on the previous occasion. The procession marched from the *kwod* till they arrived at an open space near the village where a mat had been spread out before a semicircle of the relatives and friends of the *kernge*, the women sitting in front and the men standing behind. When the approaching party reached this mat the *kernge* sat down upon it and the screening mat was lowered. Suddenly, for the first time for a month, the fathers and female relatives saw their lads and great was the crying; but the boys sat still looking downwards and never moved. The mothers and aunts ran up to the *kernge* and fondled and caressed them, crying all the time; but the boys showed no emotion, but their hearts beat loudly.

The *kernge* sat in pairs, "two mates" (*kaimi*) sitting together. The chief boys

¹ Decorated.

were put in the middle; an important *mowaigarka* stood on each side of the mat, the others stood behind. Food was placed in front of each boy by the father for the *mowaigarka* and behind each boy by the *mowaigarka* for the father. The mothers surreptitiously hid dainty morsels under the boys for them to eat, and there was a big feast.

The young man stopped with his *mowaigarka* for three months longer. After the expiration of that time a feast was made; the *mowaigarka* exchanged presents with the father, and handed the youth over to him, and the father kissed his son.

It often happened that the girl who was first enamoured of a youth at his initiation feast, and who first proposed marriage to him, was one who "like too many men." The lad, being on his guard, might not accept her, but might make a bogus appointment with her in the bush, of which he would inform the elder men. These would repair to the trysting place, to the youth's amusement, the old men's pleasure and the girl's mortification.

If a desirable girl proposed before the three months were up, the usual ring of string was given through a go-between and the parents informed the *mowaigarka*. A feast was made and the bridegroom's people gave him "big things to pay for girl." The *mowaigarka* handed the lad over to his father, who kissed him on the forehead and chest and rubbed noses with him.

NAGIR.

The initiation ceremonies at Nagir were essentially similar to those of Tutu. Kuduma of Nagir informed me that the *kernge* were covered with a *sobera* and that soot was put on afresh and washed off every day. The *kernge* were not allowed to eat certain fish such as *paza* (said to be a flat fish, with poisonous stings, not the sting-ray) and *takem*, a small kind of "rock-fish," nor might they eat the "red one inside craw-fish" (i.e. the thoracic viscera of the spiny lobster) but they might eat its flesh. Fat might be eaten but not any entrails, *soroi*. The period of seclusion was said to have lasted two months.

The instruction given by the *mowaigarka* to the *kernge* was essentially similar to that given at Tutu. Kuduma gave the following in addition to some of the rules told me by Maino. "You no take thing belong to other man. If you see food belong another man you no take it or you dead [evidently referring to the efficacy of sorcery as a punishment for wrong doing]. If a woman walk along, you no follow; by and by man look, he call you bad name. If a canoe is going out to fight another place, you go in canoe; no stop behind to steal woman."

At Nagir they "made boy flash" with a coronet of cassowary feathers or of plumes of the bird of paradise and a frontlet made from a young coco-nut leaf; the hair was made into long ringlets with mud; a *gub* was passed through the nasal septum. Seeds, bits of grass or other objects were inserted in the holes which perforated the margin of the ear, *musur* adorned the arms and *makamak* the legs. The body was anointed with coco-nut oil and "smell medicine." A potent "medicine" was put in a small basket, which was slung over the shoulder and suspended under the arm.

The father and mother prepared food for the first feast, on which occasion the *kernge* was stripped of all his finery except the two *musur*. The youth stayed with his *mowaigarka* until the second feast. At the latter the father and mother place food in front of the lad for the *mowaigarka* and the latter put some behind the boy for the parents. The two *musur* were taken off the youth's arms and he was then styled *kaukwik*.

MABUIAG.

When a young fellow grew up "close up he get whiskers," it was decided that the time had come to make him *kernge*. This always took place in *Kek* time and immediately after the *tai* ceremonies (the *markai* or death dance) at Pulu. The *kernge* were grouped on the western side of the *kai siboi* in the *kwod* at Pulu.

The *kernge* was taken to any *kwod* and there he was put in charge of his *mowai* (his mother's brother, *wadwam*, cf. p. 147), whose business it was to look after him, provide him with food, and instruct him, the *kernge* did not even see his father during this period.

After arriving at the *kwod* the *mowai* decorated the *kernge* by blackening him all over with *kubi*, the charred husk of the coco-nut and with *boat*¹. A red line was painted round the forehead at the insertion of the hair of the scalp, from this a red line passed down the centre of the forehead and along the nose. A red band crossed the whole of the face at the level of the *alæ nasi*. The hair was rolled into the long ringlets known as *yal*. A *kusadul*—a frontlet of *kus* seeds, etc.—was bound round the head to keep the *yal* off the forehead and face.

The *kernge* was also decorated with *burna*, *makamak*, *musur*, *dibidib*, *kusal* (string of seeds), *gub*, *muti-kusa* (seeds in the rim of the ear) and a *gagi mai* pearl-shell ear-pendant, *kuik-uru*, or nautilus-shell frontlet. When the leaves inserted in the *musur* of the *kernge* were withered it was the business of the *mowai* to replace them.

The *mowai* gave medicine to the *kernge* "so that girl like boy, girl like very quick."

According to Waria and Gizu the following instruction, which was called *Sabi kwōda dana tiai*, that is, "Law *kwod* turn eyes towards," or "make look at," was imparted to the *kernge* by his *mowai*.

"We tell you and you think every year and every day. What word we speak out, you must put it along your heart."

The *mowai* showed the *kernge* the dirt under his finger-nail and said to him, "This dirt is outside, you put him inside. We no want you put him outside that black, you put him inside." I gathered that what the uncle meant to express was, that anything that the boy saw or heard he was to keep to himself and not to talk about it.

"You think yourself" (that is you also can think), "you're no stone or firewood, you're a man just like me."

¹ The root of the *Tapi* tree, this tree grows in Mabuiag but those fragments of the root that are found floating in the sea make the best charcoal.

"If you hear another man call out for your father or call out for your mother, you no speak out, you keep him inside" (*i.e.* keep your words inside and not utter them).

"If any man meets you walking along the road and you are carrying sweet-potato, coco-nuts or other food. You offer it to him without his having to ask you for some, he will then call you a good boy; but if you do not do it he will call you a bad boy."

"Suppose a man send you for anything, you must do it quick—you no too much run about."

"When all the men stay at the *kwod*, you no walk upright, you stoop down as you walk."

"When you want to speak some word, you speak true, no tell lie, to tell lies is no good."

"S'pose you're a bad boy, by and by you dead quick—*maidelaig* kill you—same too s'pose you speak too much word or you play in *kwod*."

"You must take cold heart" (*i.e.* you must have a quiet temper).

"You must not touch anything belonging to another man. S'pose you take anything and you lose it, he will call you a bad boy. You must ask him first then if you lose it then the man will say 'Oh! it's my fault, I gave it to you.'"

"If you walk in the bush and you see a garden belonging to other people and you spit, you no let go your heart, that bad fashion. S'pose you let go your heart and swallow your spit, you bad boy¹."

Peter gave me the following information. The *kernge* was told by his *mowai* not to stand upright in the presence of the old men; not to speak to the men in the *kwod*; not to swear, *bagai*; not to talk scandal, that is, if he heard about anyone committing adultery he was to remain silent and not to talk about it and so to make it worse; not to steal food; that he should carry things for the old men; he ought to give food to the *maidelaig* (sorcerer) should he want any; the *maidelaig* would kill the *wadwam* (or *mowai*) "if no teach proper" (that is if the lad was disobedient); a man might not marry his *babat*, *apu*, *kutapu*, *kai ipika*, or *maidelaigau kazi* (the child of a sorcerer)²; nor might he marry the sister of his *kaimi* (or "mate") as she is "all same sister."

The *kernge* remained in the *kwod* about five days. When the instruction by the *mowai* was completed the *kernge* went to his house. The *mowai* had to remain continent during the period he had charge of the *kernge*.

The *kernge* danced with a *mowai* on each side of him and he carefully watched how the *mowai* danced and imitated them. After the dance the *kernge* went to his home, but the big men kept on dancing.

Next morning the *kernge* was taken to the *kwod* at Gumu and there the men "made *kwoda dana tia*." The men who had girls, but no boys, went first and put three *amu* (ropes used in dugong fishing) on the ground of the *kwod*, these they covered over with sand. They brought *kumikumi*, long thin sticks like a *wap*, and inserted *ibaib* (spine of the sting-ray) at one end of each, like the dart, *kwir*, of a *wap*, and thorny sticks and roots. They also took a wild onion and stuck it all over with sharpened skewers of wood so as to make a spiked ball-headed club. They collected

¹ I cannot remember what this means.

² This was evidently a recommendation rather than an injunction, cf. p. 247.

the nests of the green ant (*muzu*), wasps' nests (*goa*), the skin of the *taimer* ray, the rough leaves of the *sarzar* bush that are used as sand-paper, as well as human and dugong ordure.

One or two men brought the *kernge* and some of the young bachelors (*kaukwik*). A father did not bring his own boy. The men covered their heads and the whole of their bodies with boughs and leaves, so that their identity could not be discovered, and taking advantage of the disguise a father would sometimes beat his own boy.

If a boy tried to run away the *amu* were pulled up so as to trip him up.

The boys were speared in the knee-pit with the *kumikumi* badly or slightly as the case might be. The glans penis and the ears were beaten with the ants' nests, the groin was scraped with the prickly ray's skin, and so on. The bad boys were treated harshly but the good boys were let off easily.

After their scourging the *kernge* returned home. No mask nor bull-roarer were employed at this ceremony. Generally two or three *kernge* were initiated each year.

In the dance *kapā kapā* that followed the scourging ceremony the new *kernge* danced in front and the other men danced behind them.

SAIBAI.

Very little information is to hand from Saibai.

The initiation ceremonies took place in the *Gagurulnga ilnga kwod*¹ at the time of the first new moon of the south-east monsoon, *ngaga sigamai mulpal*.

The proceedings began with a feast of food cooked in an *amai*, earth-oven. The *kerngai* were painted with a red line from the middle of each side of the nose across the cheek, they were decorated with *musur*, *perta-urukam* (wristlets), *makamak*, *danal-kuk* and *dibidib*. When in the *kwod* they were obliged to sit down and remain quite quiet, they were not allowed to move or laugh. They were not subjected to any flogging and no masks were employed.

The following *Sabi* were inculcated by the *mowai*. "You must not take food from your brother, you must not fight your brother, you must not go after women."

I was informed that the *kerngai* sat in the lap of the *mowai* and that any man could be a *mowai*, but in the list of examples given me the reciprocity was between the following clans *Kodal—Sam*, *Daibau—Tabu* or *Umai*; that is, a *Kodal kerngai* would have a *Sam mowai* and the reverse.

When the lads began to grow a small moustache, but before the beard had grown, they were taken to the *kwod* by the old men, and a fire was lit. The young men lay face downwards, at full length on the ground, a short distance from the fire, their heads resting upon their arms. The old men put leaves of the coco-nut palm on the fire, and when they were alight whipped the backs of the lads with them. If one of the latter got up and ran away, he was "no good," and all laughed at him. The skin of the lads was much burnt, and when the castigation was finished fresh water was poured over them. This ceremony took place so that the arrows might glance off the lads when fighting. I first heard of this custom during my first visit to Mabuig,

¹ Mr Ray informs me this may mean *kakurulnga*, eggy thing, *ilnga*, gall thing.

subsequently I was informed it was not a Mabuiag custom but belonged to Saibai. A similar but less rigorous custom prevailed at Tutu which will be referred to in the section on War.

MURALUG.

I gathered from Painauda, "Wallaby" (17), that after the appearance of the *Padar* star¹, or the season when the sweet potatoes are dry, that is *aibaud*, the south-east season, the *kulan terai* was performed at the *kwod* of the *kula augud*. There was erected in the *kwod* a screen, *waus*², composed of a row of upright stakes and two horizontal bars, one of which was placed about the middle, and the other near the upper end of the stakes, deep fringes of the shredded sprouting leaves of the coco-nut, *tu*, as well as seed rattles, *goa*, depended from the horizontal bars. Large *Fusus* shells were placed on the stakes and the *augud* stones were placed by the *waus*. The *kula* were painted red on one side, *paibal dāgam*, this face of the stones was efficacious in ensuring a good crop of food, the other side, *ngonoburul dāgam*, had no effect.

Endwise in front of the *waus* were placed two long mats, *waku*, at a little distance apart, and beyond the end of each mat was a fireplace. In the centre of the ground between the two mats was deposited a large human-face mask. The *kernge* sat at each end of the space between the mats, the clansmen sat on their respective mats.

The *kernge* had to remain for one month in the *kwod*, during which time they were not allowed to talk nor to play. They were under the charge of their *mowai* and might not drink water during the day, nor eat any animal food during the period.

During the initiation period, which lasted, I was informed by Painauda, for four 'months' (probably 'weeks'), no one but his *mowai* could see the *kernge*.

On the first day the *mugi mowai* (it is not quite clear who this relation was, I think he was the less closely related of the *wadwam*) took hold of the *kernge's* arm and took him into the 'bush' and there decked him with a new leaf petticoat, which the *kernge* wore during the whole period. The following day he was taken charge of by his "small father" (younger brother of his father) *mugi tati* or *kuta tati*.

The *mowai*, who was the lad's *wadwam*, taught the *kernge* "medicine belong sweet-heart," *rugaiq puri*, in other words, a love charm. This consisted in chewing with closed eyes a plant with a milky juice, *susulipuri*³, the juice had to be swallowed and the chewed stem was rubbed on the underside of the knees, the elbows, shoulders, back of neck, and on the hair of the occiput. The scented *paiwa* bark was chewed and a similar anointing was made, and some was spat into the boy's basket. A blistering leaf *ngaranga* was also chewed and rubbed over the face and on the above-mentioned spots as well as a plant with a hot flavour, *moi*. All these were also rubbed on an armlet, *puti*. This was then dried and the name of the girl was mentioned; after about a fortnight the *puti* was burned and the charcoal rubbed on the lad's face. This made the girl quickly fall in love with the lad.

¹ This was described as *geregal titoi*, the star of the suns.

² Cf. Ceremonial Dances.

³ *Susu* is juice, sap, milk, breast, but Painauda told me that woman's milk is called *ikat*; *puri* is medicine.

In order to drive away a girl's affection from a lad some *ialalai* grass was pointed at the lad by his *mowai* who said, "Here *kernge*, look at me," and the grass was thrown in another direction and the following was said by the *mowai*:

Napuni wara prui zianoli mata um bangal meipa rogaigaginga.
Over there another tree continually dies to-morrow cause having no sweetheart.

"Over there another tree (*zianoli*) is dying: by and by (he will) have no sweetheart."

When I visited Muralug in 1888 I was informed the lads went into the bush for five weeks accompanied by an old man, who might eat anything, but the former might eat vegetable food only. They had to keep entirely in the bush and might not see, or be seen by, any woman. The actual initiation ceremony, so far as I could gather, consisted mainly in showing the lads a *wanēs*, or bull-roarer, and in instructing them how to use it. The specimen made for me was an ellipsoidal, thin, flat piece of wood, with bevelled edges, and a swelling at one end to enable a piece of string to be tied on to it¹. The string was about a yard (1 m.) in length, and was fastened to the end of a stick. This was whirled round and round over the head. I was informed that the *wanēs* was ornamented with a central white band, a red band being painted a short distance off on each side of the white one. It was only by taking Zagra (17) and his father Waitu, the then chief of the island, on one side and speaking in a low tone of voice that I could induce them to speak about the *wanēs* at all, and even then it was only after much persuasion, and when they saw that I knew something about the initiation rites of other peoples, that they would tell me the little they did, and I had to promise not to tell the women nor to show them the model of the *wanēs* which Waitu had made for me. After initiation the lads might associate with the women.

Macgillivray (II. p. 14) gives the following account: "This initiation is not at Cape York and Muralug accompanied by the performance either of circumcision or the knocking out of a tooth, as in many parts of Australia. The boys, usually three or four in number, are chased about in the bush during the day by some of the men decked out with feathers and other ornaments, and at night retire to the men's camp, for, during the whole time of their novitiate—or about a month—they must on no account be seen by a woman; in fact, as Gi'om informed me, a woman coming upon these *kernele*—as they are called—no matter how accidentally, would be immediately put to death. When all is over the lads return to their parents, decorated with a profusion of ornaments, which are worn until they drop off, and wearing in front a small triangular piece of shell as a distinguishing mark."

KERIRI.

Dr Seligmann obtained the following information from a native of Hammond Island, which belongs to the same group as Muralug. The *mowai* (maternal uncles) take charge of the *kernge*, they take him into the bush, where he is kept about two months and blackened with charcoal, his father, or mother, and no women being allowed to see him. Unmarried *mowai* stop with the *kernge* "all the time," married *mowai* may venture

¹ Cf. *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. Pl. VIII. fig. 5; and "Das Schwirrholz," *Verh. des Vereins für Naturw. Unterhaltung zu Hamburg*, IX. (1896), fig. 12.

to return to their homes at night. His "mates" may come to see the *kernge* and may speak to him but he must reply to them through the *mowai*. The *mowai* and his wife cook for the *kernge*. In the bush the boy is shown the use of the digging stick and instructed in the management of a canoe and in lore relating to fishing and other matters. He is shown a bull-roarer and told to go errands for older men, to feed them when they are hungry and not to steal. At the end of two months the *mowai* brings the freshly decorated and blackened boy back to the camp about sundown. The *kernge* and the *mowai* sit on a mat and a dance is held.

NOTES ON THE INITIATION CEREMONIES IN KIWAI.

At Iasa, in Kiwai, I was informed there were two initiation ceremonies. At the first a *madubu*, or bull-roarer, is shown to each *koiameri* (the *kernge* of the Western islands) in a tabooed and fenced-in portion of the bush, and he is taught how to use it. I believe each youth receives one, the whirling of the *madubu* insures a good crop of yams, sweet potatoes and bananas. Mr Ray has a memorandum to the effect that the *madubu* is swung and shown to the *koiameri* when yams are planted in the south-east season; a fence is made in the bush and the women and young boys are kept out of the way for the three days during which the ceremonies last.

The second *moguru* ceremony takes place during the rainy season. The *koiameri* are again taken to the bush and this time the *orara* is shown to them. This is a wooden image of a nude woman, which was described as "god belong *moguru*," a smaller form of it is known as *umuruburu*, this is usually a thin, flat board cut into the shape of a human being (Fig. 30 D). These effigies are supposed to ensure a good supply of sago. When food is scarce, or of poor quality, if for instance a sago

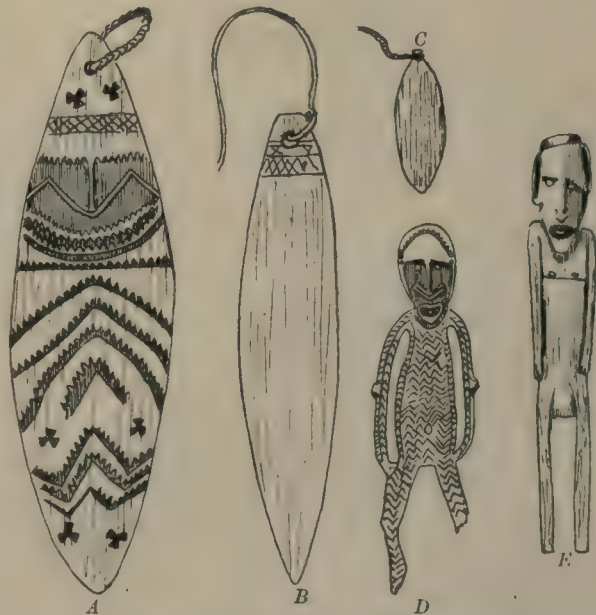


FIG. 30. Agricultural charms from Iasa, Kiwai. One-sixth natural size. Cambridge Museum. A. Carved and painted *madubu* (444 mm.)¹. B. *Madubu* with slight incised ornament (376 mm.). C. Plain *madubu* (114 mm.). D. *Umuruburu* (293 mm.). E. *Umuruburu* (335 mm.), a carving in the round.

¹ I was first informed, some small boys being present, that this object was called *gope*; later when alone with the men I was told that its real name was *madubu*. In my "Decorative Art of British New Guinea" (1894), p. 73, I put forward the suggestion that the *gope* is a bull-roarer derivative. I believe that it is so; Mr Chalmers thus describes these objects: "Charms hung up in a new house for good-luck," "house charm," "figure-head of a canoe gives good passage, and is thought a wonderful charm" ("Ethnographical Album," Second Series, Pl. 185, No. 3). It seems that when the bull-roarers were made too large to be readily swung they were publicly exhibited on houses and canoes to give good luck; but they were then known by everyone as *gope*, but only the initiated knew about *madubu*. Cf. *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxxiii. p. 112.

palm is split and the pith found to be "no good," the men "make *moguru*" and put "medecine along *moguru* for *kaikai* (food)." During the *moguru* ceremonies the men are decorated and wear a head-dress made of cuscus skin, *marari*, or some wear on their heads long strips of cuscus fur decorated with feathers.

Women and uninitiated boys may not see any of these sacred emblems nor the head-dresses. When the ceremonies take place they are carried at night time from the house to the bush and returned to their hidden receptacles in the end-rooms of the long houses. Between the *moguru* ceremony and the yam harvest the men make pan-pipes, *piago*, and every young man carries and plays one. Mr Chalmers states that when using these pipes men and women put lime on their heads.

The late Rev. J. Chalmers had a MS catalogue of some ethnographical specimens from the mouth of the Fly River from which the following notes were obtained. Cf. also *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXXIII. 1903, pp. 113, 116, 118.

"*Burumamuramu*¹, a bull-roarer: when used all women and children and uninitiated young men leave the village and go into the bush. The old men swing it and show it to the young men when the yams are ready for digging (May and June)." [*Buruma* is a variety of yam, and *maramu* is "mother"; the name evidently means "the mother of yams."]

"*Kurumi* and *Uruparu*, human effigies, are shown to the lads at initiation into manhood, and when first seen the youths have fire showered over them and fire-sticks thrust at them. Should a man have made a new garden, he provides himself with these figures before eating from it, and the effigies are shown to the young man. The initiation ceremony always takes place before harvest."

"*Kaegasi*², charm worn by uninitiated young lads, *osio*, when dancing. Fastened round the neck and hanging down the back."

"*Moguru Umuruburu* or *Urumuruburu*³. Fastened round the neck and hangs down in front, worn when singing and dancing; the girls like the young men to wear them." [These specimens are very similar to Fig. 30 D.]

"*Uvio Moguru*⁴, idol, used at the initiation of the young men and must not be seen by women or children; also called *Oraoradubu*, 'god.' He makes everything grow and they bring him presents of food when the planting season comes. They place the food beside him and then return, carry it away and eat it. He is always consulted before fighting, and presents are given him in order that he may help his worshippers to catch men and to secure their heads. If anyone is sick, *Uvio* is placed on the top of a big house (*darimo*) and he is addressed as follows: 'O *Uvio* terminate the sickness of our dear one and give life.' The food is left there. The image is also taken and placed on the sick one when asleep and the patient (male or female) will get better. *Uvio* is always brought out at night, as he is then a living being, during the day he is only a piece of wood; he cannot cause the dead to live."

"*Mimiamo*, god, or idol, shown at initiation and same as *Uvio*."

¹ Figured in the "Ethnographical Album of the Pacific Islands," Second Series, by James Edge Partington and Charles Heape (Palmer Howe & Co., Manchester), Pl. 201, No. 2; also Pl. 200, No. 3.

² This is the *Kaigas* (*Rhinobatis*) of Torres Straits (pp. 154, 164, Pl. xi. fig. 3).

³ Pl. 198, No. 1, and First Series, Pl. 309, No. 1.

⁴ Pl. 195, Nos. 1, 2.

"*Paromiti*". Idol shown to youths at initiation. It is kept wrapped up in pandanus leaf matting, *tiro*. At the ceremony men are painted red and black to match the effigy."

"*Amesosogoro*. The ear is perforated with a number of small holes and when the initiation season comes round those lads who are to be initiated fasten an *amesosogoro* to each hole so that it hangs down. It is made from the young frond of the sago palm and dyed with *ame*, hence part of the name."

"*Kararo*. Mask worn by men who have been initiated. This is the last stage of initiation and men are getting on for forty years of age before they can wear them. They dance with these on and are called *Oboro*, "spirits" of which women and children are terribly afraid. It is the *Semese* of Elema."

NOTES ON THE INITIATION CUSTOMS OF THE YARAIKANNA TRIBE OF CAPE YORK.

My informant, Jimmy Matauri, said that initiation is conducted by a "big, big man with grey hair. Young boy no savvy, he got little bit whiskers, this one (pointing to pubes) got whiskers. Big man say 'more better we show him'." They "catch *langa*," that is, commence the initiation ceremonies about the beginning of the North West season.

The men take their javelins, *wala*, and throwing-sticks, *akembi*, and they all are decorated with shell ornaments and red and white paint, their transverse abdominal scars being painted white. The lads to be initiated, *langa*, are conducted into the bush by their several *mawara* or *ankanga*, the men of the clan into which each boy will have to marry. The *langa* is anointed with "bush-medicine" in the hollow by the head of the femur, in each groin, in the hollow of each clavicle, temple and knee to make him grow.

For the *yampa* ceremony a crescentic screen is erected at the *tera* (taboo-ground or *kwod* of Torres Straits), and the *langa* sit along the concavity which faces the ground, in front is a tall notched pole perhaps some thirty feet in height.

A man, known as *anachena*, climbs up the pole and steadies himself on the top with his legs, so as to leave his hands free. He is decorated and has red feathers in his hair set transversely from ear to ear and along to sagittal line from the forehead to the occiput. He calls out to inform the people who stand a good way off, on the other (convex) side of the screen that the *langa* who are in the *tera* have been well looked after and that their relatives must bring them food. The relatives of the *langa* throw bundles of food tied up in *Ti* bark or in palm-leaf baskets from where they stand, over the screen to the *anachena* on the pole, if he misses a catch he has to come down and another man takes his place, but one man may catch all the food, which he drops below.

After the food-throwing ceremony the bull-roarers are whirled and shown to the *langa* in the day-time and the latter hang their heads.

Two forms of bull-roarer are employed, a large one for the old men, *umbalako* or *iwaika*, and a small one, *maumata*, for the *langa*. They are made of the wood of the *akundia* tree (the *wangai* of Torres Straits) and painted with red, white and black. Bull-roarers are whirled in the following manner. First they are swung round the head,

which produces a buzzing noise, then the performer turns rapidly, and facing the opposite direction, swings the bull-roarers horizontally with a sudden backward and forward movement of the hand, which makes them give out a penetrating, yelping sound.

Finally there is the ceremony of knocking out a front tooth, the right or left median incisor. The *langa* lies on the ground on his back with his head resting on the operator's lap, the latter takes a kangaroo bone in his left hand and a stone in his right and inserts the bone between the tooth to be extracted and the adjoining tooth, first on one side and then on the other, working the bone from side to side to the accompaniment of a grunting chant; when the tooth is loosened the bone used as a punch by being placed against it and its other end smartly tapped with the stone. With each blow the name is mentioned of one of the "countries" owned by the lad's mother, or by her father, or other of her relatives. These names are given in order, and the country whose name is mentioned when the tooth breaks away is the land to which the lad will belong¹.

The *langa* is then given some water with which to rinse his mouth and he gently lets the gory saliva fall into a leaf water-basket. The old men carefully inspect the clot and trace some likeness of the form which the clot assumes to a natural object, an animal, plant, or stone, or whatever it may be, this will be the *ari* (p. 193) of the newly made man.

The *langa* wears a small fore and aft leaf fringe, or sporran, while he remains in the *tera*, which may be for a period of three or four months, or if he should happen to be rather young it may be for a year. During the period of his seclusion he must neither talk nor play.

I believe it is at the end of the initiation period that the *Okara* ceremony is held. The *langa* is decorated, but still wears the sporran. There is dancing in front of the screen; the boys are not beaten nor ill-treated. The dance is performed by several *umgai* (who are the same as the *markai* of the islands), the head and body of each is completely covered with leaves; on the head are four white sticks, to each of which are attached on one side at intervals four white feathers (the *kaikai* of the islands). There is something red on the face of the leafy mask, bunches of leaves are held in the hands and white leglets adorn the legs and ankles. I was distinctly informed that drums, *arupa*, were beaten, these apparently were somewhat similar to those used in Torres Straits.

So little is known about the tribes that inhabit the district about Cape York that any observations, however slight, have some value. The Yaraikanna are allied to the Gudang mentioned by Macgillivray, the latter are now practically extinct.

¹ Mr R. Bruce informed me that at Batavia River, N. Queensland, they knock out the upper tooth to the right of the centre; the tooth is first scratched close to the gum with a sharp shell, then an old man takes a chisel made from a kangaroo's bone and knocks out the tooth. The tooth is buried and the blood that comes from the gum is allowed to harden in the sand, then the clot is taken away and planted in some spot known only to the old men of the tribe.



FIG. 31. Bull-roarer of the Yaraikanna. Cambridge Museum. The measurements respectively are: sticks 905, 815 mm.; strings 1145, 1120 mm.; slats 134 mm.

VIII. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

By A. C. HADDON.

COURTSHIP.

It was the custom for the young women to propose marriage to the young men, but this has been interdicted by the missionaries, although there is not the least objection to it from a moral or social point of view; indeed this custom may have given a certain advantage to the women. The custom, however, still lingers on in a modified fashion. I believe young men never made the first definite proposal of matrimony, although by scenting themselves they might indicate that they were ready to be sued (pp. 211, 212, 213, 216, 225). The custom occurs in the folk-tales (pp. 85, 102) and it seems to occur in the neighbouring coasts of New Guinea (pp. 29, 34, 55). Even a Dògai may fall in love with mortal man and seek to win his affection (pp. 16, 23).

The girls had plenty of opportunities for suing the young men and of judging of their character and desirableness, and there is little doubt that there was a candidly expressed public opinion concerning most members of the community. But it was during the secular dance, or *kap*, that the girls usually lost their hearts to the young men. A young man who was a good dancer would find favour in the sight of the girls. This can be readily understood by anyone who has seen the active, skilful, and fatiguing dances of these people. A young man who could acquit himself well in these dances must be possessed of no mean strength and agility, qualities which everywhere appeal to the opposite sex. Further he was decorated, according to local custom, with all that would render him more imposing in the eyes of spectators. Add to this the exciting influence of a festive occasion, the emulation of the dancers, the effects of a crowd, the stimulation of the singing and the beating of the drums, and it is no wonder when the natives described to me their courtship customs that they generally began with a reference to dancing. As Nomoa, the former chief of Mabuia, put it, "In England if a man has plenty of money, women want to marry him; so here, if a man dances well they too want him."

In olden days the war dance, which was performed after a successful foray, would be the most powerful excitant to a marriageable girl, especially if a young man had distinguished himself sufficiently to bring home the head of someone he had killed. Indeed I have been informed that this was one of the chief reasons for head-hunting in the past, as it still is adduced on the neighbouring mainland of New Guinea.

It appears it was once a custom in Mabuiag (p. 13) for sweethearts to eat together, the mothers of the girls cooked the fish that the young people had caught and gave the best to them.

COURTSHIP IN MABUIAG.

A girl who was enamoured of a young man plaited a string bracelet (*tiap-uru*, 'wrist-string' or 'band') which she gave to the sister of the young man and said to her¹: "You give *tiapuru* to your brother, you tell him, 'Girl he like you.' Him he come see me to-night. I want to sleep along him to-night." The sister took an early opportunity of tying the string round the wrist of her brother but said nothing while doing so. He then asked her who it was had sent him the *tiapuru*, and when he heard and if he was willing to continue the affair he sent back a *makamak* which the girl put on her leg.

The young man kept awake that night among his sleeping companions, as they would probably be all together in the bachelors' quarters in a *kwod*. "Young fellow he wait, all fellow he sleep, he go see that girl, sleep and do bad². Father and mother no savvy. Every night all the same, daytime too. By-and-by, when father belong girl want anything, he send another boy, and this young fellow when he hear him (the father), he go quick and get what father want and father say, 'That's a good boy.' And 'spose he see anything good, he give it to father. But father don't know (what is going on between his daughter and the 'young fellow').

By-and-by another time, father savvy. When he found out or man tell him, that them two fellow do bad, father no say nothing (that is, he was not angry and did not scold the lad). Father say, 'Every time he good for me, he do all quick for me and give me good thing'; no say another word. Mother swear, and talk bad, and all brother talk bad, they take bow and arrow and go fight now—fight—fight—no want to kill, shoot him in place where no dead, shoot him in leg. Take *gabagab* (stone-headed club) and break head so that blood run down, to pay for what he do all along time to that girl³. When brother see blood he catch hold of hand of girl and give her to boy.

By-and-by, this boy look for anything, bow and arrow, *warup* (drum), *dibidib* (circular shell ornament), or other articles of value which he would obtain from his relatives. Young fellow look out for turtle and dugong and take food from his garden to pay for that girl."

Two mats were spread in the village in the form of a T, the presents were heaped on the mat placed lengthwise, while the brothers of the girl sat on the mat placed crosswise, the other relations of the girl sat on the ground behind the brothers, while

¹ I cannot do better than continue in the words of my informant.

² The designation 'bad' is due to missionary teaching; formerly fornication was not considered wrong.

³ Mr Wilkin had a note to the effect that very often the negotiations between the two families were ended only by an injury done to one of the son-in-law's party. "Suppose he marked, all right." It seems that this practice of 'marking' was even encouraged, especially by the son-in-law and his friends; only all agreed that it was well not to "go too rough."

the relatives of the young man were congregated at the end of the mat facing the brothers.

The bride had been previously decorated with a cassowary feather headdress (*dagoi*), plumes of the bird of paradise (*kokiam*), a nose stick (*gub*) was worn and plaited armlets (*musur*) and the valuable shell armlet (*waiwi*). On her chest was suspended a *dibidib* and she wore her best petticoat (*zazi*). Her skin was blackened all over, and a red or white line was painted along each side of the nose, which arched over the eye and finished at each ear. Some of the ornaments might be lent for the occasion. The girl was dressed "all same dance." Two wives of her elder brothers, or two female friends, dressed up the girl and walked on each side of her. The presents were taken by the two women and given to the bride, who presented them to her brothers who sat on the mat. There was then a big feast and everything was over.

The following version of courtship customs was told to me in 1888. After the usual preliminaries and the exchange of *tiapuru* and *makamak*, the girl sent some food to the young man of her choice; he did not eat it, but gave it to his relations to eat, for, as he said, "perhaps woman he gammon." His parents also advised him not to eat the food, and his mother warned him, "You look after that *tiapuru* good, suppose you lose it, girl he wild."

The young woman again sent food, possibly the man might want to eat it, but the mother said, "Not so, or by-and-by you will get an eruption over your face and body." At all events, the relations preached caution so as to make sure that the girl was not playing false. Perhaps the young man might wait for a month, or even longer, before precipitating affairs. He also informed his parents that he was in no hurry to leave the old home, and that he did not wish to make them sorry by his absence.

While the young man was waiting, the food duly arrived, and as regularly he gave it to his mother. After a time the latter said, "When will you go and take her?" He then consulted his immediate relatives, and said, "Suppose you tell me to take her—I take her." All being agreeable, the "big men" of the village were consulted, and they gave their consent. One day a friend would engage the young man in conversation, and the girl, who had been previously informed that the happy moment had now arrived, quietly came behind the unsuspecting youth and gently pushed some cooked food in front of him. He turned round sharply, and to his shame-faced confusion he saw his sweetheart and fully realised the delicate situation. His friends assured him that it was all right, saying, "Good thing, you take her now." They were then man and wife. This part of the proceedings required no further ceremony.

After marriage the usual exchange of presents and food was made between the relatives of the two parties concerned.

If a man already had a wife or wives, the young woman who admired him, with a view to matrimony, did not make advances through any of his wives. There would, in that case, be trouble, and the wife would probably try to prevent the marriage; but approaches were made in the usual manner.

COURTSHIP IN TUTU.

The following account was given to me by Maino in 1888. In Tutu also the ring of string was a preliminary feature, and the sister, in giving it to her brother, said, "Brother, I've got some good news for you; a woman likes you." He asked who it was, and after some conversation—if he was willing to go on with the affair—he told his sister to ask the girl to go into the bush and he would follow.

When the message was delivered, the enamoured damsel informed her parents that she was going into the bush to get some food, or wood, or make some similar excuse. In due course the man met the girl, and they sat down and talked discreetly over their affairs. Any forward conduct on the part of the young man would have been regarded as bad form.

Breaking the embarrassing silence, the youth considerably asked, "You like me proper?"

"Yes," she replied, "I like you proper, with my heart inside. Eye along my heart see you. You my man."

Unwilling to give himself away rashly, he further inquired, "How you like me?"

"I like your fine leg; you got fine body, your skin good, I like you altogether," replied the girl.

Anxious to clinch the matter, the girl asked when they were to be married. "To-morrow, if you like," said the man, and they both went home and informed their respective relatives that they had arrived at an understanding. Then the girl's friends fought the man's people, "for girl more big," i.e. of more consequence, than boy¹; but the fighting did not appear to have been a serious business.

COURTSHIP IN MURALUG.

When a girl likes a lad she goes to his 'camp' and his mother and sisters remark to one another that the girl used not to visit them. The girl would speak to a sister of the lad and ask why her brother did not come to the camp, but stayed away, and she added she would like him to stop there all the time. This was after the lad had anointed himself with *rugaig puri*, or "sweetheart medicine."

The girl proposes to the lad and there is the same custom as in Mabuiag of the sending of the string armlet, *tiapuru*, and the return present of the *makamak* through the intermediary, who makes an appointment for the young people. If the lad is willing to proceed in the matter he goes to the rendezvous in the bush, and, not unnaturally, takes every advantage of the situation. Every night afterwards he goes to the girl's house and steals away before daybreak. At length someone informs the girl's father that a man is sleeping with his daughter. The father communicates with the girl, and she tells her lover that her father wants to see him—"to see what sort of man he is." The father then says, "You like my daughter, she like you, you may have her." The details are then arranged.

¹ Mr Ray informs me that in the language of the Western Islands females and big things require the same demonstrative, males and little things take another form: Ex. *ipika ina*, this woman, *ipika sena*, that woman, *koi pui ina*, a big tree this; *mabaeg inu*, this man, *mabaeg senu*, that man, *mugi pui inu*, a little tree this.

Macgillivray (vol. II. p. 8) says, "In most cases the females are betrothed in infancy, according to the will of the father, and without regard to disparity of age; thus the future husband may be, and often is, an old man with several wives. [Macgillivray is here referring to the conditions then existing on Muralug, I do not think this was characteristic of the other Islands of Torres Straits.] When the man thinks proper he takes his wife to live with him without any further ceremony, but before this she has probably had promiscuous intercourse with the young men; such if conducted with a moderate degree of secrecy, not being considered as an offence, although if continued after marriage it would be visited by the husband (if powerful enough) upon both the offending parties with the severest punishment. Occasionally there are instances of strong mutual attachment and courtship, when, if the damsel is not betrothed, a small present made to the father is sufficient to procure his consent."

MODERN COURTSHIP IN MABUIAG.

One day during my former visit to Mabuiag in 1888 there was a wedding; a widow with a baby boy had proposed to and been accepted by a young man from the island of Badu. The ceremony commenced at 7 a.m. with a full ordinary service in the church, which lasted over an hour. When this was concluded a messenger was sent to me, and I repaired to the church to witness the marriage. The bride and bridegroom were seated among their friends in different parts of the church, and on their names being called, they met and stood up in front of the Communion table. After they had repeated certain sentences and a charge had been given by the teacher, the bride and bridegroom again retired to their former places.

At the conclusion of the ceremony a Church Meeting was held, which the bridegroom attended, and afterwards he went out dugong fishing with his friends to furnish the wedding feast. They were in luck that day, as they caught three dugong and two turtle. Following the usual custom, the man remained in Mabuiag and lived with his wife's people.

About the same time a native girl, who was employed as cook by the chief of the island, repeatedly asked a Loyalty Islander, Charley Lifu by name, to marry her; but he did not wish to marry a Mabuiag woman, as he would in that case have to remain permanently on the island, and he wanted to return to the South Seas. At last they arranged to have a talk in the bush to settle matters finally. The man was obdurate; and the girl was so chagrined that when she returned to the village she accused Charley of attempting to "steal" her, hoping that he would thus be forced to marry her in restitution. This caused considerable excitement, as Charley Lifu was the brother of the teacher's wife. The matter came before the chief in his capacity as judge, and after long deliberation on the part of the "old men," it was decided that the charge was unfounded, and was merely trumped up by the girl, who thus over-reached herself. I believe this was a true bill, as Charley Lifu was the gentlest and most obliging of my numerous coloured friends—a man who, I believe, would not do anyone an injury, and who would even perform a friendly act without waiting for the ordinary *douceur* of tobacco, but he was an incorrigible loafer.

The custom of a girl proposing marriage to a young man did not commend itself to the traditions of the missionaries, and they have tried to stop it, though I did not discover that it was necessarily at all an objectionable arrangement. It has certain definite advantages, and I was certainly given to understand that properly brought-up young men behaved with becoming bashfulness, and showed due deference to the wishes of their parents or elders.

The remarkable change that has come over the natives owing to the influence of missionary teaching is well exemplified in the fact that the girls frequently propose marriage to the men by writing; sometimes this is done by means of a letter, but I have known of a school slate being employed and sent to the young man.

I managed to secure one or two examples of such love-letters. The two first were written for me by Peter when I asked him what had occurred in his own case. They purport to be Magena's proposal and his acceptance; both of them are natives of Mabuiag. The following is a transcription and literal translation:—

Okotoba 4, 1898.

Pita mido ninu ia ngai nutane ni ngözu korkak mina kõi ubine mizi nibeka
Peter what your word? I try you. My heart truly big wish has for you.
nid lak ngöna iadu turane wa sena ngozu ia Pita ni iawa
You again me tell. Yes, that my word. Peter you. Good-bye.

ngai Magena.
I Magena.

Okotoba 4, 1898.

Magena ngui iaaturane ni ngai lakökeda mina kõi ubine meka nibeka ngau
Magena I tell you. I again same truly big wish have for you. My
ia kede mina mina ubine meka wa matamina pibeka a ngaikika wa keda
word thus true. True wish have. Yes, quite proper give then to me. Yes so.
ni Magena iawa
You Magena. Good-bye.

ngai Pita.
I Peter.

The following is Peter's own translation of these letters:—

"*Pita, what do you say? I try you. My heart he like very bad for you. You send me back a letter. Yes, this talk belong me. Pita, you. Good-bye. Me, Magena.*"

"*Magena, I make you know. Me just the same, I want very bad for you. My talk there. If you true like me, all right, just the same; good for you and good for me. Yes, all right. Finish. You, Magena. Good-bye. Me, Pita.*"

One informant gave the following as a typical letter of proposal from a girl to a man. Mr Ray has kindly literally translated this for me. I also add the native's version of it.

Kake¹ ngau ubi gar ina mido ni ngaikika ubin meka wao mina keda ni
I say, my wish indeed this. ^(Sign of question) you for me wish have? Yes, true that you

¹ Mr Ray informs me that *Kake!* is a word of address to a woman; the corresponding term to a man is *Kame!* I suppose my informant, who was a Mabuiag man, made a slip, as he would himself naturally begin a love-letter with "*Kake!*"

ngaikika ubin mizi ninu na ia mido wa ngaikika modabia ngapa palanekai ubil
 for me wish have. Your if word what. Yes to me answer hither will write wish
 za na a ubigil za na wa matakeda minaasin sena
 (thing) if and not wish (thing) if yes all-the-same finish that

ngau ia ngau nel——
 my word, my name.

"I say, I tell you about what I want. What do you say, you want to come with me? Best thing you come along with me. What do you think about it? If you got something to answer back, then you let me know. 'Spose you want to come with me, let me know, then I know; 'spose you don't, you let me know, so I know. Best thing you come with me. My name——"

The answer might be—

"All right, I come along you," or "No, I no want to come along you."

A few months after we left Mabuiag, Mr Cowling sent me a love-letter with the following note: "The enclosed is an original proposal of marriage, sent by a Mabuiag native who we call "Smith" to a buxom young damsel from Murray Island who was staying with us, she had many offers, but I could never get her to let me see them, this one she mislaid and I quietly annexed it." Cimell had been at the mission school in Murray Island and so he was able to write to Anuni in her own language. The paper was folded up and on the outside was written "Anuni Panai."

It is interesting to note that as Anuni was a Murray Islander, she would not take the initiative and so the Mabuiag young men had to propose to her, for as we shall see later the Miriam fashion is for the men to propose marriage to the women.

January 1, 1899.

Peike Anuni kara jiwali marim mama neur kaka makiriam nakō¹ ma kari
 This Anuni (is) my writing to you you a girl I young man (?) you me
 lag nakō Ad emeret detagem Adamu a Eba kosker a kimiar mokakalam kaka
 like (?) God formerly made Adam and Eve woman and man same way I
 mari lag nakō ma kari lag nakō ma nole geum kak makiria abkoreb marim
 you like (?) you me like (?) you not afraid nothing young man suitable for you
 ma kari abkoreb Ad emeret detagem kosker abkoreb ko kimiar nagiri kimiar
 you me suit. God formerly made woman suitable for man possessing man
 abkoreb ko kosker nagiri kaka mari laglag nako mer karim ma kari umele kaka
 suitable for woman possessing I you like what word for me you me know I
 nole mokakalam nerut le kaka dorge le peike kara mer marim Sina
 not like some other men I work man. This my word to you. The end.

Kara nei
 My name.

Cimell
 Mabuiage.

"January 1, 1899.

"This, Anuni, is my letter to you. You are a girl, I am a young man. Do you like me? God formerly made Adam and Eve a similar man and woman. I like you,

¹ Nakō is an interrogative.

do you like me? Don't be afraid at all of a young man suitable for you. You suit me. God formerly made woman suitable for having a man, and man suitable for having a woman. I like you. What message for me? You know me. I am not like some men, I am a man of work. This is my message to you. The end. My name.

"Cimell

"Mabuiag."

MARRIAGE.

Marriage had no religious significance and I gathered that usually there was very little in the way of ceremony at marriage, and there were no ceremonies leading up to marriage or which were conducted after that event. The bride might be decked in festive array but there was no particular kind of dress or ornament worn at the time. The wife does not become a member of her husband's clan.

The marital rights were enjoyed after marriage without any delay or hindrance. So far as I know the only occasions on which men refrained from cohabiting with their wives were during lactation and a *wadwam* was continent during the initiation ceremonies.

I never heard of men exchanging wives.

I was informed that formerly the husband had complete control over his wife; she was his property, for he had paid for her. In spite of the wife having asked her husband to marry her, he could kill her should she cause trouble in the house, and that without any penal consequence to himself. The payment made by the husband to his wife's father gave him all rights over her, and at the same time annulled those of her father or of her family.

The women appear to have had a good deal to say on most questions and were by no means downtrodden or ill-used; probably the women in the Prince of Wales group were the worst off in this respect. At the present time much affection exists between husband and wife, and the men make devoted fathers. One often sees a father accompanied by a little one, who not unfrequently is perched on his shoulder. There is no reason to believe that this was different in the past.

Macgillivray says (vol. II. p. 9), "The life of a married woman among the Kowrarega [natives of the Prince of Wales group] and Gudang [Cape York] blacks, is a hard one. She has to procure nearly all the food for herself and husband, except during the turtling season, and on other occasions when the men are astir. If she fails to return with a sufficiency of food, she is probably severely beaten—indeed the most savage acts of cruelty are often inflicted upon the women for the most trivial offence. Considering the degraded position assigned by the Australian savages to their women, it is not surprising that the Prince of Wales' Islanders should, by imitating their neighbours in this respect, afford a strong contrast to the inhabitants of Darnley and other islands of the N.E. part of Torres Straits, who always appeared to me to treat their females with much consideration and kindness."

After marriage the husband often went to live with his wife's people even if they belonged to a different island. There is, for example, considerable intermarriage between the inhabitants of the islands of Mabuiag and Badu, in this case the man divides his

time between the two islands. One reason for having two homes is doubtless due to the fact that women own gardens, and when a man marries a woman it is naturally his duty to help to cultivate her land in addition to his own. I am under the impression, however, that this does not entirely account for the custom; on the occasion of my first expedition I was led to understand that it was quite common for a man to leave his own people and to reside mainly with those of his wife.

On the other hand, there are many instances in which the wife permanently lives on her husband's island. I expect the usual custom was for a man to reside frequently, if not mainly, with his wife's people when both lived on the same island, or to divide his time between his own and his wife's island when the islands are close together (as are Mabuiag and Badu), or when there are intimate relations between the two islands (as exist between Muralug and Moa). When the islands are far apart, and the intercourse between them infrequent, then, I believe, the wife casts in her lot with her husband's people. If husband and wife speak different languages the man stays in his own island and the woman learns his "talk."

POLYGAMY.

A rich man might have several wives, but the wife first married was chief; she was "master" over the others, and issued orders to the last married wife to be conveyed by the same to the intermediate wives. The wives all lived together.

If the wives would not work or were inattentive to the commands of the first wife, or if they quarrelled amongst themselves, the husband was laughed at by his friends and told he should not have so many wives.

Macgillivray (vol. II. p. 8) states, "Polygamy is practised both on the mainland [of Australia] and throughout the Islands of Torres Straits. Five is the greatest number of wives which I was credibly informed had been possessed by one man—but this was an extraordinary instance [there are two similar cases of this given in the genealogy recorded in Table 17; Gib of Mabuiag (1 A) also had five wives at the same time and Rusui (10) had four], one, two, or three being the usual complement, leaving of course many men who are never provided with wives¹. The possession of several wives ensures to the husband a certain amount of influence in his tribe as the owner of so much valuable property, also from the nature and extent of his connections by marriage." For further information about Polygamy cf. p. 242.

COMPENSATION TO PARENTS-IN-LAW.

So far as I could learn there was no fixed price for a bride, but under ordinary circumstances a wife was rated as of equal value to a canoe (*gul*), or a dugong harpoon (*wap*), or a shell armlet (*waiwi*), or a necklace of dogs' teeth (*umaidang*), or a necklace of shells (*uraz*), or several shell discs (*dibidib*). The first three of these, and possibly

¹ So far as our information goes it rarely happened that in the other islands a man would have to remain unmarried.

the shell necklace, were the highest units of exchange, each one of which could be exchanged for a wife, or objects of equal exchange value might be given (cf. pp. 84, 87, 88).

In Macgillivray's time (1849) a knife or a glass bottle was considered as a sufficient price for a wife in Muralug. Now, the natives usually give trade articles, often of considerable value, to their parents-in-law. My friend Maino, the Chief of Tutu, informed me that he paid for his wife a camphor-wood chest that came from Singapore, in which he placed seven bolts (*i.e.* pieces) of calico, one dozen shirts, one dozen singlets, one dozen trowsers, one dozen handkerchiefs, two dozen tomahawks, one dozen hooks, two fish lines, one long fish-spear, one pound of tobacco, and two pearl shells, and he finished the enumeration by saying "and by golly, he too dear!" If these presents were really given to his wife's parents, there was some foundation for his exclamation.

The following information was obtained from natives of Muralug. The price of a girl varies, and payment is made annually for several years, if the bridegroom cannot pay up at first. Some time after the purchase is concluded, perhaps two or three years afterwards, the father-in-law has to return presents to the value of the original amount, or the return presents may be made at the same time, and are divided by the bridegroom among his people. Failure to do this was a not uncommon cause for quarrels, and a man has even been known to kill his father-in-law. The purchase money for a bride is here evidently modified into an exchange of presents. The man has often to borrow to give to his father-in-law; the return presents go to repay the bridegroom's creditors. The return of presents on the father-in-law's part appears to be the result of a feeling that a wife costs too much, and that the husband should not be impoverished.

The sanction to the marriage has to be given by the father of the bride, but the bride's brother arranges what presents are to be made and other details. If an exchange of sisters is made between two men few presents are given, as it is a reciprocal transaction. If the bridegroom has no sister to exchange, or his *wadwam* cannot supply a daughter, the brothers of the bride beat her, to frighten her. I understood this was to show their chagrin at the one-sided arrangement and to deter other girls from following her example.

There was a very general custom for a young man, or rather for his elders, to give a girl in exchange for the bride to the "brother" of the bride, the girl being a *babat* of the bridegroom, that is, his own sister or a relative, who, according to their scheme of kinship (Table 18) bears a similar relationship. The "brother," similarly, need not be an own brother. This exchange of "sisters" was the usual method of obtaining a wife. If a young man had no *babat*, he might always remain unmarried unless he was rich enough to purchase a wife. Peter, of Mabuiag, definitely stated that sisters were exchanged, or an uncle may give one of his daughters to his nephew to exchange for a wife if he had no available sister. Should there be only boys and no girls in the family the young man would have to remain unmarried, unless his father buys a sister for his son at the ordinary rate. He also said that a *maidelaig* could force a girl to marry his son without another girl being given in exchange. Wallaby of Muralug stated that it was the *wadwam* who supplied the *babat* if the

young man had no own sister. There is thus every reason to believe that it was the duty of the father to give a daughter in exchange for a daughter-in-law, or if he could not do this, the duty devolved upon the maternal uncle of the lad. For further information respecting the exchange of brothers and sisters cf. p. 241.

Every time the wife became pregnant (p. 84), and again at the birth of the child, a feast would be held and a present made by the husband to his wife's relatives. This appears to have been a general custom, for when I visited Tutu on my first expedition I purchased from Maino a dance-mask for which he insisted that I should give him a tomahawk (axe). I was, of course, ready enough to do that, but, being struck by his evident eagerness for a tomahawk, I asked him why he wanted one. He replied, "I want to pay for my last child." His wife Pauna was a native of Mawata in Daudai, a considerable distance off, but he duly paid the debt.

But payment does not cease then. When a boy is big enough to crawl on all-fours a present is made to the wife's relations, and when the first tooth comes, also when the boy spears his first fish, again when he grows big and has speared his first dugong or turtle, and the final payment was made when the son had killed his first man. I was assured that they still continue to make these payments, except the last one, for which there is now no cause.

Peter of Mabuiag informed me that the following payments were made to the parents-in-law. When the wife is pregnant a *waiwi* is paid, presents are given when the child is born, when he is named, a small present is given when he first stands up, again when he begins to talk and also when he kills his first bird or catches his first fish. In Muralug also presents were given to the parents-in-law at pregnancy and when each baby was born, but return presents were also given.

Yadzebub, in the Folk-Tale, p. 100. continually gave presents of food to his father-in-law.

For notes on marriage customs in Kiwai, cf. the late Rev. James Chalmers, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxxiii. 1903, p. 218.

IX. THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

MORE than 500 marriages are recorded in the genealogical tables of Mabuiag and Badu. Some of these, however, are of little use for the purpose of studying marriage regulations. In about one hundred cases there is no record of place or clan of one of the parties to a marriage, but it is most probable that these were all cases of marriage within the Mabuiag-Badu community (Gumulaig), for the people seemed always to know when a marriage had taken place out of the community. There are also a certain number of marriages recorded in the genealogies of people belonging to other islands or between people of mixed blood. When all these cases are excluded, 386 marriages remain in which place and clan of both parties are fully recorded. This article is based chiefly on the examination of these 386 marriages, and therefore deals chiefly with the Gumulaig division of the Western Islands.

MARRIAGES OF THE GUMULAIG WITH OTHER ISLANDERS.

The natives stated that the Gumulaig formed one community, the members of which married with one another as a rule and only occasionally with members of the other divisions of the Western Islands. This statement is confirmed by the genealogical record.

In 292 of the 386 marriages both husband and wife belonged to the Gumulaig and, as already mentioned, the hundred cases in which the record is defective were almost certainly cases of marriage within the Gumulaig. In 39 cases natives of Mabuiag and Badu married natives of other islands in Torres Straits, and in 55 cases women of Mabuiag and Badu married men belonging to another race, these latter marriages being all recent.

It is not possible to give the exact frequency of marriage between the two islands of Mabuiag and Badu and to compare it with the frequency of marriage within each island community. This is due, in the first place, to the incompleteness of the Badu record, and, in the second place, to the fact that the proper locality of several clans and families is doubtful. Assuming, however, that all the genealogies recorded in Tables 1—12 belong to Mabuiag and all those in Tables 13—15 to Badu, examination of the record shows that 219 marriages were between Mabuiag men and women; 18 were between Badu men and women; 22 were between Mabuiag men and Badu women; and 33 between Badu men and Mabuiag women. If the clans whose genealogies are recorded in Tables 8 and 11 are assumed to belong to Badu (see p. 168), the figures come out

as 198 Mabuiag marriages, 25 Badu marriages, 40 marriages between Mabuiag men and Badu women, and 52 between Badu men and Mabuiag women.

These figures seem to show that while the great majority of Mabuiag people marry within their own island, the people of Badu married Mabuiag people more often than natives of their own island. If this is correct, such a condition would only be possible if the Badu community were much smaller than the Mabuiag community, and there is little doubt that this has been, and is still the case. It is more probable, however, that the difference between the two islands is only apparent, and is due to the incompleteness of the Badu record. If I had been able to obtain a full account of the families of which fragments are given in Tables 15, 15 A, and 15 B, it is probable that a different complexion would have been put on the matter, for since it seems certain that members of these clans intermarried very rarely, if at all, with Mabuiag clans, they must have intermarried with one another, and the proportion of purely Badu marriages would be greatly increased. It is probable, in fact, that though Mabuiag and Badu formed an intermarrying group, the great majority of the natives married within their own island community, but that, being a relatively small community, and the marriage restrictions, which will shortly be considered, being in consequence more pressing, the Badu people married outside their island in relatively greater numbers than the Mabuiag people.

Though the great majority of the Gumulaig married within their own division, a certain number of marriages with inhabitants of other islands are recorded; thus ten marriages of Mabuiag natives are recorded with Moa, and one with Muralug (Kauralaig); six with Boigu, Dauan, and Saibai (Saibailaig); eight with Tutu, Yam, Waraber, and Parema (Kulkalaig), and one marriage with Mer. The last is the only instance of a marriage between the Gumulaig and an Eastern islander of Torres Straits, but this marriage had only taken place shortly before our visit. Several of the other marriages are recent, but most occurred some time back, and show that, though marriages with other divisions were rare, they certainly occurred.

There is, however, one feature of these marriages which differentiates them from marriages within the Gumulaig division. With two exceptions (Wagud (5) and Kaag (11)), in all these cases Mabuiag men married women from other islands. Although ten Mabuiag men married Moa women, no single Moa man married a Mabuiag woman.

There appears to have been more or less continuous warfare between Mabuiag and Moa, and according to their own account the Mabuiag people made frequent raids on Moa and claimed to have been in general successful. It is very tempting to suppose that these Moa marriages are examples of wife-capture. We have no definite evidence of this, but the absence of any corresponding marriages between Moa men and Mabuiag women shows that there was no regular exchange of brothers and sisters such as we shall see to be the custom within the Gumulaig division, and it is therefore most probable either that the Moa women were captured or were given by the Moa people to the victorious Mabuiag men¹.

¹ It is perhaps significant that in several cases men who had Moa wives had also other wives belonging to the Gumulaig, and that three of the Moa women were wives of men belonging to the chief's clan, while a fourth belonged to the related *Dangal*, *Gapu* clan.

Four marriages are recorded between Badu people and natives of Moa and Muralug, but these all occur in one clan (see Table 14), and two of the cases occurred in the family of a man who had married a Moa woman. The evidence does not show that marriages between Badu people and the Kauralaig were at all frequent.

The genealogical record shows not only that marriages between the Gumulaig and the other divisions of the Western Tribe were comparatively infrequent but also that such marriages differ from those within the Gumulaig in the absence of any system of interchange. There is, however, one island which forms an exception to this rule. Nine marriages are recorded between the Gumulaig and natives of Gebar; a considerable number when the sparse population of this island is taken into account. Natives of Gebar were married both by men and women of the Gumulaig, and in one case, *i.e.* that of Aikui and Nomoa (1), there appears to have been definite exchange. These facts make it probable that Gebar people were regarded as part of the Gumulaig so far as marriage was concerned, though it is probable that they were also similarly related to the Kulkalaig.

Marriages with members of other races have only occurred during the last thirty years. Fifty-five such marriages are recorded in the genealogies, of which 32 were with Melanesians, eight with Polynesians and eight with Malays, while three were with South Sea people whose origin was uncertain, and four were probably with white people. More than half of the Melanesian marriages were with natives of the Loyalty Group. These marriages are all between women of the Gumulaig and men who had come to Torres Straits, chiefly in connection with the pearl-diving and *bêche-de-mer* industries. Most of these men have lived on Mabuiag and it will be noticed that they have married Mabuiag women much more frequently than Badu women. Many of these marriages have been of a temporary nature, and have been dissolved when the husbands left Torres Straits.

The children of some of these mixed marriages have now grown up and six marriages of these children are recorded in the genealogies; in four cases they have married pure Mabuiag natives and in the other cases natives of Samoa and Tanna.

MARRIAGE RESTRICTIONS AMONG THE GUMULAIG.

The marriages within the Mabuiag-Badu community may now be considered. The marriage laws of the people were said to be of two kinds; firstly, that a man could not marry a woman who had the same *augud* (totem) as himself, and secondly, that a man could not marry his *babat* and his *apu* or *kutapu*. It seemed both to Dr Haddon and myself when we were in Mabuiag that the former restriction was regarded by the natives as the more important, but analysis of the genealogical record has shown that marriages are, and have been so far back as the record extends, regulated more by kinship than by clanship. A man is restricted not only from marrying a woman of his own clan but also those of several other clans if connected with him by certain ties of kinship. The restrictions in respect of a man's own clan may, however, be first considered.

In drawing up the genealogies a good many instances were found in which a man with a given totem married a woman with the same totem, the most common case being marriages between individuals whose totem was *Kodal*.

This was completely at variance with what the natives had told us. They were very positive that a man never married a woman of the same totem as himself, and when cross-examined on the occurrence of such marriages in the genealogies, they became confused and no satisfactory explanation of the discrepancy between their statements could be elicited. It was only after studying the genealogies that it became clear that in every case in which a man and woman possessing the same totem had married, the individuals belonged to different clans. Thus Waria's father and mother (1) were both *Dangal* people but the father, Ganair, belonged to the *Dangal, Kodal* clan of Panai, while his mother, Neru, belonged to the *Dangal, Gapu* clan of Pulu and Badu. Similarly several marriages had occurred between members of the *Kodal* clan of Aubait and those of the *Kodal, Tabu, Wad, Gapu* clan of Wagedugam, and between members of these clans and the *Kodal, Surlal, Gapu* clan of Badu.

The two or three *Kodal* clans of Mabuiag probably arose by the splitting up of one clan, some of the divisions taking certain subsidiary totems in addition to the chief totem, and there was definite evidence that the two *Dangal* clans were similarly related to one another. It seems clear, however, from the genealogical evidence that these clans are now regarded as quite distinct and that the possession of the same chief totem is not regarded as a bar to marriage, or only so to a slight extent. As an indication that there is still some prejudice against such marriages, it is perhaps significant that only two marriages are recorded between the *Dangal, Kodal* and the *Dangal, Gapu* clans.

It was also clear that there was no restriction on marriage between two people possessing the same totem when these belonged to different islands, or different inter-marrying groups. Thus a *Dangal* man of Mabuiag could marry a *Dangal* woman of Moa or Parema, as in the case of Nomoa (1).

There is no definite instance recorded in the genealogies of marriage within the clan. In a few cases, however, in which information is defective or indefinite, there seems to be a possibility that such marriages have occurred. One case is that of the marriages of the brothers Kaiku and Dadatiam (4 B) with Gurba. The exact clan of these men could not be satisfactorily determined. The chief totem was certainly *Kodal*, and Dibi, the grandfather of the men in question, lived at Wagedugam, the home of the *Kodal, Tabu, Wad, Gapu* clan to which Gurba belonged, but it was uncertain whether he was a member of this clan. If he was, we have here examples of marriage within the clan. If Kaiku and Dadatiam belonged to Gurba's clan, however, it was clear that they belonged to a distant branch with which no distinct connection was traceable in the genealogies.

A similar instance is that of the marriage between Kame and Amiai (1). Kame belonged to the *Dangal, Kodal* clan of Panai and Amiai to the *Dangal* clan of Pulu. The latter was probably an offshoot of the Panai clan, but here again no distinct connection was to be traced in the genealogies.

Another possible instance is in the marriage of Gizu (2) and Wamad (12 A).

Wamad was said to have *Kaigas* as her chief totem, but seems to have belonged to a different clan, in which *Kaigas* was associated with *Kodal*.

Another marriage about which there was more doubt was that of Kebesu and Kotoai (2 A). According to one account Kotoai was the daughter of Nobua (2), and if so this was a clear case of marriage within the clan. According to other accounts, and in the independent account recorded by Mr Cowling, Kotoai was not given as the daughter of Nobua. It is probable that she was the daughter of some other man named Nobua, and in the genealogies her parentage has been left uncertain. It is, however, just possible that this is an example of marriage within the clan, but if so, it is a very recent instance.

With these few possible exceptions, the genealogical record definitely confirms the statement that men and women of the same clan do not marry.

In considering the evidence from the genealogies on the marriage restrictions dependent on kinship, it will be convenient to begin with the relationship of *babat* and to give the evidence according to the six heads under which individuals may give one another this name (see p. 131).

The first and second heads include own brothers and sisters and members of the same generation in the same clan, and have therefore been already considered. There was certainly no case of marriage under the first head and only two or three very doubtful possibilities of such marriages under the second head.

The third head under which a man calls a woman *babat* is when the latter is a member of the clan of the man's mother. Three cases of such marriages are recorded in the genealogies. The first is that between Aba (5 A) and Tigi (4). Aba's mother, Arki, was sister of Kadi, Tigi's father, and Aba and Tigi were therefore first cousins. The second case is that of Botokap and Wamad (4 A), second cousins through the same Tigi. There was some uncertainty about the parentage of Tigi, this being one of the few points about which there is disagreement between Mr Cowling's record and my own. In my own account Tigi was not given as one of the children of Kadi, and if I had not adopted Mr Cowling's record in this place in preference to my own these cases of apparent marriage between *babat* would no longer appear as such. The third case was that of the marriage between Urma (4) and Biskop (1 A) who were third cousins according to the English system, being *babat* through Pogodua, Biskop's mother.

In the article on kinship it was pointed out that different degrees of nearness in the relationship of *babat* were recognised, and it is noteworthy that of the three cases of marriage between *babat* under the third head, one is a case of distant relationship corresponding to that of third cousin, while in the other two cases there was an element of doubt as to the relationship of the people in question.

The fourth head under which a man calls a woman *babat* is when she is a member of his father's mother's clan and of the same generation as himself. The genealogies record four examples of such marriages, the individuals marrying being in each case second cousins to one another according to the English system. These four marriages were those of Ibigan and Ngukiltiti (4 and 5 A), Nopuaiki and Malil (5 A and 4), Gizu and Iwai (2 and 7) and Aimai and Naia (3 A and 11). The first two examples go together as they are cases of exchange of brothers and sisters. Gizu's marriage was

recent while Naia belongs to a family in which I am altogether dependent on Mr Cowling's record, the accuracy of which I cannot guarantee definitely. In any case the number of marriages between people who would be *babat* under this head is very small and we may, therefore, regard the genealogical evidence as confirming the marriage laws in this respect.

The fifth head under which individuals call one another *babat* is when they are children of *babat*. The examples coming under the third head would also come under this head, but with the exceptions given under that head I have not found examples, though it is difficult to make the examination complete, and it is probable that there are a certain number of cases of marriage between the children of distant *babat* under this head. With the exception of the very doubtful case of Aba and Tigi already referred to, there is certainly no case in the genealogies of marriage between *babat* who were the children of own brother and sister.

The sixth head under which a man and woman may be *babat* is when they are children of women *tukoia*b to one another. Here again it is difficult to make a complete examination, but there is certainly no case in which marriage has occurred between the children of two own sisters.

The other prohibition which was said to be in force was against marriage with an *apu* or *kutapu*. It is probable that under these terms the natives also intended to include the relationship of *ngaibat* and those of *kazi* and *wadwam*. Unfortunately I did not definitely ask what were the prohibited affinities for a woman, but almost certainly a woman would not have been permitted to marry her *tati* or *wadwam*, which would have implied a man could not marry his *kazi* or *wadwam*.

The genealogies have been examined for cases in which a man married his *apu*, *ngaibat*, *kazi*, or *wadwam*. It has been difficult to make this examination complete, but ten such cases have been found.

In four of these cases a man married his *apu*. These cases were the marriages of Nobua (2) with Swopei and Pad (5); of Anu (8) with Kotoai (2 A); of Iburu (8) with Dagum and Mabar (2 A) and of Taiak (8) with the same Mabar. It will be noticed that, with the exception of the first case, these people belong to the same clans. The marriages are between men, on the one hand, who are *tukoia*b to one another, and women, on the other hand, who are also *tukoia*b to one another.

In two cases men married their *ngaibat*. In one, Moigub (2) married Pipit (6), and in the other, Aina (7) married Akai (2 A).

In the remaining four cases a man married his *kazi*. These are the marriages of Gib (1 A) and Kuda (2); of Gaulai (1 A) and Azigo (2); of Waiaba (4) and Saku (5 A); and of Maira (9 A) and Ulum (4 A).

According to our system of kinship these were all cases of marriage between cousins once removed. In seven cases the relationship was that of first cousins once removed, and in the remaining three cases of second cousins once removed.

It seems therefore as if marriages between blood relations who belong to different generations were rather more common than between those of the same generation, and the cases seem to be sufficiently numerous to raise the question as to whether the prohibitions against this class of marriage were obeyed with any great degree of strict-

ness. On closer examination there are, however, one or two features which help to explain the occurrence of these marriages. In no less than seven of the ten cases the individuals who married one another were related through Maku (2), and in five of these cases the individuals were descended from different wives of Maku. I have no definite evidence on the point, but I cannot help suspecting that in considering the degree of nearness of relationship this fact of descent from different wives of Maku was taken into account. Among the descendants of Maku there was a large preponderance of females, and it must have been difficult to get them all married without infringing any of the marriage restrictions, and it is possible that advantage was taken of the smaller degree of blood-relationship involved in descent from different wives of the common ancestor.

The natives did not say that there was any prohibition against marriage with a grandmother (*kaiad*). Owing to the nature of the classificatory system, such a prohibition would have much more sense than in the English list of prohibited affinities, for a *kaiad* might not be much older than her *ngep*. No case of a marriage of this kind is recorded in the genealogies. We were told that it was wrong for a man to marry an old woman, *kai ipika* (see p. 214), and probably this prohibition would be held to include that of marriage with a *kaiad*.

The general result of the analysis of the genealogical record confirms the marriage laws as stated by the natives. It certainly shows that marriages between people nearly related to one another never occurred, while marriages between people related to one another even remotely were rare. No single case occurs in Mabuiag or Badu in which marriage has taken place between own brothers and sisters¹, and no definite case between *babat* of the same clan. Only one case is recorded of marriage between first cousins and that is one in which it is almost certain that the genealogical record is incorrect. On the other hand, sixteen cases at least are recorded in which marriage has taken place between people related to one another by some degree of cousinship more remote than that of first cousin. In nearly all these marriages the relationship is either very remote (third cousins or second cousins once removed) or there are extenuating circumstances as in the case of the descendants of Maku.

In the article on "Kinship" it was pointed out that the relationship of *babat* has acquired so wide a meaning that, without some limit, a condition of society might arise in which nearly all the men and women of the community would become *babat* to one another. It was shown then that there was a distinct tendency to extend a term applied to a given individual to all the *tukoib* of that individual and especially to all the *tukoib* of the same clan. Thus, if *B* became *wadwam* to *A* by marrying his *nguibat*, *A* would also give the name of *wadwam* to all the men of *B*'s clan of the same generation as *B*, and the daughters of all these men would therefore become *babat* to *A*. In such a relationship there might be no descent from a common ancestor, or, at any rate, none might be traceable in the genealogies. If such a distant relationship of *babat* were regarded as a bar to marriage, the consequence would be that if

¹ Amura (*Kaigas*) of Muralug (who was alive when Dr Haddon first visited Muralug in 1888), according to Dr Haddon, married his sister Alu (*Kaigas*) when her husband Gudaz (*Kwoiam*) died, but he was described as "cranky."

one member of a given clan had married into another clan the members of the next generation in the two clans would be debarred from intermarriage. I have examined the genealogies with the object of ascertaining if marriage between two clans in one generation prevents intermarriage in the next generation, and it is quite clear that it does not. Such marriages are not common, but instances may be found in most of the genealogies. It seems as if marriage between those calling each other *babat* was only regarded as unlawful when descent from a common ancestor could be traced in the genealogies.

Even with this limitation of the marriage laws there would be very considerable restriction in the choice of a wife, and a cursory examination of the genealogies will show how frequently the children of a given man married into one, two, or three clans. Thus in Table 14, all the children of Numagoïn married into the *Tapimul* clan; in Table 9 A all the children of Miwa, with one exception, married into the *Kaigas* clan. Of the eleven marriages made by the children of Iga (7), three were with members of the *Sam* clan, four with members of the Mui division of the *Kodul* clan, and three with members of the *Tabu*, *Dangal* clan, the eleventh marriage being with a member of a clan apparently on the point of extinction, and numerous similar instances may be found.

I have mentioned elsewhere (p. 131) that when one man set up the artificial relationship of *tukoïab* with another, he became *babat* to this man's sisters and that this relationship of *babat* was a bar to marriage. The extensive restrictions on marriage dependent on natural kinship were extended still more widely by artificial kinship.

I did not ascertain what would be done in Mabuïag if a child adopted into another family wished to marry a natural brother or sister, but Mr Wilkin was told that such a marriage would be allowed to take place if the only alternative was that the child should be informed of his real parentage.

Though the genealogical record shows that marriage is now regulated by kinship rather than by clanship, it seems probable that marriage with a *babat* or an *apu* of the same clan would be regarded as a much more heinous offence than marriage with a woman who was *babat* or *apu* in some other way. This bears out the statement made in the article on "Kinship" that different degrees of nearness of kin were recognized in connection with any given kinship term. The evidence, so far as it goes, is in favour of the view that at one time only the women of a man's own clan were his *babat* or *apu*, kinship and clanship being at that time probably identical. Later, the meaning of the kinship terms became more extended (possibly in connection with transition from maternal to paternal descent), and as the idea of kinship became differentiated from that of clanship, the marriage restrictions came to be associated with the former rather than with the latter. At the same time, the old clanship restriction that a man could not marry a woman of the same totem, still survives, so that marriage within the clan is regarded with greater abhorrence than marriage of an equally near relative belonging to another clan.

There seems to be no doubt that there are in the genealogical record a certain number of cases in which the marriage laws have been disregarded. Some of these cases are recent and may be indications that the marriage system is breaking down

owing to outside influences. Some of the cases are, however, of old standing, and it seems probable that the term "*babat*" has gradually come to denote so wide a circle of relatives that the marriage system has been brought to the verge of impracticability.

In the article on "Totemism," it has been shown that the clans of Mabuïag were probably at one time grouped in two phratries. If this be so, there is little doubt that the men of one phratry could only have married women of the other phratry. When the relationship of *babat* was extended to the relatives of both father and mother, it is obvious that a man would have *babat* in both phratries, and as marriage came to be regulated more and more by kinship, marriage between members of the two phratries would be more and more interfered with, till, so far as marriage is concerned, the distinction between the two phratries would be entirely lost. In Table 19 on p. 176 the marriages of the chief Mabuïag clans show no trace of the phratriac arrangement, and there is much reason to believe that this has been the necessary consequence of the regulation of marriage by kinship.

In Saibai, on the other hand, it seems as if marriages still occur with more frequency between members of the two phratries than within each phratry. We have no definite information from this island on the connection of marriage restrictions with kinship, but the fact that the phratriac arrangement persists in the marriages of Saibai makes it probable that marriage is regulated less by kinship than in Mabuïag and Badu.

EXCHANGE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

An important feature of the marriage system to which reference has been already made (p. 231), is the custom of exchanging brothers and sisters. We were told that this was a custom of the islands, and the genealogical record amply confirms its existence and shows its frequency. It has not been possible to analyse all the marriages of the Mabuïag-Badu community from this point of view, but an analysis has been made of the marriages of own brothers and sisters. There are twenty-four cases in which own brother and sister have married own sister and brother; two cases in which own brother and sister have married half-sister and brother; seventeen cases in which own brother and sister have married clan sister and brother. In thirteen of these cases the clan sister and brother were first cousins according to the English system, and in four they were second cousins. There are numerous instances in which clan brother and sister have married clan sister and brother and numerous instances in which a man and a woman *babat* to one another in some other way have married a woman and a man also *babat* to one another. Instances of these exchanges will readily be found in the genealogies; I must be content with giving one of the more obscure cases which was given as an example of such an exchange. When Peter (6) married Magena (4), Peter's *babat*, Taum (2), married Agi (5), who was the *babat* of Magena. Peter was *babat* to Taum as an adopted member of the *Kaigas* clan, and also because Ausa, his father, was *babat* to Pipit, Taum's mother. Magena was *babat* to Agi because Bamer, the former's father, and Malil, the latter's mother, were brother and sister.

If the genealogies are examined throughout it will be found that the great majority of the marriages of the Mabuiag-Badu community were examples of this custom. It is obvious that the custom would have a distinct influence on the working of the restriction against marriage between *babat*. An instance may make this clear. The marriages between Waime (3 A) and Iadakul (9) and between Samaka (9) and Dabangai (3 A) afford a good example of exchange. Alis, Waime's son, could not marry a *Sam* woman because his mother was a *Sam* woman, and he would be further restricted from marrying into this clan because Dabangai, his *ngaibat*, had married a *Sam* man; if Dabangai had married a man of some other clan there would have been some restriction on marriage between Alis and women of that clan, which is entirely absent owing to the fact that Dabangai's children belong to the same clan as his mother. So far as the marriages in question are concerned, Alis is debarred from marrying into two clans where he might have been debarred from marrying into three.

I have no definite evidence as to the origin of the practice of exchange. The natives seemed to think that the custom was connected with that of payment for the bride. This price was heavy (see p. 230), and the necessity for paying it would be removed if a man at the time of marriage would give, or promise to give, his sister to the brother of the bride.

There is also the possibility which has just been mentioned that there is some connection between this custom and the wide restrictions on marriage involved in the extent of the *babat* relation. As we have seen, all the members of a given family sometimes married into the same clan, *i.e.* married people who were *tukoiab* and *babat* to one another, and this would seem to be an almost necessary consequence of the marriage restrictions. It is probable, however, that the custom of exchange is much older than the extension of the meaning of *babat* and that this custom is one of the factors which has helped to make the marriage regulations workable.

In addition to this practice of exchange it often happened that brothers married sisters, *i.e.* that men *tukoiab* to one another married women who were *tukoiab* to one another. This is implied in the statement I have already made that it was the rule for the marriages of a given family to be restricted to a few clans, or even to one clan only.

POLYGAMY.

This custom definitely existed in the Western Tribe (p. 230). Thirteen cases are recorded in the genealogies of Mabuiag and Badu and there were almost certainly others. Owing to the introduction of European ideas, the natives have acquired an exaggerated notion of the wickedness of polygamy and I cannot help suspecting that they concealed the occurrence of this practice in a few cases. In one of the thirteen cases recorded (Gib, 1 A) there were five wives alive at the same time¹; in one (Rusui, 10) there were four wives. Gasera (1), Iburu (8), and Mengoi (9) had each three wives, while

¹ Dr Haddon records a similar case from Muralug, *cf.* Iobi (17). Languram (17) also had five wives probably at the same time, of whom Dabar was a younger sister of Warawi; he divorced all of the wives who had no children. It is doubtful whether this was due to missionary influence.

eight others had two wives alive at the same time. In two of the latter cases the wives died and the men married again.

A case from another island is that of Aikui of Gebar (1) who had three Mabuiag wives.

It is noteworthy that in four of the polygamous Mabuiag marriages, one or more of the wives were taken from islands outside the intermarrying group; three from Moa and one from Tutu and Waraber.

In most of the cases two or more of the wives were *tukoiab* to one another; thus three of Gib's wives were clan *tukoiab*. The wives of Maroa (4) were clan *tukoiab*, and this was the case with the wives of Anu (5). Two of the wives of Iburu and Sagaukazi (8), and of Rusui (10) were own sisters, while the two wives of Walit (8) were half-sisters. Tatalu and Baiet, two of the wives of Mengoi (9), stood in the relation to one another of *kazi* and *apu*. Geneii (13) married one wife who died and he then married her clan *tukoiab* and also Burita (7) whom the other two wives would have called *ngaibat* and *kazi*.

It will be seen that when a man married more than one wife, the wives were usually related to one another when both were taken from the Mabuiag-Badu community. Aikui of Gebar (1) is another example of this practice, his three wives being own sisters.

It will be noticed that of the thirteen instances of polygamous marriages recorded, no less than seven occur in the various branches of the *Dangul* people to whom belonged the chiefs of Mabuiag. Several of these and others who had more than one wife appear to have been prominent men of their time, and it seems highly probable that in Torres Straits, as in so many other parts of the world, polygamy was the privilege of the more powerful members of the community.

In two cases polygamous wives are still living. In one of these cases, that of Walit (8), the husband has discarded one wife owing to missionary influence, and it appears that the discarded wife suffers a good deal of obloquy from her neighbours as the living witness of a heathen practice. In the other case two of the wives of Aikui (1) are still living. We were told that one of the three wives, Dabangai, died while her husband was living. Aikui was desired by the missionary to discard one of his remaining wives, but was obdurate. He soon after died and the natives certainly seemed to think that his death was connected with anxiety and trouble attendant on the proposed divorce.

There was no evidence that polyandry had ever existed in Torres Straits. Though several women in the genealogies had four or five husbands, it did not appear in any case that more than one of these were alive at the same time.

MARRIAGE OF SISTERS.

The custom of marrying sisters was not confined to cases of polygamy. In a large proportion of the cases in which a man had more than one wife either simultaneously or successively, the wives were *tukoiab* to one another.

In order to determine the frequency of the custom of marrying sisters, all the cases in which a man had more than one wife have been examined including the cases of polygamy. Of the 81 such cases recorded in the genealogies, one or more of the marriages in each case were with women from other islands in 10 cases and in 19 other cases the clans of the wives are not recorded. When these cases are excluded there remain 52 men who married more than one wife from their own community. In 30 of these cases the wives were *tukoiab* to one another, and in no less than 29 cases they were *tukoiab* of the same clan. The one case in which the wives were *tukoiab* but of different clans was that of Pasar (9 A) who married Gawagi (3 A) and Buia (2 A) who were *tukoiab* by common descent from Waika (3 A) (third cousins). In some of the remaining cases it is possible that the relationship of *tukoiab* existed, deficiencies in the genealogies preventing a full examination of the lines of descent of the wives.

In two cases the two wives were *ngaibat* to one another, viz. the marriage of Ibigan (4) with Ngukiltiti (5 A) and Aripai (3) and that of Anaii (12) with Nagi (2) and Aitam (4). In two other cases the wives were *apu* and *kazi* to one another, Mengoi (9) marrying first Tatalu (8) and then Baiet (3 A), the *apu* of Tatalu and Kabarimai (13) marrying first Dadu and then Diwadi, the half-sister of Dadu's mother, so that Dadu would be the *kazi* of Diwadi. It is noteworthy that in three of these four cases in which the wives were of different generations, the relationship was through children of Maku (2 and 2 A).

The striking fact here is that so large a proportion of the cases were examples of taking two or more wives from the same clan. It seemed that when a man married a second wife, either in the lifetime of his first wife or after her death, there was a very strong tendency to take not only a *tukoiab* of his wife but one from her own clan. In a considerable proportion of the cases the wives were own sisters, twelve coming under this head while two were half-sisters; nine were first cousins and four were second cousins.

THE LEVIRATE.

In order to determine the frequency with which a man married his brother's widow, I have taken all the cases recorded in the genealogies in which a woman had more than one husband.

The total number of such cases is 50. In eleven of these cases, one or more of the husbands were Melanesians or belonged to some other race. In nine other cases, the clan of one or more of the husbands has not been recorded. When these cases are excluded, thirty marriages remain in which a woman had more than one husband, and in no less than twenty-two of these the husbands were *tukoiab* to one another. In one other case a man

Gizu (2), took the widow (Talim) of a man, Gib (1 A), whom he called *tati*. In the seven remaining cases there is no evidence that the men were *tukoiab* to one another, but in nearly every case there are defects in the information provided by the genealogies, and it is possible that in some of these remaining cases the husbands were more or less distant *tukoiab*.

A further case occurs in the fragment of a Tutu family included in Table 5 A, and Dr Haddon obtained another case in Tutu where a man married the widow of an elder brother, the woman originally coming from Damut.

In eighteen of the twenty-two cases in which the widow of a man was married by his *tukoiab*, the husbands were of the same clan. The four remaining cases are those of Naii (9 A) and Wadu (5) with Badugu (2 A), Naii and Wadu being sons of own sisters; of Guraburi (9 A) and Aina (7) with Gegai (12), the husbands being sons of own brother and sister; of Maira (9 A) and Nomoa (1) with Ulum (4 A), the husbands being sons of clan brother and sister. The last case is that of the marriage of Simi (13) and Paipi (9 A) with Dauai (11); in this case the husbands were *tukoiab* through Sarbi (9), Simi's father's mother.

Of the eighteen cases in which the husbands were clan *tukoiab* to one another, they were own brothers in four cases, first cousins in ten cases, and second cousins in four cases.

Analysis of the cases in which a woman had husbands who were *tukoiab* to one another brings out therefore the same feature as was found on analysis of the cases in which a man married women *tukoiab* to one another, viz. that the *tukoiab* in question are predominantly of the same clan. The custom of the Levirate, like the custom of marrying sisters, appears to be one connected with the clan rather than with the wider relationship of *tukoiab* which now exists. The fact may be regarded as additional evidence that the natives recognised that a *tukoiab* of the same clan stood in a nearer relation than other *tukoiab*. It is, however, probable that a man would come into close relations with the members of his wife's clan, and a woman with those of her husband's clan, and they would therefore be more likely to marry those than other *tukoiab*. In connection with this, it is interesting to note that the marriage of one member of a given clan with someone outside the intermarrying group tended to be followed by other similar marriages of which instances may be found in Tables 5, 5 A, and 14.

A widow was not obliged to marry again, and if she re-married she was not compelled to marry the brother of her deceased husband, but in the great majority of cases, at any rate in Mabuiag, she followed the Levirate custom. Whomever she married, the children by the first marriage and their property were cared for by the new husband.

It is a familiar fact that in many races, and especially in India, the custom of the Levirate is limited by the order in the family. The widow of a man is taken by a younger brother of the deceased, and in some cases in which the Levirate is optional, a man may only marry the widow of his elder brother, and is forbidden to marry the widow of his younger brother. No trace of any such limitation of the custom seems to have existed in Mabuiag. Of the four recorded cases in which the husbands were own brothers, the widow was in two cases married by the younger brother, and in one case

by the elder brother, the fourth case being doubtful in this respect. Of the fourteen cases in which the husbands were cousins, the man who took his brother's widow belonged in seven cases to a younger branch of the family and would therefore have called the deceased *kuikuig*. In the other seven cases he belonged to an older branch and therefore took the widow of his *kutaig*.

The form of the Levirate existing in Mabuiag was almost certainly connected with the care of property. At the present day, the widow, children and property are looked after by the brother of the deceased, even when he does not marry the widow. It is interesting in this connection to note that the men who married the widows of their *tukoia*b were usually of the same clan as the deceased. The practice in Mabuiag was probably a means of keeping property within the clan. There was no reason whatever to suppose that the custom of the Levirate was a survival of a condition of polyandry.

DIVORCE.

Divorce appears to have been rare in Mabuiag. With the exception of the case already mentioned due to missionary influence, only two cases were said to have occurred among the marriages recorded in the genealogies. In one case Yanga (3 A) divorced Guruad because she had no children and then married her sister Gaiba, who also had no children. Guruad did not marry again. The other case was that of Anu, who divorced his wife Kalauub (1 A) on account of infidelity. In this case the woman married again. We were told in Mabuiag that divorce on account of childlessness was not the custom in Mabuiag but was frequent in Saibai; and divorce appears to have been much more frequent in Muralug, cf. footnote to p. 242.

The chief reasons for divorce appear to have been sterility and infidelity, but we were told that incompatibility of temper was sometimes regarded as sufficient. Wallaby of Muralug stated that a first wife could be divorced only for sterility.

The case in Mabuiag in which a man divorced one of his polygamous wives has been already mentioned, but it is worth noticing here that the wife whom he divorced, viz. Mabil, was the one who had had no children.

The divorced wife returned to her parents, or, if they were dead, to her brothers. She might marry again but the new husband would have to pay the old one, who would share the purchase goods with the woman's parents. The father kept the children in the case of a divorce, but he might allow the mother temporarily to retain one, or even more, especially if they were very young.

AGE OF MARRIAGE.

The age at which marriage usually took place could not be ascertained with any definiteness owing to the uncertainty of the people on the subject of age. Judging from the probable age of unmarried people and people recently married now on the islands, the age would appear to be comparatively late, probably between 20 and 25 in the case of men and somewhat younger in the case of women. It is possible, however, that marriage formerly took place at a younger age. There are at present elderly adults living (Samiai, 9 A, and Wazi, 14) who have never married, and similar cases from former times occur in the genealogies. It appeared that in some cases this might be due to choice, but in most of the instances of unmarried adults into which I enquired there was some other reason. Thus Samiai was weak-minded; Kualei and Daii (4) remained unmarried owing to illness. Peipe (3 A) was said to be a hunchback, and Imulu (7) who died when about 40 years of age remained unmarried because some sorcerer had given her a diseased face. One man, Baudan (14), was said to have remained a bachelor because no woman liked him.

Another reason why a woman might not marry was that there was a prejudice against marriage with the daughter of a sorcerer (see p. 214). This appeared to be partly due to fear of his intended father-in-law on the part of the bridegroom and partly to fear on the part of the sorcerer lest his son-in-law should acquire knowledge of his methods and so cause his death. Wakapatai, the wife of Getoan (9 A), was the daughter of Bauri, a great sorcerer, and there appeared to have been considerable delay in getting her married.

This study of the regulation of marriage has been based almost entirely on the genealogical record and the results may, I think, be regarded as striking evidence in favour of the essential accuracy of this record. The record has been used from one point of view to work out the system of kinship and from another point of view to work out the marriage regulations. From these two points of view it has furnished collections of data which are consistent with one another. Further, the kinship system and the marriage laws, as constructed from the genealogical data, agree with what the natives were able to tell us directly of this system and these laws. Some probable errors in the genealogies have been pointed out, and there can be little doubt that there are others in points of detail, but the general consistency of the results of the analysis of the record with each other and with the statement of the natives shows conclusively that, on the whole, the genealogies are an accurate record.

X. FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

By A. C. HADDON.

MABUIAG.

Death and Treatment of Corpse.

WHEN a man died it was the duty of his *imi* to announce the death to the brothers and other blood relatives of the dead man. In doing this he approached the relatives holding a stick behind his back so that the people should not see it, on reaching the people he placed the stick on the top of the head of the brother or nearest blood relative of the deceased, saying, "Markai ——" (—— being the name of the dead man). If the brother of the dead man "got wild" and took his bow and arrow and wished to kill the *maidelaig* (sorcerer) who had caused the death¹, he was restrained by the *imi*, who would take him home and prevent his leaving his house. The announcement by the *imi* of the death in the manner mentioned acts as the signal for the crying or keening to commence, but the *imi* himself takes part in this only for a little time since it is his duty to prepare the body and carry it to the *sara*. (This information was collected by Dr Rivers.)

The thumbs of a dead man were tied together, as were also his great toes, and the body was wrapped up in a mat, which was either sewn with string or skewered, the head, however, was not tied up. The corpse was carried out of the camp feet foremost, otherwise the *mari* (ghost) would find its way back and trouble the survivors. These duties were performed by the *imi* (pp. 136, 148, and Table 18) of the deceased, who were called *mariget* while they performed the functions connected with death and with the funeral ceremonies. The literal meaning of the word *mariget* is 'ghost-hand.'

Usually the body was placed on a *sara* which was erected on cleared level ground (*sugu*). A *sara* (Fig. 32 and Pl. XV) consisted of four forked posts, *kag*, which Waria said were painted red above and black below, but Tom drew them red with a central black band (cf. p. 61). The platform on these posts was covered by a roof made of *kai* mats, the poles at the lower borders of the roof were decorated at intervals with *zazi*, leaf petticoats (probably portions only of petticoats); from the front gable projected a young coco-nut leaf, *tu*, which was also called *sabib pogaik*, this and the ridge

¹ According to native belief all sickness and death were due to sorcery.

of the roof were ornamented with a series of *gaigaidan*¹, or rings made of a strip of *tu*, and a bunch of *gaigaidan* hung from the end of the *sabib pogaik*², this latter was probably inserted as a sign of taboo (*sabi*). Behind the *sara* there was always a fire for "dead man he cold." A forked stick might be stuck in the ground in front of the *sara* on which a coco-nut water vessel might be suspended and in front of it food might be placed, or these might be placed on the *sara*—the water and food being that which the deceased may have been eating and which remained over at the time of his death. The reason given for this was that the *mari* would come back to the house for the water and food that he had left and thus would annoy and frighten the relatives. If the food was found scattered the next morning the *mariget* said "*Mari* he wild, he chuck all food about."



FIG. 32. *Sara*, drawn by Waria.

A *mariget*, who is necessarily of another *augud* than that to which the deceased belonged, informed the friends when the preliminary duties had been performed. This was accomplished by pantomime in the following manner.

If a *Dangal* (dugong) man had died a *Kaigas mariget* covered himself with leaves and boughs, and taking a lighted brand he set fire to a heap of grass on the beach at a spot visible from the village. The people would then go to see the *sara*.

When a *Waru* (turtle) man had died two *mariget* ran on the beach, each carrying a *dadu*, or flag made from the leaf of a coco-nut palm with which canoes were decorated. They would wave them crosswise and the people would look and come to the *sara*.

For a *Kodal* (crocodile) man, the *mariget* walked on the ground like a crocodile, then he would remain still, like a crocodile resting, and walk again. The movements of a snake were similarly imitated for a *Tabu* man.

The *umalaig* or "Death-people," that is, the relatives of the deceased or mourners, then came with bows and arrows. They painted their bodies with *bud* (white coral mud), and cut their hair and plastered mud over their heads, and cut off their ear ornaments or severed one end of the distended loop of the lobe of the ear as a sign of mourning for relatives or friends.

On arriving near the *sara* they shot arrows at the *sara* and also at the *mariget*, but the latter warded off the arrows. The *mariget* were shot at as it was assumed they injured the corpse.

¹ "eye of *gaigai*" or king-fish.

² "the *sabi* projects."

The mourners approached the *sara* crying, and still crying touched the *sara* and laid their hands on the corpse.

The *imi* (or *mariget*) formerly gave the signal for the crying to stop by chewing some berries [? leaves, A. C. H.] of *kumi kumi* (*Costus* sp.) and spitting up into the air so that their spittle fell over the crying relatives. At the present time it seems that the place of this has been taken by filling a pipe and giving it to the brother of the dead man. He then gives the relatives food (from which they have abstained hitherto), first of all putting a small pellet of food into the mouth of some (? of all) of the relatives; he also gives them water. If there was no *imi*, or if no *imi* were present at the time, the duties of announcing the death and of stopping the crying and probably all the other duties devolved on the *ira*, and if there was no *ira*, on the *ngaubat*, i.e. on a woman. One man said that if there were no *imi*, *ira*, or *ngaubat*, no one else could fill his pipe for him, nor could he fill it himself, and he would have to go on crying indefinitely (cf. also p. 148). (This information was collected by Dr Rivers.)

The *mariget* also comforted the mourners by saying, "When the wind comes from the north the sky is black with clouds and there is much wind and pouring rain, but it does not last long, the clouds blow over and there is fine weather once more." My informant (Waria) added the following: "*Bui krabu mapunika kai mata gidigidi u pasawau ia pateka kai lagal mata metan kai siamika.*" Mr Ray is unable to make sense of this; I obtained the same formula in the description of the skull-giving ceremony.

The mourners (*umalaig*) then retired and went to the gardens where they slashed at the taro, knocked down coco-nuts, pulled up sweet potatoes and destroyed bananas. The food was destroyed for the sake of the dead man, it was 'like good-bye.' The *mariget* danced late in the afternoon and the mourners cried. A great heap of food was piled up close to the *sara* and then it was divided among those present. Thus ended the first day of mourning and all went home.

The corpse was left on the *sara* for five or six days, during which time it was watched by the *mariget*, one of their duties being to prevent the large lizards (*karum*) from eating the corpse. There was one head *mariget* and he constantly walked round and looked at the corpse. I understood that sometimes the *mariget* only very occasionally visited the *sara* and perhaps might only return to it at the end of the fifth or sixth day. I was also informed that the *mariget* watched the corpse during the first night to see if anything happened and to report thereon, for they might discover by some sign or another who it was that had practised sorcery upon the deceased. The chief *mariget* also waved his hand above the body of the corpse to feel the *mari*. A noise was also made at the *sara* to frighten away the *markai* (spirits) who were attracted by the scent of the corpse.

After an interval of several days the relatives returned to the body and mourned, the roof of the *sara* was beaten with a stick, and all shouted "*U, u, u!*" to drive away the ghost that remains ("to drive rest of devil out"). If they did not do this they could not take the head, as it stuck fast to the body and was too heavy. The first *mariget* removed the head and the second *mariget* took the lower jaw and usually placed them in a termite nest ("white-ant" hill) or sometimes in a creek, to clean

them; by this time the body was decaying and the grease ran down the posts. The body was then covered with grass. When all the flesh had disappeared the wife, or other near relatives, took the bones and rolled them up in something and deposited them in a crevice in the rocks. For the legendary institution of the *sara* see pp. 61, 62.

Waria informed me that in Tutu and Saibai they bury their dead like the "bushmen" of Daudai.

THE SKULL-GIVING CEREMONY.

When the head was thoroughly cleaned, the first *mariget* decorated it by painting it red all over and placed it in a basket (*iena*). The mouth of the basket (fig. 33) in front of the skull was skewered by the nose ornament (*gub*) of the deceased, his *dibidib* was hung in front and ear-pendants (*muti*) attached to the sides of the basket, and four wands decorated with the white feathers (*kaikai*) of the reef heron were fastened on each side of the mouth of the basket, and two black-tipped *gainau* feathers in front. A representation of a man's *augud* might be placed on the mouth of the basket and a bunch of the hair of various friends was fastened behind. Artificial nose and eyes were not made in Mabuiag.

On the occasion¹ of the *mariget* handing over the skull to the nearest relatives of the deceased a large mat was spread in the *tai kwod* and the mourners close to it, but the women arranged themselves in groups on each side of the mat but at a short distance from it.

The *mariget*, who had painted themselves black all over and covered their heads with leaves, came in a procession, and the head-*mariget*, *kuikumariget*, bore the *natiām*, or skull in the decorated basket. As they approached the mat the mourners (*umalaig*) shot arrows over the head of the *mariget* as they thought of what the *mariget* had done to 'spoil' the deceased. That is, the *mariget* had decapitated the corpse and this injury had to be repaid. No harm, however, was done to the *mariget*.

The *kuikumariget* went on to the mat and handed over the *natiām* to the chief mourner (*gima gasamai garka*) or to the representative of the chief mourner, who also sat on the mat and the other mourners crowded round and cried over the skull. The representative of the chief mourner was usually a friend, and his wife either sat behind him or in the midst of the other women.

The *mariget* then called out, "*sh! sh! sh!*" and to console the mourners they recited the formulæ mentioned on p. 250.

The mourners placed a heap of food on the mat and the *mariget* did likewise. The *gima gasamai garka*² next stood up and, calling on the *kuikumariget* by name, told him that all the food supplied by the mourners was for him. The *kuikumariget*



FIG. 33. *Natiām* or *Ikai* of a *Gapu* man, with two models of a sucker-fish, after a sketch by Waria.

¹ I think this might take place at any time, but possibly it frequently immediately preceded the *Tai* or *Markai* ceremony.

² "top (i.e. chief) taking man" or 'chief recipient.'

then stood up and mentioning the *gima gasamai garka* by name said that the food provided by the *mariget* was for him. The two chief men divided the food among their respective comrades, and all went home and had a feast.

Tai or Markai.

The great funeral ceremony, or rather death-dance, took place in the island of Pulu. I believe it always preceded the initiation ceremonies (p. 213); but I do not know whether both ceremonies invariably took place annually. It was indifferently spoken of as *Tai* or *Markai*. *Tai* seems to mean the day of the ceremony and also the ground where it was held. *Markai* is not only the name for the spirit inhabitants of Kibu, the isle of spirits, but also the death-dance ("make him devil-devil") and it is sometimes used to designate a white man.

At the appropriate time a few men would agree to make *tai*, probably these would be the *mariget* (*imi*) who had attended to the obsequies of recently deceased people. They erected poles of mangrove wood on the ground round the *kwod*; to these long bamboos were lashed like railings and large mats were fastened on to this framework. Thus a mat fence, *motoal* (or *wosal*, as it was also called), entirely surrounded the *kwod* and ensured privacy. They placed the drums, *warup*, in position close by the fence and each provided himself with a short thin stick, *piu*, which he stuck vertically into his hair.

When this was finished they walked in a line and the first one went to his *toena* (brother-in-law, i.e. sister's husband, an *imi*, p. 148) and said: "—— *Markai* ——," —— being the name of the dead friend or relative for whom the *tai* was being made. Then they went to the *toena* of the next man, and so on. The men returned to the *kwod* and sat down.

The *toena* next went to the *kwod* and each went up to his respective *toena* and inserting a *piu*¹ in the other one's hair said, "*Markai* ——" (naming the dead person).

Then the men sang, "some high and some low," and all the relatives of the deceased cried.

The men went into the bush to make the head-dresses or leafy-masks, *markaikwik*, for the funeral dance; but no woman, or young uninitiated man, was allowed to witness the operation.

The people "thought about what Waiat did" and all the women were frightened. I could not discover why the people thought about Waiat (cf. p. 54), but it evidently comforted them so to do. I have already given three legends of this culture hero; there may be other incidents of which I was not informed, and in a footnote² I give all the additional information I have about him.

¹ I am not quite sure, but I think the first men had taken the *piu* from their hair and had placed it in that of their *toena* when they called on them and that the same *piu* were restored when the return visit was paid and the invitation to the ceremony accepted.

² Waiat was represented as a wooden figure of a man without eyes or ears, the arms were cut off at the elbows and the legs were cut short at the knees; no sexual parts were indicated. He was the head or

The *tai* ceremonies varied in importance, probably according to the number of recently deceased people, a large ceremony was called *kai tai*, or when an important man had died it was termed *tangai kuik*, the small ceremony was called *mugi tai* or *torgai boapoidam*. The chief difference between these two was in the smaller number of performers and the less elaborate preparations.

The ceremony took place in the *kwod* at Pulu, the various shrines seen in Plate I. were more or less enclosed by the *motoal* and the women and children and other spectators sat some distance off.

The chief performers of the *tai* ceremonies were the *markai ipikamarkai* and *danilkau*.

The *markai* (Pl. XIV.) who represented the ghosts of recently deceased men, painted themselves with charcoal and wore a *tu*¹ petticoat and a breastplate, *doar*, made of four or five vertical broad bands of *tu*; these were fastened above to a twisted strip of *tu* which passed round the neck, and were tucked below beneath the band of the petticoat; a *sameral*, or long tuft made of cassowary feathers fastened on to a stick, was inserted at the back of the band. Numerous green leaves were fastened to the upper arm below the shoulder by means of a strip of *tu* and similar strips of *tu* were tied round the ankles. The left forearm was provided with a *kadig*. The head was covered by a leafy mask (*markaikuk*) which consisted of dracæna leaves (*buzi*), the ends of which were cut square, fastened together in such a manner that they formed an oblique shield that encircled the front half of the head, the lower part projecting over the eyes and the upper part slanting backwards so as to hide the hair; into this were inserted seven or eight slender wands painted red to which white feathers were fastened a short distance from each other, four of these pointed upwards and three downwards. A crescentic object, *gud*², was held in the mouth (those made to show us



FIG. 34. *Zarar markai*, drawn by Gizu.

chief of the *tai*, but *tai* was not made in the islet of Widul, where Waiat always remained in his square house in the *kwod*. The *kerne* were not allowed to see it, as Waiat belonged solely to the elder men.

When the house of Waiat was rotten the men who had charge of it sent all the young men a long way off and the important married men with grey hair who alone remained on Pulu paddled—but never poled—a canoe and instead of making a straight run to Widul they took a V-shaped course and sang all the while they paddled. On arriving at Widul they built a new house for Waiat and when this was finished they decorated themselves and sat down. First an old man retired and reappeared, he was spoken of as a *murumual kudulual*. Then two old men did the same. Next three old men dressed up as *zarar markai*, their heads being entirely covered with leaves. Finally four men did the same and the ceremony was finished. As they danced the men swayed their strongly flexed bodies from side to side and flexed their arms and then stood nearly upright. On their return journey to Pulu they paddled and did not pole their canoe.

I was also informed that the *zarar markai* (fig. 34) had a dance by themselves three days after the ordinary *tai* ceremony, the dance took place at Widul and Gumu. They did not dance with the other *markai*.

¹ *Tu* is the etiolated sprouting leaf of the coco-nut palm, the leaflets of which are always used for decorative purposes in dances and ceremonies on account of their pale yellow colour showing up well upon the dark skin.

² The very important ('big, big') man whose business it was to take care of the *gud* was called *ānagud*.

If a Badu man wanted the two *gud* for a *tai* he came to Mabuiag and asked to be allowed to borrow them, and the *ānagud* took them across.

what they were like were made of tinned iron, in former days they were made of tortoise-shell or of wood). Each *markai* carried a bow and arrows, except the two last who carried brooms (fig. 36).



FIG. 35. *Gudi*, made of tortoise-shell restored from a specimen in the Cambridge Museum (O. III. 67. HA). Perforated to leave zigzag and chevron patterns; decorated with tufts of cassowary feathers, probably there was also a tuft of feathers at each end but the specimen was broken in those places; the three bordering bands and the central broad band are painted red, the mouthpiece is uncoloured, the projection has a raised border and two central ridges of beeswax painted red, all the remainder is whitened; there are two long strings of twisted coco-nut fibre. Length, along middle 480 mm., direct from point to point 360 mm.; transverse diameter 245 mm. (cf. *Internat. Arch. für Ethnogr.* VI. 1893, fig. 9, p. 158; and Partington and Heape, *Ethnogr. Album of the Pacific Isles*, II. Pl. 204, no. 5.

The *ipikamarkai* (fig. 37) were men who represented the ghosts of recently deceased women; they also were painted black and wore the *markaikwik*, but the ordinary woman's petticoat, *zazi*, replaced the men's *tu*. Round the neck and depending to the waist was a *iapar*. This was a necklace of scented *wamadai* leaves, and variegated leaves, green, white, and red. The arms and legs were decorated with the ordinary bands.

The *danilkau* (fig. 38), or buffoon, wore a *markaikwik*, in which was inserted only a single stick beset with white feathers. On his chest was a *kamad* and a round disc of *tu*, like a pearl-shell, *mai*; there was nothing on his back; he also wore armlets and leglets, an empty coco-nut water-vessel was suspended from the front of his belt.

It was arranged in the *kwod* in what order the *markai* appeared who represented the ghosts or spirits of particular dead persons whose *imi* they were, so when they danced it was known whose spirit it was that was personated and the characteristic gait and actions of the deceased were mimicked by the *markai*.

First of all two *markai* and an *ipikamarkai* between them came from behind the *motoal* and danced; when they retired behind the fence several successive pairs of *markai* did the same. When the *ipikamarkai* danced he kept his clasped hands in front and waved his body. The last two *markai* held a couple of brooms each (*kus a kus* or *piual*, made from the mid-ribs of coco-nut palm leaflets), they walked slowly with a springing step and kept one leg flexed at right angles for some time. Finally one *markai* came followed by a *danilkau*. The *danilkau* skipped and jumped about but always carefully kept immediately behind the advancing and dancing *markai*. His object was to make the spectators laugh, so he played antics and would suddenly fall down face downwards and then rise up on his hands and feet, turning his back to the spectators. There was no *danilkau* at a *mugi tai*.

The *markai* advanced from the fenced off area to the dancing ground by short runs and continual stopping when they crouched down and waved their head-dresses. When the *markai* cried out "*I, I,*" the women hid their faces.

The beating of the drums proclaims that the ceremony is over and the presentation of food takes place, a separate heap of food (fig. 39) being given by the relatives of the deceased to each of the performers. A big feast then follows.

Sometimes during the time that the ceremonies were being performed two men would go into the scrub near the women's quarters in order to frighten them by whistling. The women thought the spirits were coming and several old head-women went near the *kwod* and told the men that the spirits were near. Then the women went into the scrub and hunted for the spirits; after a few visits the women would manage to take the bows and arrows away from the men who personified the spirits and all would come out and dance in front of the *kwod* (that is only the old women, for no young women might dance). When the women approached near to the *kwod* the head men would make all the noise they could by breaking wind to make the women laugh.

When the men, whether married or single, wanted to cohabit with the women, they would go over to the women's quarters and then return, but all the men slept in the *kwod*.

When a *tai* was finished, the *markai* took all the dance-petticoats and the dance-masks to the neighbouring islet of Iul (Pigeon Island) and deposited them in two places, then they went to the islet of Marte where they made an earth-oven. When the Mabuiag men went to these two islets to get fish and turtle they saw these places and said "*Markai* make all same as you and me."



FIG. 36. *Markai* who carries brooms, drawn by Gizu.



FIG. 37. *Ipikamarkai*, drawn by Gizu, who said he had made a mistake and should have covered the face with a *markaikui*.

There is no doubt that the *markai* represented the ghosts or spirits of recently



FIG. 38. *Danilkau*, drawn by Gizu. The face ought to have been covered as in fig. 36.

deceased people, the identity of the ghost being indicated by a pantomimic representation of characteristic traits of the deceased. The idea evidently was to convey to the mourners the assurance that the ghost was alive and that in the person of the dancer he visited his friends; the assurance of his life after death comforted the bereaved ones. The women and children were supposed to believe that the *markai* were really ghosts. The women might not know who the dancers were; I was informed that if a woman found out who they were she "died that night." The *ipika-markai* were men disguised as women and they represented the ghosts of women who had recently died. The *danilkau* was frankly a buffoon who by his antics relieved the emotional strain. It must be remembered that these people are highly strung, excitable and very affectionate, the mere sight of the photograph of a deceased relative will cause them immediately to begin crying, and as readily can they be made to laugh. The *danilkau* therefore provided a welcome reaction to the grief that was excited by the personification by the *markai* of the dead relatives.



FIG. 39. Drawing by Gizu of a heap of coco-nuts, bananas, yams, taro and sweet potatoes surrounded by sugar-cane, one of numerous similar presents from the relatives of the deceased to the *markai*.

The Rev. Dr W. Wyatt Gill (*Life in the Southern Isles*, 1876, p. 202) in describing his visit to Mabuiag says, "We saw a number of recent graves: two forked posts were set up at the head and two at the feet. Sand was neatly piled over the dead, and the top was ornamented with dugong skulls and ribs and large helmet-shells (Cassis). Three skulls were hung up on the post nearest to the shoulders of one of the deceased. After desiccation the mummy is buried; the head, however, being carefully preserved by the relatives as an object of affection and worship. But in some cases the family suspend the mummy permanently, as at Erub and Mer. A male mummy was hanging among the mangroves close to one of the villages, to enable the relatives to see the deceased whenever so inclined (this was towards the close of 1872).

TUTU.

If the relatives wanted to preserve the skull of a deceased person they buried the body for four days. The *imi*, whose business it was to attend to the corpse, made a noise at the grave and removed the earth from the body; the chief *imi* took the head and another the jaw; if any teeth had tumbled out they looked about for them and turned over the ground with their hands, and "never mind the stink." The head was taken to the sea and if, when first put into the water, it sank at once it showed that the man met his death by the magic of a local sorcerer. If the head floated it proved that the sorcerer lived at a distance and the face pointed in the direction where he resided, then the head sank with a bubbling noise. The head was washed clean and buried in the ground for several days, after which it was again washed and then painted and adorned. The head was given to the near relatives and a feast was held at which food was given by the relatives to the *imi* and there was a big dance. Maino said that only an *imi* could take a man's skull, if the deceased had no *imi* the body could not be touched. When old people died they were buried and a fence erected round the grave, their skulls were not prepared, but if a "young fellow die, all sorry."

When they performed the death ceremonies, *markai*, in Tutu the ghosts of the dead were represented by men disguised with leaves in the usual manner. In 1888 Maino dressed himself up in order that I might see what the costume was like¹. The head and body were entirely covered with *tu*, the young leaflets of a coco-nut palm, the leafy mask was decorated with loops of leaves and surmounted by a plume of leaves, bands of *tu* were bound round the leg below the knee and round the ankle. He held a palm frond in each hand. Maino also drew in my notebook a sketch of an *ipika-markai* (fig. 40 B); the head-dress with the feathered sticks, the woman's petticoat, the brooms and the way they are held in the hand, show that the costume in Tutu was very similar to that of the corresponding dancers in Mabuiag. The *turkiam markai* of Tutu as drawn by Maino (fig. 41) is evidently the same as the ordinary *markai* of Mabuiag. On his head he wears a cassowary head-dress, a face-mask of *buzi* leaves and several *kaikai*. His body is enshrouded in *tu*, and *tu* sewn together form a breastplate; round his



FIG. 40. A. Tracing of a *markai* engraved on a bamboo tobacco-pipe in the British Museum (6521) from Muralug. B. Drawing of an *ipikamarkai* by Maino.

¹ Cf. *Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie*, vi. 1893, fig. 7, p. 157.

waist is a belt, into which a *waba* (croton or dracæna) is inserted behind; he wears armlets in which leaves are inserted, on the left fore-arm is the arm-guard and he holds a bow and arrow.

I have no detailed account of the ceremonies but presumably they were analogous to those in Mabuiag except that the *danilkan* was not represented. The ceremonies took place at *kerki* time. The men used to go behind the houses in the night and blow bamboo whistles and the women cried. A chief man cried out,

Mula matai ngaika urpu gugaru nga adaka-tamika.
Deep water *matai* fish for me in sea move along

Maino translated this as "All these-white-fish (*matai*) belong to deep water."

Dr Gill speaks of a female mummy hanging in a house in Tutu; in preparing these mummies the contents of the stomach [*i.e.* all the viscera] are extracted through an opening in the ribs. The brain is also removed. The soles of the feet are taken off. Punctures are made in the suspended corpse to let out the juices of the body; these juices are collected and used as sauce, to show love for the dead! The mummy is then carefully washed in the sea, painted and finally hung up. And yet a native of this island offered to sell to Captain Banner the mummy of his own mother for four axes¹.



FIG. 41. *Turkiam markai*, drawn by Maino.

NAGIR.

The following was the account given to me of the funeral arrangements for Magau, a young unmarried man of Nagir who died about the end of 1887. His death was firmly believed to have been caused by the telepathic sorcery of a *maidelaig* residing at Cape York.

When Magau died, Kuduma, his "uncle," and other relatives, yarned and said, "Very good, we make him same as man long time fashion, we will take him head but leave him body in ground." So they buried him. On the fourth day the *mariget* ("brothers-in-law") went very quietly in a crouching manner to the grave. When they arrived there they all suddenly and simultaneously stamped on the ground, clapped their hands, and cried "Ah!" Then the *mari* departed from Magau and his head would come off easily. The earth was removed from the body and one *mariget* took hold of the cranium and another seized the jaw. The "brother-in-law" kept the head; he washed it in the sea and when clean and "no stink," he painted a blue mark over the eyes, inserted pearl-shell eyes, moulded a nose out of wood and beeswax, which he painted red; the deficiency of teeth was supplied with half-a-dozen pieces of wood, the lower jaw was lashed on to the cranium and seed and calico ear-pendants tied on to the zygoma. In this way it was made "flash" (Pl. xv.).

¹ *loc. cit.* p. 212.

After about three months' time a death-dance was held ("made him *markai*"), during which a central *ipikamarkai* danced with *turkiam markai* on each side. After this figure had been twice performed a single dancer, the *mari*, appeared; I understood he had loose pieces of wood attached to his legs which clattered as he jumped about.

At the same time a big feast was made, but, in addition to ordinary native food of the old-fashioned feasts, this one was reinforced with four bags of flour, one case of gin and one of schnapps. The adorned skull of Magau was placed on a mat in the midst of the people. The other relatives presented food to the *mariget* and placed it in front of the skull; the *mariget* made a return gift in a similar manner. Then "all got damned drunk all night, if woman sleep, wake him up—no make row." Before the feasting began the skull was formally handed over to the father; for three nights it was covered over with a mat and the family slept around it in memory of old times, then the father kept the skull in its basket close by his pillow. Magau's skull is now in the British Museum.

The foregoing is probably a fairly accurate account of the former practice of these people, except the drunkenness which was taught to them by the white men. The dead were either placed on a *sara* or buried; food, a full coco-nut water vessel, and possibly a bamboo tobacco-pipe would be hung on the posts in the former case or placed on the grave; a fire was always lit. The body would be buried immediately after death if the skull were not required, as usually happened to old people; but if a young man died the skull would be preserved, and in this case it was customary to place the body after death on the framework either surrounded with a mat or with a mat beneath and leaves above. The omitting of the *sara* in the case of Magau may have been due partly to the presence of white men on the island.

MURALUG.

Jukes and Macgillivray have given us the following accounts of a Muralug grave:—

"Near the beach, in the centre of the bight [of Port Lihou], we found a singular native tomb, apparently quite recent (fig. 42). Round a central mound of sand there had been a broad ditch or hollow scooped out, and swept clean for several yards in width. The mound was of a quadrangular form, eight feet long, four feet wide, and three feet high. A stout post stood upright at each corner, and the sides were ornamented by rows of the ribs of the dugong placed regularly along them. Between the two posts near the sea a long stick had been inserted, ornamented with feathers and streamers of grass, and fastened to the post by other cross sticks similarly ornamented. On each post was either a large shell or the skull of a dugong, and on the grave were several other dugongs' skulls and shells of the *Nautilus pompilius*. All these, as well as the posts, were smeared with red ochre. We were careful not to disturb or leave any other trace of our presence than our footprints in the sand around, which it would have given us too much trouble to erase¹."

¹ Jukes, I. p. 149.

"When the head of a family dies at Muralug, the body is laid out upon a framework of sticks raised a foot from the ground and is there allowed to rot. [A small hut is raised close by, and the nearest relative of the deceased lives there, supplied with food by his friends]¹, until the head of the corpse becomes nearly detached by the process of putrefaction, when it is removed and handed over to the custody of the eldest wife. She carries it about her in a bag during her widowhood, accompanying the party of the tribe to which she belongs from place to place. The body, or rather the headless skeleton, is then interred in a shallow grave, over which a mound is raised, ornamented by wooden posts at the corners painted red, with sometimes shells and other decorations attached to them, precisely such a one as that figured in the 'Voyage of the Fly,' vol. I. p. 149. On the occasion of our visiting the grave in question (at Port Lihou, on Muralug) Gi'om told me that we were closely watched by a party of natives, who were greatly pleased that we did not attempt to deface the tomb; had we done so—and the temptation was great to some of us, for several fine nautilus shells were hanging up, and some good dugong skulls were lying upon the top—one or more of the party would probably have been speared²."



FIG. 42. Grave in Muralug (1844) from Jukes, vol. I. p. 149.

I obtained very little information on this island. The corpse was placed on a wooden framework and raised above the ground on a *sara* or sometimes deposited on a platform of branches in a tree. One of the posts of a *sara* might have a face cut on it (as I have seen in Moa, Plate xv.) and the head of the corpse was always placed at this end; at the opposite end a fire was lit, and the *markai* of the corpse used to sit on the rear end of the framework and warm itself over the fire. The body remained in this position until quite dry and non-odorous, then the bones were picked up and put in a basket and kept in the house, or the body or bones might be buried after

¹ I could not get any confirmation of the statement in brackets.

² Macgillivray, II. p. 32.

desiccation. The preservation of the bones of deceased relatives appears to have been characteristic of the Kauralaig; in the Folk-tale Aukum carried about with her the bones of her dead boy (pp. 59, 61): being a Moa woman she belonged to this group.

Painauda, a Muralug native, made for me a sketch of a grave (*ipatu*): the grave consisted of a low circular mound of earth surrounded by a ring of cleared ground on which were strewn large and small shells of various kinds; beyond the cleared space was the untouched long grass of the scrub.

KERIRI.

The following information was obtained by Mr Seligmann. The Hammond Islanders are identical with the Muralug natives. The corpse of the man or woman, unornamented and not wearing the *gub*, is placed on a stretcher made of two long and many cross sticks by the *mariget*. Four forked posts (*kag*) have meanwhile been stuck into the ground in the bush in such a manner that the stretcher with its burden may be supported on them. The women wail round the corpse, and when the four bearers who have been appointed to carry the corpse into the bush pick up the stretcher to do so the former hang on to their arms as if to prevent them from taking away the deceased. The women, who take no part in the funeral procession, are generally consoled by an old man who stays behind to soothe them by passing round a tobacco-pipe. The corpse is carried head foremost; those bearers who support its anterior end being called *kuiku mariget*, those supporting its posterior end, *kuta mariget*. The body may be tied on to the platform or rolled in a mat. After leaving the body the *mariget* catch fish, which are left with the relatives of the deceased, who provide vegetable food in exchange; this modified diet is rigorously adhered to for two days, on the third day the *mariget* go to look at the body, which by this time is probably considerably decomposed. One of the *kuiku mariget* wrenches off the head and lower jaw, which are buried in a termite heap; here they are left for about four days, by which time they are picked clean¹. The same *mariget* then removes the head from the termite heap and washes it in salt water, paints it red, ornaments it and the lower jaw, then artistically strings it into position, and then shows it to the people of the village, who, with the exception of the deceased's nearest relatives, cease mourning. The head is then painted red with *parma* and put into a basket, *markai li*, which is carried about for a short time (? a few hours) by a near relative of the deceased, perhaps by his father. At sundown a feast is made and the head is passed on to the dead man's *wadwam* if he be still alive, who keeps it in his hut for a long time; finally the *kuta mariget* roll the body in *ti* tree bark and hang it up in the scrub. If the chief *mariget* should neglect his duty he incurs grave reproach and his wife may refuse to stop with him without outraging public opinion.

The crevices in the rocks of Hammond Island in which skulls were found by us were said to be the safest place to keep them, and all skulls after being kept in the house for some time were deposited there.

¹ I was informed that the head and lower jaw after removal from the body might be washed with water in an *alup* shell and scraped with an *akul* shell. A. C. H.

PRESENT CUSTOM.

The funeral customs just described have entirely ceased. The Government has insisted on the dead being buried in regular cemeteries (Plate xv.) and the missionaries have replaced the old ceremonies with a Christian funeral.

Early one morning in October, 1888, I attended the funeral ceremony of two old Mabuiag women who died on the previous evening. The corpses were neatly sewn up in mats and were laid upon other mats; by the side of one were a pannikin and a basket containing the remains of her last unfinished meal which were to be buried with her. After a burial service had been read by Hakin, the Lifu teacher who was stationed there by the London Missionary Society, each body was firmly tied on to a long bamboo pole; this was hoisted on the men's shoulders and away they went at a rapid trot to bury the deceased on the other side of the island. Two days previously I was present at a more pathetic funeral; it was that of a baby-boy, whose mother had died a month after her confinement. At the time of the baby's death the father was out dugong fishing. I shall never forget the bowed, sorrowful figure of the father and the contrast between the grief on earth and the gorgeous beauty of a calm tropical sunset.

MOURNING.

Throughout the Western Islands generally the mourning costume for the women consisted in covering the body with *bud*, white coral mud, and wearing the *sogeal*: these were two long fringes of frayed sago-palm leaves dyed red, the band of which was tied round the neck and a fringe falls down in front and behind. Armlets and leglets, *bisuab*, of the same material were also worn in Tutu, if not elsewhere¹. The *sogeal* and *bisuab* were thrown away when the mourning was over.

The period of mourning varied; for a friend it would last for a few days after the head was taken; for a mother, brother or sister or other near relative it might be any period from a month to several. Maino once said, "Sister can't forget her brother, she cry one year." A year appears to have been the correct period for a husband or wife.

¹ Cf. illustration of a perfectly similar costume at Mawata. D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, vol. II. p. 9.

XI. REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE.

BY A. C. HADDON.

GOVERNMENT IN THE PAST.

MOST of the social duties of life were relegated by custom to definite members of the community as will be seen on a perusal of our accounts of Kinship and of the various customs and ceremonies. Little appears to have been left to chance or to private initiative or enterprise. Such being the case the ordinary social machinery would run pretty much by itself.

The time for the performance of certain ceremonies was fixed by the appearance of particular stars, but these ceremonies had to be prepared for and various details had to be arranged, and this necessitated an executive of some sort that would command respect and obedience.

Disputes of various kinds must always have arisen in each community and some form of arbitration was necessary. Co-ordinated action was also necessary when complications arose with the natives of other islands.

Although custom regulated the prohibited degrees for marriage, cases of doubtful affinity must continually have cropped up and a decision had to be arrived at whether a certain relationship was sufficiently distant to fall without the restriction. The amount to be given to a bride's relations might well form the subject of dispute.

There must have been many occasions for argument and misunderstanding in the inter-relations of a community however minutely its affairs may have been ordered by custom.

To meet all these exigencies some form of government is necessary, and in Torres Straits it was supplied by old men after discussion among themselves. It is difficult to say exactly what constituted a claim to the distinction of being an elder. Doubtless age was the main qualification but social importance and individual strength of character were also determining factors. We have met old men who had little influence, and we know of middle-aged or even comparatively young men who have a decided weight among their fellows.

The Torres Straits islanders are great talkers and they dearly love to "yarn," as they express it, about anything or nothing. The numerous ceremonies in former times constantly gave occasion to such discussion and the institution of the *kwod* lent itself

to prolonged intercourse, as we may safely regard each *kwod* as being the real centre of the public life of individual communities.

It is still a very noticeable feature among these people that great deference is shown to the old men. Young men of from twenty to thirty years of age and even middle-aged men when questioned on subjects related to their former life will disclaim any knowledge and will invariably refer the enquirer to the old men, the usual formula being, "Me young fellow, old man he savvy"; probably however ignorance had as much to do with this disclaimer as modesty. We noticed too that the opinion or decision of the old men was generally accepted immediately and without question. As we have already seen (pp. 210, 214), the lads were well grounded in respect for their elders, and there can be no doubt that deference for the authority of age and of the important men was thoroughly ingrained in the native mind.

Thus was constituted the foundation of a simple form of government, which may be described as a limited democracy, or an oligarchy of elders. There can be little question that their decisions were based on tradition and custom, and that justice and equity resulted from the free discussion of the old men.

There formerly were chiefs whose power was limited: their nature will be discussed in the next section.

PRESENT METHOD OF GOVERNMENT.

The islands of Torres Straits are under the jurisdiction of Queensland and are administered by a Resident Magistrate who lives at Thursday Island. The Resident Magistrate makes periodic tours of inspection among the islands and is known personally by all the natives; his rule may be described as a mild, paternal despotism. The natives acknowledge him as the representative of the Crown, for during my two visits I found that 'Queen Victoria' was a very real person to the natives. The system of Government as administered by the Honourable John Douglas, C.M.G., who since 1885 has held office as Government Resident, is as suited to the local conditions as it could be, and indeed is admirable in every way.

Each inhabited island is now under a chief who is directly responsible to Mr Douglas, and in the larger islands four men have been selected by him to act as "policemen," the duties of whom are pretty much the same as those of our policemen at home. When anyone has been found out in wrong-doing he is brought before the mamoose, and tried before an assembly of elder men, who thus, as formerly, play a prominent part in social affairs.

The mamoose is instructed by the magistrate in what he has to do and he is informed which are punishable offences and what is the appropriate penalty for each. So far as I am aware the system works admirably, as the mamoosees had not been previously accustomed to despotic authority, and the effect of the Queensland Government on the one hand and the traditional importance of the committees of the elders on the other restrain any tendency they might exhibit towards autocracy.

The change in the system of government was at the same time facilitated and complicated by missionary influence. A white missionary often visited most of the

islands and on several of the islands a South Sea teacher, generally a native of the Loyalty Islands, was established, but at the present time these have been replaced by Samoans. Very frequently the teacher took more or less complete charge of the internal administration of public affairs and very rapidly the social life of the people was modified. Most of the old customs were prohibited, and usages in themselves harmless, or at most inexpedient, were made into crimes. In one or two cases white missionaries—contrary to the regulations of the London Missionary Society—got themselves appointed as magistrates and thereby exerted an undue influence over the natives, as they could then enforce their will through the arm of the law, and natives were punished for deeds which were not legal offences according to British law. On the whole the mamooes behaved with good sense, and at the present day most of the difficulties that arise in local politics are due to the intriguing and officiousness of the Polynesian teachers. There are a number of South Sea men in the various islands, many of whom have married native wives, and when disputes arise between them and the Torres Straits Islanders the influence of the teacher is generally in favour of South Sea men whatever their nationality.

CHIEFTAINSHIP.

Although the affairs of the community in the various Western Islands were regulated by discussion among the old men, whose decision was accepted, there were also a limited number of chiefs or head men who had a certain amount of position among the people of their several districts.

Previous writers¹ have denied the existence of true chieftainship. Macgillivray says, "These so-called chiefs are generally elderly men, who from prowess in war, force of character, or acknowledged sagacity, are allowed to take the lead in everything relating to the tribe. In Torres Straits such people are generally the owners of large canoes and several wives; and in the northern islands, of groves of coco-nut trees, yam grounds and other wealth. Among the Kowraregas [Kauralaig] there are, according to Gi'om, three principal people, Manu, Piaquai, and Baki, all old men." MacFarlane speaks of them as "leaders in time of war, who have little influence or power in times of peace beyond their own families."

There is no reason to suppose these head men had any marked social or political status, and probably their executive power was weak. It may be that primarily they were the head men of a totem clan, but as the clans had a definite geographical distribution, so the head men would naturally be regarded as chiefs of districts, and a territorial rather than a totemic chieftainship would be recognised. It is possible that the territorial idea is more ancient and therefore more fundamental than the totemic.

When the Queensland Government took over the charge of the Torres Straits Islanders, the lack of a definite central authority was felt to be unsatisfactory for administrative purposes and so the Resident Magistrate, as occasion required, caused the

¹ Macgillivray, II. p. 27. Rev. S. MacFarlane, "Among the Cannibals," 1888, p. 28. A. C. Haddon, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. p. 329.

men of an island to meet together and select one of their number who should be acknowledged by themselves as the chief of the island. If there was no obvious reason to the contrary this choice was accepted by the magistrate and he formally appointed the nominee as chief. At first it was customary to give some concrete sign of authority such as a walking-stick, on the handle of which was inserted a silver coin of the realm, sometimes a crescentic piece of metal was given which could be worn on the chest of the recipient and on which was printed the word "mamoose¹." The "mamoose" was thereafter held responsible for the good conduct of his people.

CHIEFTAINSHIP IN MABUIAG AND BADU. (BY W. H. R. RIVERS.)

The island of Mabuiag was divided into four districts. The people of these districts were known as Panaiboai, Gumuboi, Maidaboi, and Wagedugamaboi. In each of these districts there were two chief men, the dignity of chief man being as a rule transmitted from father to son or to the nearest descendant in the male line.

Panai. Both of the chief men of the Panaiboai as far back as they ever could be given were members of the *Dungal*, *Kodal* clan. Peio was succeeded by his sons Gasera and Ngaragi. Gasera was succeeded by Newar and Ganair in succession. Ganair's natural successor would have been Waria, but the latter was too young at the time of Ganair's death and the place was filled for a time by Nomoa, the younger brother of Ganair.

Ngaragi was succeeded by his sons Pedia and Gib. Then came Wanekai, the son of Pedia, and the present head of this branch is Gaulai.

Gumu. The chief men of this district were both descended from Maku and were members of the *Kuigas* clan (2). Paitu was one chief following Maku and was succeeded by Baia, his second son, probably because Gemini, his eldest son, was too old or was dead. Baia should have been succeeded by Gizu but for some reason which we do not understand the present chief man of this division is Masi, the son of Uigi, the third son of Paitu.

The other chief man of Gumu was Kōnevi (2 A), the eldest son of Maku by his second wife, and Kōnevi was followed by Bainu and Kebesu or Min in direct succession.

Maidi. The two chief men of this district differed from those of Panai and Gumu in belonging to different clans. One line belonged to the *Tabu*, *Surlul*, *Gapu* clan (6), the first recorded chief being Dawiri. He was succeeded by Pars-au. The name of this man does not occur in Table 6. Anaii or Pars-au of Table 12 was a very prominent man in his time and it is possible that it is this man who became chief. Pars-au was succeeded by Waba (6), who was followed by his son Maki, now living.

The other line of chief men of Maidi belonged to the *Kodal* clan, the first recorded being Wanair (3). Wanair was succeeded by his son Kamui, an old man now

¹ The term mamoose (*mamus*) arose from a misconception. The word in the language of the Eastern Islanders means 'red-hair' (*mam mus*) and seems to have been originally a personal name; Jukes (i. p. 173) refers to a Mammoos living on Erub. I believe the name got into official use by Mr Chester, then Police Magistrate of the district, confusing in one instance the personal name of a native for the term of his office, and the error has since been maintained.

alive, but so old that he gave up his place to his son Au. Recently Au has been always away from the island in diving boats and consequently Au has been deposed and his place taken by Mauwi or Tom and Pasar, two members of the *Sam*, *Dangal*, *Tabu* clan (9 A).

Wagedugam. The two lines belong here, as at Maidi, to different clans. One line belongs to the *Kodal*, *Tabu*, *Wad*, *Gapu* clan (4 and 4 A), the order being Bari, Kadi, Aki and Mabua in direct succession. Mabua is still living but is very old, and as his son Bani or Masi is too young, the place of chief man is now held by Bagari or Muka, the representatives of the line of Yamar, the second son of Kadi.

The other line of chief men of Wagedugam ran in the *Surlal* clan (7), the order being Giau, Iga, Bainangtabu and Nauwi in direct succession. Nauwi had no son, and his place has therefore been taken by Aki or Yei, the son of Kobiged, a younger son of Iga. Utui is the representative in the direct line but was probably too young to succeed at the time of Nauwi's death.

Members of the *Sam* clan have also gained some predominance here, though they do not appear to have supplanted others as at Maidi. Iburu was given as one of the chief men of Wagedugam and was succeeded by Getoan and Paipi (see 9 A). Iburu married Momag, the eldest daughter of Iga, of the *Surlal* clan and probably became connected with Wagedugam in this way.

We have referred elsewhere (p. 166) to the growing importance of the *Sam* clan in Mabuiag and we have here two instances in which men of this clan have become the leading men of districts with which they had no original connection.

Of the chief men of these four districts those of Panai appear to have been predominant as far back as the records go. Peio, Newar and Ganair were spoken of as "kings" of Mabuiag by Waria, their descendant. There is no doubt that Nomoa, the younger brother of Ganair, was chief in 1887, probably because Waria was too young and that Nomoa was recognized as chief or mamoose (mamus) by the British Government when the island first came under definite British jurisdiction.

In 1898 Nomoa was still mamoose but he was away from the island most of the week in diving boats and we hear that shortly after our visit he was deposed and Waria, the representative of the chief line, became chief in his place.

The chiefs of Badu belonged to the *Tapimul* clan (13). The earliest recorded is Waiir, who was succeeded by Pitai and Kariam his son and grandson. Kariam was succeeded by Wakei, his brother's son, and the latter by Kabarimai, Kariam's son. He was succeeded by Kamai, his brother's son, and this man is the chief at the present time though there is a living representative in the more direct line, viz. Ailumai. At the time of Kabarimai's death, Ailumai was probably too young to succeed and Kamai became chief in the same way that Nomoa became chief in Mabuiag.

CHIEFTAINSHIP IN TUTU.

Among the Tutulaig there were at least two lines of chiefs. The chiefs of the *Kursi* clan lived at the village of Kabiolag in Tutu. The oldest of this line of whom we have any record is Dudap, who was succeeded by Dudegab and he by Gana, whose wife, Gauma, belonged to the *Ger* clan. Their girl Gaiba and their boy Mabua died young, so they adopted Isoa (the eldest son of Gabai (*Kursi*, *Womer*) and Mugena (*Kodal*)); him they re-named Kebisu, by which name he was always known. They also called him Tatir; both of the names belonged to Dudap, the grandfather of Gana.

The chief family of the *Kodal* clan was that represented by Irua, Ngarai, and Amu, the latter married Daimoni (*Womer*), a native of Waraber, they had Mugena for their eldest daughter, then they had two sons, Guze and Maid, then two girls, Wabisu and Autori, and a boy Amu. Mugena married Gabai (*Kursi*, *Womer*), and their eldest son was Kebisu (Isoa) of whom mention has already been made. Maid had no children and Guze's only son Rebis was a baby at the time Kebisu was grown up, so Guze and Maid agreed to give their *augud* to Kebisu as they wanted him to take care of it for them. The *augud* here referred to is the *Kodal* (*Maiau*) shrine in Yam, cf. Hero-Cult. For some unknown reason Mugena gave her totem to all her children, who thenceforth became *Kodal* instead of *Kursi*, *Womer* like their father. They appear to have taken the *mūgi augud* of their father as well, as they were all *Kodal*, *Womer*, or Mugena herself may have been *Kodal*, *Womer* as her mother was a *Womer* woman from Waraber.

Kebisu by adoption became chief of the *Kursi* clan and by the action of his uncles (mother's side) became the chief man of the *Kodal* clan.

Gana died before Kebisu was old enough to succeed him as chief, which he had a right to do through his being adopted by Gana, so Auani, a member of the *Waru* clan (which belonged to the *Kursi* phratry), was appointed regent. Mugena gave an hereditary drum to Auani and said: "When my boy grows big he must be mamoose (chief)." When Kebisu was grown up Auani gave him the drum and resigned in his favour.

Maino succeeded his father Kebisu as the chief of Yam and Tutu and is acknowledged "mamoose" by the Queensland Government. His *kai augud* is *Kodal* and his *mugi augud* is *Womer*.

Bainam (*Waru*) commonly known as "Jimmy Tutu" is the eldest son of Auani and firmly believes he ought to be chief instead of Maino, and as others think so too there is probably some further complication about which we have no evidence. Our information was obtained from Maino and therefore it may be prejudiced.

SABI (TABOO).

No distinction was drawn in nomenclature between any kind of prohibition or definite injunction, they were alike spoken of as *sabi*. Although the term taboo may be taken to be its nearest equivalent it should be understood that the custom of taboo was in a rudimentary condition as compared with what obtained in Polynesia, owing doubtless to the absence of priestcraft and statecraft in Torres Straits.

The following are the more important aspects of *sabi*:

Taboo of places: pp. 270, 330.

Taboo on names: pp. 281, 283.

Food taboos: pp. 186, 196, (Mawata, 200), 202-204, (Queensland, 205), 210, 212, 216, 269, 270.

Totem taboos: pp. 160, 161, 186, (New Guinea, 189-192).

Taboos at initiation: pp. 210-218.

Special taboos for women: pp. 194, 201-207.

Taboos on conduct: kinship, pp. 142-144; sexual taboos, pp. 161, (Mawata, 200), 202, 270, 271; regulation of marriage, pp. 141, 160, 214, 235-241.

Taboos on occupations: pp. 186, 196.

Definite prohibitions and injunctions: pp. 210-218.

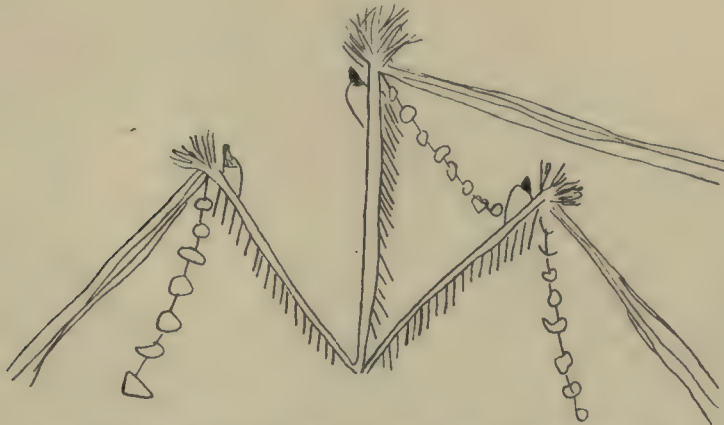


FIG. 43. Drawing of a *saker*, or sign of taboo, by Gizu, Mabuiag.

In all these cases there was merely the customary usage or the orally transmitted law. There was no legal machinery by means of which these could be enforced, but it is probable these regulations were well kept on the whole as they had behind them the weight and sanction of public opinion.

A man usually indicated the putting of *sabi* on his possessions by placing something prominently on the object or land.

In Mabuiag a man who wanted to taboo a sweet potato would take a *Tridacna* shell and cut a sweet potato with it, he then put one valve of the shell by the

plant, saying, "No one may eat this sweet potato"; this valve remained on the ground, but he fastened the other to a string and wore it. A patch of red or black paint would be smeared on the base of a coco-nut palm to taboo it. To put *sabi* on an empty house a plank-like piece of a broken canoe was tied to a pole erected outside the house.

In Muralug a fruit-tree was tabooed by making a cut on the trunk in which red paint was put and a Cyrena shell over this.

A common method of indicating taboo was by erecting a *saker* or *pat* (fig. 43). This consisted of three large coco-nut leaves, or poles to which *tu* (p. 253) was fastened, planted close together in the ground, an upright one in the centre and one on each side of this sloping away from it; to the far end of each stem several coco-nuts were suspended tied one after another to a string. The leaves of yams, taro, and other plants were fastened to the erection as well as pieces of sugar-cane, probably these varied and indicated the purpose of a particular *saker*. In fig. 43 Gizu has represented a *Fusus* shell and long streamers attached to each stem. A somewhat similar taboo sign is seen in fig. 42, p. 260, and analogous erections are made in various parts of British New Guinea¹. A *saker* could be erected for any kind of food; when a man went on a fishing expedition he might put up one in his garden and then no one could touch his garden except to clean it. Leaves of coco-nut palms, or other leaves, were also tied on to objects, such as trees, as a sign of taboo, or stuck in the ground to warn off trespassers. When ceremonies were taking place in a *kwod*, or other spot, intruders would probably be warned off by similar means.

Taboo could not be placed on the catching of fish, turtle or dugong; the only restrictions in these cases were totemic (p. 186) or partial taboos in connection with women (p. 196) and children. Mr Seligmann was informed by a Muralug native that the eggs of the *surka* (scrub-turkey, *Megapodius*) might be eaten only by old men, a 'young fellow' was told that if he ate them he would be killed by thunder, boys may not even take the eggs. Mr Seligmann found the same prohibition at Waima, Mekeo District, British New Guinea, but without the thunder clause.

Macgillivray (II. p. 10) states that in Muralug only women were prohibited from eating certain kinds of food; "many kinds of food fish, including some of the best, are forbidden on the pretence of their causing disease in women, although not injurious to the men. The hawksbill turtle and its eggs are forbidden to women suckling, and no female, until beyond child bearing, is permitted to eat of the Torres Straits pigeon."

The breaking of a taboo brought some calamity on the offender; he was not always directly punished by his fellows nor even by the *maidelaig*; thus in the folk-tale, when Budzi found a large yam he put a taboo on it, and in doing so said, "If any man take him may he have *koingar* (elephantiasis in his legs)" (p. 92).

Infringement of taboo was however sometimes punished by those who were offended. For example any prying into the secrets connected with certain ceremonies, on the part of the women, was liable to the death penalty, cf. pp. 52, 53. In the tale of Kwoiam a woman became insane through accidentally seeing the *augud giribu* (p. 79).

¹ A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, black, white and brown*, fig. 28, p. 271.

SEXUAL TABOOS. (BY C. G. SELIGMANN.)

Apparently akin to menstrual taboos are the prohibitions upon sexual intercourse before fishing, fighting, etc.

At Yam connection was forbidden to warriors before fighting: if this taboo were infringed the guilty party would almost certainly be wounded or killed. The words used by my informant, Maino, were, "Bow and arrow belong other fellow he smell you, he smell what you do night, he shoot you, you no got luck," and they showed clearly that this result was not due to any real or supposed weakening effect of the act, but to acquired infection which, in spite of, or perhaps because of its noxious character, would attract the missile weapons of the opposing party. Again a *wadwan* would keep away from women while attending the initiates in the *kwod*; if he did not observe this rule the food he brought the boys would not nourish them properly. The only explanation I obtained in Yam for the *mowai* abstaining from connection while in the bush in attendance upon a girl during the period of her seclusion (p. 202) was, "She sleep along *kernge*, she shamed."

In other cases chastity is recommended on account of the supposed weakening effect of the act¹. Thus at Yam, where there was no sexual taboo before fishing and diving for pearl shell, it was generally found expedient to abstain, or "man he sleepy." The latter industry has been introduced by the white man, and nowhere among the Western tribe are menstrual or sexual taboos formally connected with such work.

At Mabuiag continence was also imposed during the turtle pairing-season and before dugong-hunting. "You think of your piccaninny, never mind woman," was the advice tendered in the latter case. Dr Haddon also was informed that unmarried men do not have intercourse with unmarried women during the turtle season, "when turtle he fast," that is during the portion of the months of October and November. If they do, it is believed, the man would not catch any turtle, as when the canoe approached the floating turtle, the male would separate from the female and both would dive down in different directions.

Continence was enjoined during the period of the *mawa* ceremonies at Mabuiag (p. 348).

During the initiation ceremonies of Mabuiag the *wadwan* abstained from sexual intercourse. Continence was also enforced on those women who danced during the seclusion of girls in Yam (p. 202), and during lactation.

Among kinship taboos those connected with relatives by marriage held an important place (pp. 142-144), the so-called etiquette to parents-in-law falls under this heading. In all cases the marriage taboos due to totemism (p. 161) or kinship (pp. 141, 214, 235-241) applied equally to fornication or adultery.

¹ In this connection it was interesting to find that among the Motu of Port Moresby the prohibition on intercourse before fishing and wallaby-hunting is explained by legends in which hunted animals turn round and jeer at their out-distanced pursuers, explaining that so long as the latter do not abstain from women they will be unable to catch them.

XII. MORALS.

By A. C. HADDON.

It is fairly evident that the obligations of the social life were at the basis of the morality of the Torres Straits islanders, indeed it would be scarcely incorrect to speak of it as social morality. On the other hand individual morality had scarcely emerged. This sentiment had not been fostered by the recognition of a personal responsibility to an authority outside of the community, for, as will be seen in the section on Religion, an authority of this kind was non-existent for these people.

There is perhaps no subject on which it is more difficult to obtain satisfactory information than on that of morality. The natives realise that the ideas of the stranger on moral questions do not correspond with their own and there is a tendency to hide any facts which they think would be regarded by the stranger as immoral. In a community like that of Torres Straits this is intensified by the fact that the islanders have now been under missionary influence for thirty years, and this influence, together with the contact with other white and coloured men, has undoubtedly brought about altered moral conceptions. The clearest example of this is to be found in their attitude towards the wearing of clothes and the idea of modesty.

Thirty years ago the men were absolutely naked and unashamed, now they have become a people suffering from an exaggerated prudishness. I have often noticed an extreme reluctance of the men to expose their person when I was present, and they took various precautions to that effect when preparing to leave a boat for swimming-diving and on returning to it. On one occasion when we visited Kwoiam's cairn I wished a man to be photographed in the attitude of the dying Kwoiam, there were no women about, but it was with the greatest difficulty we could get a man to strip, and then he behaved in a ridiculously prudish manner, but we were able to get the photograph (Pl. iv. fig. 2). In 1888 when I was once shore-collecting at Mabuiag some small children were paddling in the water near me, and a boy of about ten years of age reprimanded a little girl of five or six years of age because she held up her dress too high. Cf. also *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xix. 1890, p. 337.

Another example of a borrowed moral concept is the feeling of shame which the natives now feel towards the previous prevalent custom of polygamy (pp. 127, 243).

The only fair way of judging the morality of a people is by recording what the code of morals is and seeing how far it is acted upon.

A definite system of morals was inculcated to the lads during the period of initiation (pp. 210—218), and from the following synopsis it will be seen that it was an excellent code. There is no reason to suspect any trace of missionary influence.

The injunctions were: remembrance of the admonitions, reticence, thoughtfulness, respectful behaviour, prompt obedience, generosity, diligence, kindness to parents and other relatives in deed and word, truthfulness, helpfulness, manliness, discretion in dealings with women, quiet temper.

The prohibitions were against: theft, borrowing without leave, shirking duty, talkativeness, swearing¹, talking scandal, marriage or connection with certain individuals.

In the Folk-tales, as indeed in folk-tales all over the world, morality is rarely directly inculcated, it is not that the sentiments expressed in them are immoral, they are simply non-moral, nevertheless punishment does sometimes follow on wrong-doing. The ill-effects of young people not doing as they were told by the men are seen on pp. 16, 22; a fractious girl is punished, pp. 13, 14, and a flighty talkative woman is marooned by her brothers, p. 69; but a spoilt boy, p. 26, is not directly punished, though his hot-tempered mother who acts impulsively is sorry when too late, p. 27. A man who behaves foolishly is likened to a "small boy," pp. 95, 97, 100. Selfishness is punished, pp. 38, 39, and so is poaching, p. 40. On the other hand a bad return for good deeds done, p. 37, is not censured, nor is always laziness and greediness, p. 56; a lazy, fearful, mean and greedy man, pp. 95—97, is meekly suffered by his companions and simply termed childish, but one perfidious greedy man was killed, p. 99, his kinsmen acquiescing, and a greedy man killed himself by over-eating, p. 101. Cases of actual lying will be found on pp. 56, 97, 98, and of stealing on pp. 49, 68, 98. Old men inculcate caution to young men eager to fight, p. 78. A "wild heart" is deprecated, pp. 79, 81, but Kwoiam killed his mother for cursing him, p. 71, and then went and killed a number of people who had not done him any harm, as also did Yadzebub, p. 102. The boy Upi was cruelly and wantonly speared by some men in play, pp. 46, 47. Sida was a regular rake, pp. 28—36, and there is not the least hint that his conduct was irregular, but then it must be remembered that his action resulted in an abundance of vegetable food.

Bravery, ferocity, endurance of pain and hardship, and other warlike qualities, were undoubtedly regarded as great virtues.

As an example of the way in which the elders would admonish an unruly youth, Waria and Gizu gave me the following hypothetical instance. If the eldest son of a family had a bad temper and was always quarrelling with, and saying unkind things about other, people, a number of men would come to remonstrate with him. They would say to him, "You are the eldest brother, but you are like an unsteady pole that wobbles in a tide-way. Your youngest brother is a steady fellow and lives quietly. You had better do the same or the *maidelaig* will have something to say to you, he is watching you. You must take care of yourself. We now warn you, in case you may want to amend your ways. It would be better for you to stop that bad fashion and to follow your youngest brother's example and remain quiet." This was termed

¹ When people were angry they used abusive language (pp. 53, 59, 88) and examples of curses will be found on pp. 71, 81.

"talk for everyone," by which was meant that it was a friendly warning and not a traditional precept that was formally inculcated.

Without there being any specially recognised system of training of children, their bringing up had a certain educational value. The initiation ceremonies for the lads as carried out at Tutu and other islands formed a very good discipline. The self-restraint acquired during the period of complete isolation was advantageous, and being cut off from all the interests of the outer world the lads had an opportunity for quiet meditation which must have tended to mature their minds, especially as they were at that time instructed in a good code of morals. It is not easy to conceive of a more effectual means for a rapid training. The castigation the young men received on some islands was also a lesson in endurance.

DOMESTIC MORALITY.

The men are affectionate to the wives (p. 229) and I do not recall any case of ill-treatment. No information is forthcoming as to the former position of women in Mabuiag and I believe that on the whole the wives had not much to complain of in the past. We have already seen (p. 229) that according to Macgillivray the Muralug women were not particularly well treated, indeed he mentions one of several instances of barbarity that came under his own notice. "A man named Piaquai, when spoken to about his wife whom he had killed a fortnight before in a fit of passion, seemed much amused at the idea of having got rid of her unborn child at the same time" (*l.c.* II. p. 10). I cannot help thinking that in this, as in many other cases, the Kauralaig were less advanced than the other islanders. Doubtless the lack of gardens and the hunting and collecting nomad habits of the men would tend to make them less considerate to their wives. It must, however, be remembered that our information as to the treatment of wives by their husbands is defective, we shall have something more to say on this point when dealing with the Murray Islanders in the next volume.

Parents are very fond of their children (p. 229) and I have never heard of a parent ill-treating a child; examples of parental affection occur in the Folk-tales (pp. 26, 46, 47, 50, 58, 62, 93, 99). This subject is also dealt with on p. 199.

The shame which people felt when they broke such taboos as those regulating the behaviour of certain persons to one another (p. 143; *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. 1890, pp. 420, 430) was a manifestation of domestic morality.

SEXUAL MORALITY.

So far as we could see the act which was held by the natives to be above all others morally reprehensible was incest, *i.e.* marriage or connection within the clan or between those whom they considered as too nearly related to one another. This is an example of a social convention which was probably of fundamental biological importance to the community, though according to our ideas there may have been no relationship at all—or only a distant one—between the two parties; this subject has already been dealt with.

Irregular intercourse with women was invariably spoken of as "stealing," as the girls were regarded as the property of their fathers and the wives as the property of their husbands; it was probably simply a case of theft, in which one party only, the owner, was wronged. There seems reason to believe that there was no term for fornication or adultery apart from theft, *puru*¹; but the absence of a word does not necessarily imply the absence of a corresponding concept, for an example of this condition the reader is referred to the discussion by Dr Rivers on Colour Vision, vol. II. pp. 94, 96, and Mr McDougall's remarks on the discrimination of small differences in weight, vol. II. p. 198.

My impression is that chastity before marriage was formerly practically unknown but decorum was always observed; there is no reason for supposing that unchastity was regarded with any particular disfavour as the question of morality scarcely arose.

I was informed in Mabuiag in 1888 if it was notorious that an unmarried woman went with a man, both were branded with a small mark between the shoulders or elsewhere on the back. In the case of the man the mark was merely painted with charcoal; but the woman's skin was cut. The mark was an inverted feather-pattern. The discrepancy in the branding of the man and the woman being due to the fact that it was the woman's fault—she asked the man. When the man returned to the *kwod*, he was laughed at by the men, and asked when the marriage was to take place, for there appeared to be an understanding in the community that they should make themselves honest folk. Possibly they might not care to marry, and then nothing could be done. If it was the man who was unwilling, the girl's father told the men of the place and they gave him a sound thrashing.

We may regard it as pretty certain that only flagrant cases of intercourse with several partners on the part of a girl were visited with marked displeasure; I do not believe that they ever indulged in unbridled license.

Wyatt Gill (*Life in Southern Isles*, 1876, p. 240) states that in Saibai and Parama, as at Mawata, there were two large houses, one for the boys, the other for the girls; elderly custodians being duly appointed to keep the young people in order.

When a girl was fully grown and desired the carnal pleasures without the restraints of married life, as Nomoa of Mabuiag said to me, "What can the father do? If she wants the man how can he stop her?" I was told in Tutu that before going to sleep a girl would tie a string round her foot and pass it under the thatched wall of the house. In the middle of the night her lover would come and pull the string to awaken the girl, who would then join him. Over and over again was I told, "Woman he steal man," and some added, "how man he help it?"

If an unmarried woman desired a man she accosted him, but the man did not ask the woman, for if she refused him, I was informed, he would feel ashamed and, may be, would brain her with a stone-headed club, and so "he would kill her for nothing."

When a woman who was engaged to a man went wrong with another man, the man who was "gammoned" might go to the woman and while he was scolding her

¹ The same obtains in the Papuan Gulf, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxxiii, 1903, p. 121.

strike her on the head with a club. If he killed the other man too he would be exonerated from blame.

After marriage, as the wife was the property of her husband, the latter was the aggrieved person in a case of rape or adultery and he had to be reckoned with. If the husband was very "wild" the death of both parties alone would satisfy him, in this case if the co-respondent was a married man the aggrieved husband took all his wives; but more mercenary considerations might occur to him in which case he would let the man off with a fine. I believe the women made faithful wives and that there was very little in their conduct to which objection could be taken. The Rev. Dr S. MacFarlane, the pioneer missionary in Torres Straits, has informed me that he believes the natives maintained a fair standard of sexual morality before they had dealings with other nationalities.

I never heard of any unnatural offences in Torres Straits.

COMMERCIAL MORALITY.

The custom of purchasing canoes on an instalment system, as will be mentioned in the section on Canoe Traffic, could never have originated or have been kept up unless there was a strong sense of commercial morality. This morality had clearly a utilitarian foundation, for I particularly inquired whether cheating occurred, and pointed out the difficulty there would be in redress. The continuance of the custom proved that dishonesty was very rare. There was a good chance for cheating to be discovered, as friends of the creditor would be sure to inform. Should partial or entire repudiation of debt take place, the supply of canoes would cease, and then "how we get fish, or turtle, or dugong, we hungry all the time, that no good," and furthermore there would be a fight.

CRIME.

The communal life was predominate over the individual life in the former social state of the Western Islanders and any infringement of the rules of the community seems to have been regarded as an offence against the society rather than immoral conduct, or a definite violation of law, or an act of insubordination against government.

Many of the acts of the people were of a social nature. It was the business of a clan or of a group to do certain actions or perform particular ceremonies for the good either of themselves, or more generally, perhaps, for the public weal. These practices were regulated by tradition and upon the accurate performance of them depended their efficiency, therefore nothing should be done by an individual to impair or render nugatory these social acts, the wrong in this case would clearly be a crime against society.

The majority of the taboos and regulations that have previously been described were formulated, or rather arose, in the interests of the community, though certain laws were evidently designed to strengthen the authority of the old men, who, as we have seen, really constituted what we understand by "Government." Any infringement

of traditional custom would weaken authority and encourage individualism and thereby bring disquiet into the community, this was the real danger that had to be guarded against.

What we regard as crimes against the person generally appear to have had for them a somewhat different significance from what they have amongst us. No doubt many of these would be punished personally by the aggrieved man were he sufficiently powerful; but there were two other courses open to him, the one was to enlist the services of the sorcerer (*maidelaig*), the other was to bring the matter before his friends in the *kwod*, we have many examples of this practice in the Folk-tales in which two champions were generally found to espouse the quarrel or to avenge the wrong (cf. pp. 15, 16, 21, 43, 77, 93).

REVENGE.

The following is an example of the sort of thing that was continually taking place: "In the beginning of 1849 a party of Badulegas who had spent two months on a friendly visit to the natives of Muralug treacherously killed an old Italega woman, married to one of their hosts. Two of her brothers from Banks Island [Moa] were staying with her at the time, and one was killed, but the other managed to escape. The heads were carried off to Badu as trophies. This treacherous violation of the laws of hospitality was in revenge for some petty injury which one of the Badu men received from an Ita black several years before" (Macgillivray, II. p. 7).

From Mr Wilkin's narrative of the Feud between Mabuia and Moa (p. 308) it will be seen that the blood feud was a recognised custom, but a private quarrel or wrong was often taken up and avenged by the community.

HOMICIDE.

There is no reason for believing that homicide was *à priori* reprehensible, it only became so when a man's own clansman, relative or friend was murdered by another man. No one, however, had a right to grumble at a man killing his own wife or children as they were regarded as his property. Foeticide and infanticide were not uncommon. The assistance of a sorcery-man was often sought to encompass the sickness or death of a person against whom a grudge was held; no stigma rested upon either party in this contract.

It was a meritorious deed to kill foreigners either in fair fight or by treachery, and honour and glory were attached to the bringing home of the skulls of the inhabitants of other islands slain in battle. The men of Tutu were said to have been great warriors, and, I was told, often used to make a raid on another island in order that their young men might have trophies and so find favour with the women. Such raids were, as often as not, made upon weak islands, and not necessarily against those people with whom there was any enmity or ill-feeling.

I do not remember to have heard of a case of suicide in real life; in the Folktales we read of the suicide of Kauralaig wives on the death of their husband (p. 17) and of a Kiwai girl on the death of her sweetheart (p. 34).

TREATMENT OF STRANGERS.

All the natives of Mabuiag were most emphatic in their declaration to Mr Wilkin that any stranger or uninvited arrival of whatever colour, condition, or circumstance was killed, as one informant drily remarked to him, "He stop all the time!" Mr Wilkin adds, the strangers' cheeks, eyeballs, tongue, ears and heart were eaten and the contents of the windpipe sucked (under penalty of flogging) chiefly by the small boys; but I suspect his informant was guilty of some exaggeration in this enumeration. Occasionally, a stranger was not, however, put to death, thus a man named Wini who was shipwrecked on Badu lived there for many years. Mr Wilkin surmised from what he heard that Wini was a Malay or more probably a Chinaman, he was adopted by Gabea and Mibu, "all same brother," they gave him a garden and he was then called Ginau. Baia was very good to the man and received from him the name Dolbi, he said, "Baia, you all same my child at home, he Dolbi." Ginau's garden was so large and well cultivated that his death was encompassed by the jealous Dogam, the *maidelaig*. A coco-nut palm planted by Ginau is still known by his name.

This Wini is also referred to by Macgillivray (i. p. 307). Gi'om supposed him to be a foreigner, by his own account he had killed his companions before reaching Badu, for some reason he was not killed on landing and in course of time became the most important person, having gained an ascendancy by procuring the death of his principal enemies and intimidating others, which led to the establishment of his fame as a warrior, and he became in consequence the possessor of several wives, a canoe and some property in land, the cultivation of which he paid great attention to. This was in October, 1849. Macgillivray also records the apparently unprovoked murder in June, 1846, by the Badu people of four white men who had come to barter for tortoise-shell, although the natives appeared at first to be friendly enough.

Macgillivray goes on to say (i. p. 309), "The inhabitants of the neighbouring Banks Island (Moa) are described by Gi'om as evincing the same hostility towards Europeans. Only a few years ago the Italegas, one of the two tribes inhabiting that island, murdered two white men and a boy, who had reached their inhospitable shores in a small boat, probably from a wreck." Probably Gi'om herself owed her life to her fancied resemblance to a long deceased daughter of an important Muralug native named Piaquai (i. p. 303) and she had to become the wife of another man named Boroto. The Rev. Dr W. Wyatt Gill¹ refers to the dragging ashore by the Muralug natives of Gascoigne's vessel and the murder of all save one woman who was detained in Moa till her death, and to the more than ample revenge exacted by the whites. "The islanders," he adds, "are noted for their cruelty to defenceless whites"; but doubtless

¹ *Life in the Southern Isles*, 1876, p. 200.

they had suffered at the hands of other whites who consciously or unwittingly had transgressed native law or custom.

The killing of a stranger who arrives unexpectedly, more especially when he is shipwrecked, has been a common custom everywhere and is probably not to be regarded as an act of simple brutality but as a precaution against danger to the community from the man himself, or from his friends should he return home, or from the vengeance of a baulked fate. The alleged reason for the killing of the returned Mutuk by his kinsmen (Folk-tales, p. 90) was the fact that believing him to be drowned his funeral ceremony had been held, but that would not explain the murder of his crew, doubtless in both cases the murder was regarded as a precautionary measure.

Several other instances of killing shipwrecked persons have been recorded from Torres Straits (cf. T. Wemyss, *Narrative of the Shipwreck of the 'Charles Eaton,'* 1837, p. 45).

XIII. PERSONAL NAMES.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

It is not intended in this article to consider personal names from the linguistic point of view but to describe a certain number of facts of general anthropological interest connected with their use.

Names of European origin are now becoming very popular in Torres Straits but most of those who bear European names have also native names and the latter have usually been given in this volume in preference to the former. In some cases we had considerable difficulty in deciding whether a given name was indigenous or introduced. Some names which had a very European look were almost certainly native; thus I wrote the name of the eldest son of Rab (9) as "Spear" till I found that Sūpir was an old name (see Table 3 A). Similarly, though used as a man's name, Alis excited suspicion till I found that Tabukara (7) had this as one of his names. In any case which seemed at all doubtful the phonetic spelling has been used, but names which were undoubtedly European have been written as in English.

Every native had several names, often as many as five or six. Some had been given to them directly or had been taken at some special occurrence in their lives; others were obtained by exchange, a native usually keeping his old name as well as the new name obtained by exchange. One of the names was known as the *koi nel* or chief name and the others were *mugi nel* or small names.

Waria (1) had seven names. His *koi nel* was Waria and this name was given to him by a Mabuiag man who wished to adopt him. His *mugi nel* were Doi, Widuldā, Kedabab, Magau, Miria and Ned. The first was the name given to him by his father; the second was the name of a friend and was given by his mother's sister; Ned was obtained by exchange, and it was by the last name that he was usually called at the time of our visit. It was not clear why Waria was regarded as the *koi nel*; it was not his original name and we have no information as to why it was regarded as the most important.

The multiplicity of names was one of the chief sources of difficulty in compiling the genealogies, as a man might be given any one of his many names.

An instance of obtaining a new name occurred while we were in Mabuiag. Pasar (9 A) was appointed deacon by Mr Chalmers; he was already Tom and Doreki as well as Pasar but assumed on this occasion the additional name of Joani and was known by this name during the remainder of our visit.

As a general rule the same names are not used for both men and women, but in a few cases a name is in use for both sexes. In two of such cases, I was told it was so for a special reason. In one case, a man, Salmui (5 A), was drowned and his name was given to his child, born after his death, although this child was a girl. In the other case, Magau (15) died and his daughter was also given his name.

The process of naming a child has been described by Mr Seligmann (p. 195).

Several cases of unnamed children occur in the genealogical record and I was told that they had died before a name had been given to them.

A cursory inspection of the genealogies will show that names frequently recurred in different generations, but it seemed to be exceptional for a child to have the same name as his father or mother. On the other hand a child often had the same name as its grandfather or grandmother and other relatives. Children seem to have been named as often after relatives through the mother as after relatives on the father's side, but the investigation of this subject is very much obscured by the common custom of exchanging names.

There is ample evidence to show, however, that there was no taboo on the names of the dead in Mabuiag¹. Indeed, so little was this the case that it seemed to be almost the rule that if a child died, its name was given to the next child of the same sex who was born afterwards; thus, there are three examples of this in Table 1. Zaubi, the daughter of Paipi by his first wife, died and her name was given to the next child of Paipi by his second wife. Hakin, the son of Waria, died and his name was given to an infant born shortly before our visit who also died. A similar instance occurs in the family of Paiwain. These instances all happen to be comparatively recent but the practice certainly occurred some time back as in the case of the children of Sagigi (3). The instances already given in which children were named after their dead fathers show that there was no taboo on the names of the dead, and one of these instances certainly occurred sixty years ago as Salmui's daughter is now at least forty years of age.

It is, of course, possible that a dead man was not spoken of by his personal name, but it is clear that there was nothing to prevent the use of this name for other individuals.

So far as could be ascertained, the only definite taboo on personal names was that on the names of relatives by marriage which has been considered elsewhere (see p. 142). Though the taboo was said to be limited to the names of the *ira*, *imi* and *ngaubat*, there seemed to be in practice a certain amount of hesitation in uttering personal names in general. This hesitation seemed to be especially marked when a man was asked to tell his own name.

When an individual had the same name as a natural object, I was not told that the person who could not utter the name of the individual had also to give another name to the natural object but, according to Macgillivray, this was the case among the Kauralaig (see p. 283).

In Mabuiag a man might speak of his brother-in-law as the husband of his sister, of which instances have been given in the article on "Kinship." This practice has

¹ Among the Kauralaig, in Macgillivray's time, it seems to have been different (see p. 283).

some resemblance to the well-known custom of speaking of a man as father of his son. There was no evidence of the existence of the latter custom in Torres Straits.

Reference has already been made to the custom of exchanging names. A good instance of this very common practice has been given in the article on "Genealogies." In this case not only did one man exchange names with another but their wives and children exchanged names at the same time. A similar example of wholesale exchange is that of Ganair (1) and Wasam (13). Their wives, Neru and Malu, also exchanged names, while Wipa, the daughter of Ganair, exchanged with Petipati, the daughter of Wasam, and Waria with Doi¹. Another example is that of Wairu (3) and Nagu (8), whose wives and children also exchanged names. Other examples in which both husband and wife exchanged names are those of Samaka (2) and Getoan (9); Gainaba (4 A) and Zezeu (13); Kokoa (1) and Mengoi (9); Gagai (5 A) and Dugui (3 A).

I have a few cases in which women appear to have changed names without their husbands having done so; thus, Amarii (10) exchanged with Didi (9 A) and Magena (4) with Taum (5).

A person might exchange names several times in his life; thus, Waria (1), already mentioned as having exchanged names with Doi, exchanged later with Ned of Uea, their wives and eldest sons also exchanging.

When anyone obtained a new name in this way, it did not appear that the old name or names were given up but the old and new names were used more or less indiscriminately; a fact which often made it far from easy to know of whom a native was speaking.

Exchange of names (*natam*) seemed to be especially frequent between natives of Mabuiag and Badu. It will be noticed that several of the instances which have been given are cases of exchange between natives of Mabuiag and people who either belonged to Badu or to clans which were living on Badu. While we were in Mabuiag, a number of Badu men came over to a "Mei" meeting and on this occasion Gizu of Mabuiag exchanged names with Kanai, the chief (Mamus) of Badu. A similar exchange of names between natives of Badu and Mabuiag occurred during Dr Haddon's visit in 1888².

It does not appear that exchange of names carries with it any duties or privileges³. Apparently it does not involve the relationship of *tukoiab* between the people though it was probably at one time closely related to the artificial brotherhood which still exists in the Western Islands. It was quite clear that exchange of names did not involve exchange of totems. So far as I could tell, those who exchanged names might or might not be related to one another. In the only cases in which I could trace relationship, it was by marriage. Thus Kanai's wife was Gizu's *nguibat* and Taum who exchanged names with Magena was the *imi* of the latter.

Many of the personal names have definite meanings. It seemed to me at one time that women more often than men had names taken from natural or other objects,

¹ Doi was one of Waria's names before the exchange.

² *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xix. 1890, p. 405.

³ When Dr Haddon landed at Saibai in October, 1898, he mentioned the fact that previously he had exchanged names with Maino of Tutu (*Kodul Womer*, 16), the latter was present and confirmed the statement, immediately another crocodile man, a native of Saibai, gave Dr Haddon some coconuts and when doing so claimed relationship.

but on going through the list carefully, there does not seem to be any marked difference in this respect. Examples of such names in the case of men are: *gagai*, bow; *wap*, dugong-harpoon; *bari*, grass; *gizu*, point; and *waiyat*, a head-dress. Examples of women's names: *malu*, sea; *dibidibi*, a shell ornament; *bu*, a shell and also a constellation; *maid*, sorcery; *iwai*, spathe of the leaf of the coco-palm. One woman was called *Apu*, mother, and this name has recently been given to an infant, her grandchild (see Table 3). There seemed to be no objection to naming men after totems; thus men were named after *kaigas* or *kaigasi*, *wad* or *wadu*, *ngagalaig*, *karum* and *kurs* or *kursi*. The first two were totems in Mabuiag and the other three were totems in other of the Western Islands. I did not find any definite case in which a woman was named after a totem as I am doubtful about the sex of the child named Dangal in Table 8.

Men were named after Kwoiam and Waiat and one was called Adi. It is, I think, an indication of how little there was of what we should call reverence in the attitude towards Kwoiam and the totems that their names were used as personal names.

The names of women seemed to be commonly taken from places; thus the following names of women are to be found in the genealogies: Badu, Saibai, Damut, islands in Torres Straits; Daudai, the native name of the nearest part of New Guinea; Panai, Dabangai and Aubait, places in Mabuiag; and Widui, a place in Moa. One Gebar woman was named Mabuiag and another Dabangai, a place in Mabuiag, but the latter was a case in which names had been exchanged. The only example of a man's name taken from a place which I can find is Daru.

I have little evidence to show why names with these special meanings were given, but I was told of one instance which illustrates the play of fancy in the native mind. A woman named Ngukiltiti (4) had a boy; *nguki* is the word for "water" and the boy was therefore called Urma, a drop.

Macgillivray¹ makes the following remarks about names among the Kowraregas (Kauralaig) and Gúdangs (of Cape York):

"A man must carefully avoid speaking to or even mentioning the name of his mother-in-law, and his wife acts similarly with regard to her father-in-law. Thus the mother of a person called Núki—which means water—is obliged to call water by another name; in like manner as the names of the dead are never mentioned without great reluctance so, after the death of a man named Us, or quartz, that stone had its name changed into *nattam úre*, or the thing which is a namesake, although the original will gradually return to common use."

About names in Muralug, Macgillivray² says:

"An infant is named immediately after birth, and, on Muralug, these names for the last few years have been chosen by a very old man named Guigwi. Many of these names have a meaning attached to them: thus two people are named respectively Wapada and Passei, signifying particular trees; one woman is called Kúki, or the rainy season, and her son Ras, or the driving cloud. Most people have several names, for instance, old Guigwi was also called Salgai, or the firesticks, and Mrs Thomson was addressed as Kēsāgu, or Taōmai, by her (adopted) relatives, but as Gi(a)om by all others."

¹ *l.c.* p. 10.

² p. 11.

XIV. LAND TENURE AND INHERITANCE AT MABUIAG.

BY THE LATE ANTHONY WILKIN.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

NATIVE land-tenure apparently has not been in any way affected by Queensland Law, but the custom, which has grown up of late years, of living on the earnings of the numerous natives employed in the pearl-shell industry has certainly done much to weaken the force of ancient traditions with regard to property—and especially property in land. The gardens¹ are little cultivated and the people of Mabuiag, living as they do for the most part on flour and tinned provisions of all sorts, pay little heed to old observances. Such being the case, it is not surprising to find a few differences of opinion and even discrepancies in the accounts of the men, young and old, who were our informants. In all such investigations it is well to bear in mind the words of the late Hon. Bingham A. Hely who had many years' experience of the natives of the adjoining mainland of New Guinea. "The above information was secured by as long and patient investigation as possible. But I think it most likely that all the matters mentioned were dealt with when occasion arises as the person interested chooses. I think the information received is a fair account of the usual procedure in each case, but not a binding law"—and again, "As I remarked of Tureture, I do not believe that there are any hard and fast laws with regard to land, or that the present generation have forgotten them." These statements are capable of as literal application to Mabuiag as to Mawata or Tureture, with the possible reservation that, in the case of the island, it is exceedingly likely "that the present generation have forgotten them" to a considerable extent and that their ignorance of them may have warped the utterances of the older men which they interpreted.

The gardens which, though by no means so important as those of Mer (Murray Island), were once second only to the sea as a source of subsistence are now little more than objects of a more or less sentimental regard. On Murray Island each man knew exactly how many gardens he possessed; on Mabuiag three of my informants were at a loss for names, places, and ownerships, and supplied me with lists which were confusedly imperfect only after much deliberation and discussion.

¹ [The remarks by Mr Wilkin on the past and present condition of agriculture in Mabuiag apply on the whole to most of the other Western Islands. The chief exception is the Prince of Wales Group. The Kauralaig do not till the soil nor have gardens of any sort, but every individual owns land over which he has collecting rights. A. C. H.]

In view of the interesting nature of group or clan ownership this vagueness is very unfortunate, especially as group ownership apparently does not occur on the adjacent mainland of New Guinea (Daudai), though Mr Hely suspected its presence among the Tureture peoples (see Comparative Table of Customs, p. 292).

On the whole, as may be seen by a glance at the Table, it may be said that there are no startling differences between the customs of the natives of Mabuiag and their neighbours, though it must be confessed that such differences as do exist are scarcely less wide than those which separate the land-tenures of, for example, Mawata and Kamale.

There is no record of any pre-existing owners of the land and the people of Mabuiag are quite likely to be correct in their statement that they are themselves the aboriginal occupants. "No man he stop first time: we fellow stop all time along Mabuiag."

Sweet potatoes, taro, yams, bananas, sugar-cane and water-melons are now cultivated. Whether any of these owe their introduction to South Sea visitors I must leave others to determine. The natives, at least, believe they have always had them. Even tobacco they claim to have grown prior to the advent of the white men.

There is no attempt to divide the crops—as in Murray Island—among the gardens: to plant yams in one and bananas in another according to the nature of the soil or convenience in working. A photograph of a garden at Mabuiag shows young coco-nut palms and taro growing together in one small patch of ground. Gardens are cleared of undergrowth by members of the family assisted by such friends as care to help. In such cases—as in naming children and building houses—feasts are usually given; but the Mabuiag people scarcely seem to indulge so much in these entertainments as do the Murray Islanders. If a man has too many gardens, his friends and relations help him to clear and plant and a feast is made. He addresses the assembled company, thanks them for their assistance, and often adds a dugong or turtle to the fare.

INHERITANCE¹.

The family is kept constantly informed of what will be left to it and in what proportions. Generally the children divide the deceased father's property between them

¹ "It seems curious to find at Cape York and the Prince of Wales Islands a recognised division and ownership of land, seeing that none of it by cultivation has been rendered fit for the permanent support of man. According to Gi'om, there are laws regulating the ownership of every inch of ground on Muralug and the neighbouring possessions of the Kowraregas [Kauralaig], and I am led to believe such is likewise the case at Cape York. Among these laws are the following. A person has a claim upon the ground where both himself and his parents were born, although situated in different localities. On the death of parents their land is divided among the children, when both sexes share alike, with this exception, that the youngest of the family receives the largest share. Marriage does not affect the permanency of the right of a woman to any landed property which may have come into her possession. Lastly, an old man occasionally so disposes of his property that a favourite child may obtain a larger proportion than he could afterwards claim as his inheritance" (Macgillivray, II. p. 28). Dr Haddon was informed that among the Yaraikanna at the ceremony of knocking out a front tooth a lad receives rights over a "land" that belongs to his mother or to her father or other of her relatives (p. 221); children inherit from their mother and not from their father.

pretty equally, the eldest child seeing that the distribution is carried out in accordance with the father's well-known desire.

Daughters inherit in the same way as sons, and, should a daughter be an only child, she takes everything. Eldest daughters when unmarried occupy the same position with regard to property in land as eldest sons.

"Suppose I die my child all same me, he take my place."

Favourite children may be left a larger portion than others and such bequests are heard by the brothers, wife, and children of the dying man so that they are certain to be respected. Not only does a man thus have a very real testatory power but he generally also selects a spot for his grave and designates the cherished belongings he would like to be buried with him. Though the heirs were the sufferers by this practice there is no reason to suppose that they neglected the dying behests of the testator. An old dugong-harpoon, canoe, or club, if a special favourite of the deceased, would be broken by his brother and the fragments laid in and upon the grave.

If some of the children of a family are constantly at home and others as constantly away fishing or pearl-shelling, those who stay naturally receive a somewhat enhanced share of the property. One of my informants had an only brother who was constantly away from home. This brother was far from receiving a half of his father's land. In short the people of Mabuiag would seem to have been guided in this, as in other matters, not so much by any hard and fast rule or custom as by ordinary considerations of affection and common-sense.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the extent of the property held by an average inhabitant of Mabuiag, for the number of joint ownerships appears to be very great. Old men and young men, the descendants of a single family, all have an interest in some single locality. The absence of bamboo fences between the properties of brothers such as exist at Murray Island makes the confusion worse confounded. Moreover there were "*buai*" or clans that held land in group ownership, who were constituted more or less as a corporate body and had even a recognised head, and the distinction between the land of a family and the land of such a clan is no longer clear.

Gizu (2) claimed no less than twenty-two gardens, twenty of which he inherited directly from his father.

Tom gave a list of fourteen (which touched Gizu's at one point). Four of these he had from his mother, the rest from his father, Iwau (9 A). Some of these, he said, were as far away as Saibai, Boigu, Mawata and Tureture; but he professed to have handed them over to various relatives resident at those places to "keep for him." The explanation he gave of the existence of such a scattered property was this, "Canoe always he go." Probably the "gardens" were nothing but places where his father had been used to dig yams or sweet potatoes when on a voyage.

The inheritance of canoes is somewhat different. A canoe was as important at Mabuiag as a garden at Murray Island and *vice versa*. If there was male issue, the canoe belonged, on the house-father's death, to all the boys. The eldest would naturally be the captain in his capacity of executor. If there were no boys the next brother of the deceased took the canoe outright, or if the family was very young, he kept it until the boys were old enough to manage it themselves. If there were no paternal

uncles alive their male children would still have the canoe; and those of them who were married would probably appropriate it for their own use. Thus a canoe may belong to several brothers or cousins at once, and the same thing happens with regard to land, causing, as we have seen, a great deal of confusion and possibly, at a former time, not a little dispute.

Of one thing my informants were quite certain. Important as was the position of the *wadwam* (or maternal uncle) in the social life of the family, in its economic arrangements he had no part.

It was said that a man could refuse to give his son any land at all if he liked, but not even old Gizu could recall an instance of a disinherited child. Still the remarkable testatory power may have included a right to cut off unworthy sons with the proverbial shilling.

WOMEN IN RELATION TO LAND.

The widow remains in her old house. Her children, taking their father's place, look after her until she dies or marries again.

If there is no issue of a marriage the widow remains in undisturbed possession of all her husband's property. But if she remarries everything that was his returns to his brothers and sisters in equal portions.

On the death of a wife half her land is retained for her children, or, if she has none, the whole is returned to her relations.

Unmarried women are in the same position as their brothers with regard to land; but they receive large marriage portions as well which does something to counterbalance the excessive value of the men's canoes. It is even said that as much as one-half of a man's whole landed property has been given to his daughter on her marriage (see note, p. 290). Under such circumstances very large prices were paid for wives and men endeavour to escape this by exchanging sisters. A brother would take his sister by the hand and lead her to his brother-in-law; generally speaking the girl was easily persuaded to the match, but if there was any show of reluctance on her part her brother would frighten her into compliance.

Badu counted for all practical purposes as part of Mabuiag, but intermarriages with Saibai, Yam, Dauan and Nagir are recorded—mostly of late years. In these cases the parties concerned seem to have practically surrendered their claims to property in Mabuiag unless they continued to live there. Similarly claims to land in other islands fall into abeyance through absence of the claimant.

Wives, though theoretically in full possession of their land, practically devote it to the maintenance of their husbands and children and lose control of it save under very exceptional circumstances. If a wife was divorced her property had to be restored to her.

WARDSHIP.

The ward or custody of children, widows¹, and old people, presents points of interest. Should a father die leaving a young family his brother or brothers assume in all respects his position towards the children. When the widow remarried, it was usually with her deceased husband's brother (cf. p. 245); according to my informant a marriage with another man would have been considered unnatural and almost immoral.

The widow's brother assisted the paternal uncles in the guardianship of the family, but only so long as she was unmarried. In no case could the *wadwam* gain possession of the property of his nephews and nieces.

When an old couple have a married daughter they often ask their son-in-law's consent to come and live with them. If this is given they bring the rest of their (unmarried) children and leave their house and garden to the old man's brother. Such an arrangement was purely voluntary on the part of the son-in-law. This care for the old people was often rewarded by them with the gift of their remaining unmarried daughters as additional wives together with any gardens they might possess.

A single man might sometimes, on his father's death, go to live with his maternal uncle²—the *wadwam*. He might also inherit some of his property or take the *augud* of his *wadwam* in addition to his own.

Kamui's son Au (3) was away all his time so Kamui asked his "nephew"³ Pasar (9A) to live with him. "Pasar, you come look out this side here: me old man. No savvy look out good: my boy outside all time." Young children were really in the ward not of their maternal but of their paternal uncles and mother.

LAND TRANSFERENCE, ETC.

Alienation of land among Papuan peoples is rare. Even loans and leases are uncommon. To appropriate land in war is almost unheard of.

During their long series of raids upon the neighbouring island of Moa the people of Mabuiag seized a certain amount of the hostile territory and retained it until the establishment of a white government in Torres Straits, when they relinquished their conquest without further ado.

Regular sales of land probably did not occur. Land was, however, occasionally paid (as were also dugong-harpoons and canoes) in compensation for injury.

Gardens are lent on the understanding that the firstfruits are paid to the owner. This custom constitutes a sort of payment of rent and we may perhaps say that the ground is leased. They were often lent to a relation or friend when so situated that

¹ Dr Haddon was informed that in Muralug on the death of a father the eldest son (if he is old enough) has most of the landed property if he takes care of his mother; if he does not want to do this, another brother will have the extra property if he volunteers to have the charge of the mother.

² Dagai's sister married Sagul. Their first-born Ausa went to live with Dagai, his *wadwam*, see Tables 2A, 6.

³ Kamui was related to Pasar through his wife Gebai who was *babat* of Dareki, Pasar's mother. Pasar would call Kamui *tati*.

the real owner could not work them himself. Sometimes they would be given up altogether for a similar reason. (Peter's garden at Wakait in Badu is thus turned over to Sagigi, his brother; Tom asserts that he has several gardens in outlying islands which friends and relations attend to for him; see p. 290.)

Every foot of land was owned by somebody. Even the small rocky islands around the coast had definite proprietors; and, as we have seen, Pulu belonged to the family of Yamakuni (10).

Friends never exchanged gardens and only a small part of their produce. Three or four men, as at Murray Island, might inhabit one house and were always liable to ejection by the owner. For such accommodation no rent was paid. If a man had several houses his eldest son would get one of them to live in if he liked; but more often brothers and sisters remained under one roof until marriage. Married children would get first choice of houses. House sites and gardens followed the same rules of tenure and inheritance.

Land was thus taken in war, paid in compensation, leased and lent at Mabuiag. A comparison with what obtained in Murray Island (vol. vi.) will show how much more strict were customs with regard to it in that island. Possibly the reason for this lies in the comparative unimportance of gardens (compared with canoes) as a means of subsistence among a people so much addicted to fighting, fishing and trading as the Gumulaig.

DIVISION OF LAND, ETC.

It has been said that every rock had an owner. Not only were rocks thus excluded from the possibility of becoming common land, but even waterholes were privately owned (though freely used by all) while adjacent reefs might be subject to some clan or *buai*.

Thus Tom owns the well 'Arkat Muki' and shares with Gizu and Mariget the proprietorship of Kwoiam's spring (p. 82). The *Kaigas* clan exercised a sufficiently real authority over Jarvis reef to appropriate to their own use a wreck which occurred there some thirty years ago. In the folk-tale of Sesere it is recorded that he poached on the reef belonging to another village (p. 40).

Landmarks were stones, rocks, trees and so forth, and red paint was freely applied to attract attention to them.

Fences of bamboo or mangrove divided gardens.

Wreckage or drift-wood belonged to the finder unless they were too bulky to carry away. Then the owner of the land was informed and gave a present for the discovery. Old skulls and suchlike objects turned up in gardens or found in the bush belong to the landowner.

Game and birds belong for the most part to whoever can kill them, but there is now nothing wild on the island to shoot.

Fish, turtle, and dugong belong to the canoe which sights them first. The captain of the canoe gives to his mate a large share of the catch, to the crew varying, but

large, portions of the remainder. He retains little for his own use, for how could he otherwise get a crew together? Occasionally the crew behave with like generosity to the captain in recognition of the fact that he is also the owner of the canoe.

The only piece of common land was the village street—the *sugu*. Even here all were at liberty to plant coco-nut trees. This space between the *giam* (or house sites) was swept when necessary by the women from the adjoining houses.

Members of the same *buai* give each other plants for their gardens, the produce being returned to them. Trees and plants at Mabuiag can belong to one owner while the land is another's.

LIVE STOCK.

Gizu said that there were no fowls at Mabuiag before the white men came. He added that pigs, too, are only a recent introduction. Pigs and fowls are now private property.

To this day no Mabuiag family keeps dogs because, as they say, if they tread upon dogs' foot-prints it makes their own feet sore. The absence of the dingo is so strange that we may well believe that Mabuiag also lacked pigs and fowls.

FURTHER NOTES ON LAND TENURE.

Gardens, etc. owned by Gizu:—Gumu, Kulalgam, Dadangur, Daudain rock, Diawai reef, Suzain reef, Iaza waterhole, Gaidintera waterhole, Gagouru, U dai, Sipungur, Kuikurasaran, Kauramuragan, Kwoiamantra, Pewan, Silelangaizinga, Taparau Kaz, Talab, Maida, Kumailnga, Bidundiawai, Aubulgur.

Gardens, etc. owned by Tom:—Sopolai, Wagedugam, Maida, Ukainab, Kalalag, Malal, Gata, Aubait, Biulai, Widul, Guiupunkurubad, Kupad, Wihinwali, Murangab. The last four came to him from his mother.

Children of Tom (9 A):—(1) Jaubi, ♀; (2) Nianga, ♀; (3) Adi, ♂; (4) Utui, ♂; (5) May, ♀.

To (1) he proposed to give as a marriage portion one-half of his land, that is, if she married during his lifetime.

To (2) he would give one-half of the rest and to (5) one-half again of the residue. This would leave the two boys with only an eighth of the original property between them. This, Tom explained, was enough for them as they would earn their living by diving for pearl-shell, or working for white men. Formerly, Gizu said, the marriage portions would not have been so large. This arrangement would of course lapse on Tom's death unless he left precise instructions that it was to be carried out.

Tom's father, Iwau, held land not only at Mabuiag but at Badu (1), Moa (2), Saibai (3), Boigu (4), Mawata (5), Tureture (6). (1) Tom keeps; (2) he handed over to a son of his father's brother to keep for him, (3) is in charge of Sergeant Wap (also a 'cousin'), (4) is cultivated by Yaba a 'brother' of Tom's father who consults the united interests of Tom and his brother Wame (Captain Joe). At Mawata Tom's

trustees are, Gamia¹ 'the chief,' whom he claims to be 'brother' of his father and Kulka and Mepi sons of another uncle. (6) is in the hands of Auda, 'brother' of Iwau, and 'chief' of Tureture. All this is however on the unsupported testimony of Tom himself, and the coincidence of so much scattered property with so many relatives of distinction is calculated to try our belief in his veracity.

OWNERSHIP OF KWOIAM'S HILL AND MAIDA.

Gizu (2), Mariget (2 A), Tom (*Sam, Dungal, Tabu*, 9 A), Wame (9 A) and Peter (4, 6), 'Little Gizu' or Min (2 A) and Masi (2) own the land about Kwoiam's Hill. Masi and Min are the most important of the group-proprietors. If they do wrong the rest of the Committee puts new men in their place. Such an event occurred in the case of Peter who was deposed from the joint headship of the Kaigas *buai* and succeeded by Masi (cf. Chieftainship, Gumu, p. 266).

Tom is one of the heads of the group who own Maida. This position was given him, he says, by a committee of old men.

¹ The above account is a good example of the uncertainty attaching to the use of English for kinship terms. Unfortunately we have no other evidence as to the meaning of these claims to relationship with natives of Saibai and New Guinea. Gamia had probably become a *tukoia* of Tom's father (see p. 131).

The following Comparative Table of Customs concerning Land Tenure and Inheritance was compiled by Mr Wilkin. A. C. H.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CUSTOMS CONCERNING LAND TENURE IN TORRES STRAITS AND BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

+ signifies that such and such a custom exists; - that it does not; -- that both are found; ... implies that data are wanting or imperfect.

[illegible]

XV. TRADE.

By A. C. HADDON.

TRADE necessarily was formerly confined to barter, primarily it consisted of (1) intra-insular trade, (2) trade with New Guinea, (3) trade with Cape York; and secondarily (4) trade with white men. The canoe traffic (5) being of exceptional importance is dealt with separately.

The men have proved themselves to be pretty keen traders but they cannot be said to have been at all remarkable in this respect. The women do not and apparently never did trade.

The following articles of barter have acquired a recognised value, but there were no conventional objects which passed as currency, thus the first step towards money had not been taken. As these are described in detail in vol. IV. they can be dealt with here very briefly. The dugong-harpoon (*wap*), canoe (*gul*), white shell-armlet (*waiwi*) made from the large spotted cone (*Conus millepunctatus*), shell necklace (*uraz*) and necklace of dogs' canine teeth (*umaidang*) were the units of highest value and were approximately of equal exchange value and each was more or less equivalent in value to a wife (p. 230). In 1849 an iron knife or a glass bottle had a similar value and according to Macgillivray (II. p. 9) were the articles most used for bride purchase.

The *dibidib* or round white shell ornament worn on the chest was frequently employed in barter, it was made from the disc-like spire of the *Conus millepunctatus*. Of course the value of all of these articles depended entirely upon their size and quality. Nothing could be discovered in the nature of trade-marks.

There were no standard weights and measures in Torres Straits. Articles were counted by number (see 'Arithmetic,' vol. IV.) or by length as the case might be, the only unit of length so far as I could learn was the fathom, *minamai*.

I. INTRA-INSULAR TRADE.

Certain villages and islands from their geographical position and local conditions would possess greater facilities than others for fishing, agriculture, or the manufacture of particular objects, and therefore would naturally exchange their surplus for a deficiency, or their specialities for the products of other places. The story of Gwoba (p. 98) illustrates this. The differences in the various islands in regard to fertility and the occurrence of certain plants are the subjects of various Folk-tales (pp. 28—40).

If the people of an island had been very successful in turtling or in harpooning dugong, they would take some of their superfluous meat to another island for barter. The turtle would usually be carried alive, and possibly a recently killed dugong might be conveyed entire, for it could hardly stand a voyage as fresh meat. Smoke-dried turtle and dugong meat and fish were used as food on voyages and might be bartered, for though the dugong is generally distributed throughout the Straits it is abundant only in a few spots.

The island of Muralug was the chief manufactory for dugong-harpoons, but I believe they were occasionally made in Moa, Badu and Mabuiag. The Mabuiag people pride themselves on their dugong-harpoons, personally I thought those of Muralug were finer, being beautifully finished and polished with oil, the butt-end also was larger and well-shaped. But the Mabuiag men said that the Muralug implement was too heavy, so that when jumping into the water with it, the spear had a tendency to fall vertically and thus miss the dugong altogether (cf. vol. IV. for dugong fishing); therefore when they purchase a Muralug harpoon they pare off some of the superfluous wood.

The largest specimens of *Conus millepunctatus* are found on the Warrior reefs and the reefs to the east, consequently the finest *waiwi* and *dibidib* were specialties of Tutu and other islands to the east.

The pearl shell (*mai*) being everywhere obtainable, the ornaments made from it would usually be of local manufacture.

Objects made from special vegetable productions would be made only in those islands where the plants grew naturally or were cultivated. I understood that the Muralug people had to import leglets (*makamak*) but they made arm guards (*kadig*) which the Kulkalaig (p. 2) and I believe also the Gumulaig had to import. The men of Muralug, Tutu and of all the coral islands had to get their bows from Moa, Yam, Nagir and other islands where the bamboo grew. Leaf tobacco was also an article of intra-insular trade.

The large dance-masks made of wood and turtle-shell and decorated with feathers, shells and rattles were occasionally traded. I bought one at Nagir that had been made by Tutu men. The large constricted drums (*warup*, fig. 13, p. 63) were said to be all obtained from Saibai, but I think they were not made there. Feathers, shells, ornaments of all descriptions, weapons, and in fact any of their goods and chattels were continually being bartered and exchanged throughout the islands of Torres Straits.

The following information was obtained by Mr Wilkin at Mabuiag. All the stone-headed clubs came from Dauan or occasionally from Saibai and Murray Island. [I do not believe they were made in any of the islands, I think they all came from New Guinea. A. C. H.] A disc or a star stone-headed club cost one *wap* or one *waiwi* [according to him the latter were made only by the Eastern Islanders] and more would be paid for a big club. "Suppose you no got *wap* you hungry all the time; suppose you no got *gabagab* (stone-headed club) by'mby you fight, you lose'um life. That's what for he so dear."

2. TRADE WITH NEW GUINEA.

Imports. All the arrows used in Torres Straits came from Daudai or the mouth of the Fly River, as the reeds from which the shafts of the arrows were cut did not grow in any of the islands. Bows, too, doubtless occasionally accompanied the arrows. There was also a large trade in feathers of the cassowary and in plumes of the bird of paradise (this is the orange-red plumed species, *Paradisea raggiana*). Drums were usually, perhaps invariably, imported from Daudai. The same probably applied to all the stone-headed clubs. Manufactured sago was imported into the Eastern Islands and doubtless it occasionally found its way to the Western Islands also.

Exports. All the products of the sea which were negotiable were sent to Daudai in exchange for the natural or manufactured articles of that country. The main 'trade' articles were *waiwi*, *dibidib*, *uraz*, *kirkup* (nose stick), turtle-shell, dugong harpoons, probably dried dugong and turtle meat, fish and so forth.

The natives of Saibai were largely the 'middle men' between the Western Islands and the Daudai villages; this did not prevent them from doing a little head-hunting on their own account, but they evidently 'collected' from the bushmen of New Guinea, and not from the coast folk with whom they traded.

3. TRADE WITH CAPE YORK.

As a rule only the Muralug people had any dealings with the Cape York natives and that probably with only one or two tribes. Macgillivray found that only the Gudang tribe was friendly with the Kauralaig. The miserable condition of the Australians precluded them from having much to offer to the Torres Straits Islanders in the way of exchange. Probably the only imports were throwing-sticks and javelins. The Muralug men obtained these from the mainland according to Macgillivray (II. p. 18) and this I can confirm. It is likely that these may also have found their way to Mabuiag (p. 81), though it is probable that the more northern islanders would usually make their own weapons. Various travellers refer to the bow and arrow and bamboo tobacco-pipe being found at Cape York, and it has got into ethnological works that the Cape York natives use these implements. Possibly before the advent of the white man an occasional Australian may have had a pipe and smoked it or even have possessed a bow and arrow, but these were never adopted by the people. Since the white man came numerous Torres Straits natives have visited Somerset and probably other spots near Cape York, consequently a traveller may very well have bought bows and arrows and pipes and other typical island objects at Somerset but it is quite as likely they were obtained from Torres Straits Islanders as from Australians.

4. TRADE WITH THE WHITE MAN.

When the old sailing vessels passed through Torres Straits they generally avoided any dealings with the natives as the latter had such a bad reputation for ferocity and treachery. Occasionally the natives bartered vegetable produce, turtle-shell (tortoise-shell) and 'curios' for hoop iron, tomahawks, knives, calico, beads and tobacco.

5. CANOE TRAFFIC.

The large canoes all come from the delta of the Fly River. I was told in 1888 that the logs were cut and hollowed out at Wabad and fitted with a single outrigger. In 1898 we were informed they came from Wabad and Dibi, the former is evidently Wabuda and the latter Dibiri. The late Rev. James Chalmers (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxxiii. 1903, pp. 111, 117) refers to canoes being made at and exported from Dibiri and other villages near the mouth of the Fly River, on its left bank.

From Dibiri the canoes passed through Wabuda to Kiwai and along the Daudai coast to Mawata whence they reached Saibai. Here they were said to have been re-rigged with two outriggers, a gunwale was fitted and the canoe decorated with a figure-head and otherwise ornamented (vol. iv. 'Canoes'); thence the canoes found their way to the other Western Islands.

If a Muralug man wanted a canoe he would communicate with a relative at Moa who would speak to a friend of his at Badu; possibly the Muralug man might himself go to Badu. The Badu man would cross to Mabuiag to make arrangements and a Mabuiag man would some time or other proceed to Saibai, or at all events let a Saibai man know about it. If there was no canoe available at Saibai word would be passed on along the coast that a canoe was to be sent down. The canoe would then retrace the course of the verbal order, and ultimately find its way to Muralug. If a man in any of the intermediate places had a new canoe to spare, he would sell it. Should a canoe have to be made to order, a very long time would elapse before it arrived, as the message itself would be transmitted only when there happened to be a canoe going to the next stage, and the same applied to the delivery of the canoe. Another channel of the canoe trade was from Mawata to Tutu and thence to the central islands or *via* Nagir to Muralug.

Payment was usually made annually until the canoe was a little broken; generally three instalments were paid. When a piece came off the canoe it was forwarded together with the final payment as a proof of the statement as to the condition of the canoe. The annual payment was, say, three *dibidib* or goods of about equal value. Should a man be 'hard up' when the annual payment became due, a certain amount of credit would be given, if the man had honestly paid all he could afford, doubtless his relatives or friends helped him. If the man could afford it he would make a single and final payment. Canoe purchase is mentioned in the Folk-tales on pp. 76, 96.

The intermediaries were paid for their services by 'charging on,' the amount depending upon individual cupidity, or they might be recompensed for their trouble by presents from the purchaser. There would appear to be considerable opportunities for cheating, but this was guarded against by the vigilance of the intermediary traders, who were themselves looked after by the Daudai men. If cheating occurred, the supply of canoes would cease, thus putting a stop to all fishing and commercial operations. In addition there would be war and the canoe confiscated.

The following information was collected by Mr Wilkin: "Each island had its price for a canoe.

"Muralug paid pieces of iron which my informant described as 'needles,' about six

or eight inches long. These they obtained from wrecks. According to the size required, six to twenty-four went to a canoe. It is not quite clear whether these were paid to the Badu people as being the nearest middle men or whether they were sent right through to the Fly. Probably both systems were in vogue, for it is certain that the inhabitants of Western New Guinea have possessed iron for many years.

"Badu paid generally in *uraz*, *wap*, *alup* (baler shells and used as saucepans) and *bu* (trumpet shells) besides other shells. For the best quality of canoes four *wap* were paid and so on down to one. If a canoe leaked the price was halved. Twenty *alup* were also taken for one canoe.

"Mabuiag, the next stage, sent Saibai three *wap* for the best canoes, thus retaining one for themselves if the order was for Badu, "one for Mabuiag, three for Saibai." If there was a scarcity of *wap* (this shows, I think, that the canoes were often paid for separately by each island and that the price was not by any means always sent through) a nail or a piece of iron sufficed instead (nail is called *tota*; a flat piece of iron *kuikultruik*) and various shell ornaments.

"The traders from Saibai having arrived in the new canoes, mats were laid down corresponding in number to the number of canoes wanted. On each were laid a *wap* and at each side of it an *alup*. The shell ornaments were placed on top of these, and above all were put the pieces of iron and the needles. This "price belong one canoe." When the negotiations were concluded the Saibai men were sent back in Mabuiag canoes.

"Saibai in its turn gave one *wap*, two *alup* and fewer shell ornaments to Mawata and Tureture for one canoe. Mawata men gave 'Kupam' (*i.e.* all places in the Fly delta such as Parama and Wabad) *uraz* on a string only a few inches long, explaining, "That's all thing Saibai man he give me." Gizu's comment on this was translated, "He gammon—all man he gammon all same."

"Occasionally canoes were paid for in advance. Two would be paid for and only one would be ready. Canoes were tested by kicking them and judging of their quality by their resonance. "Suppose he sing out good—all right—suppose he no sing out he got worm inside." Only one *wap* was paid at Mabuiag for a worm-eaten canoe. Sometimes a 'husked' coco-nut was thrown with force at the canoe; if it broke, the canoe was considered strong and seaworthy. The point selected to break the coco-nut on was called *wakai* (the throat) and was one of the weakest parts of the vessel.

"The holes (*kupamautira*) for the canes by means of which the canoes were launched were filled with *buat*—the root of the *tapi* tree which is also extensively used in house-building and which, when smoked, lasts a long time.

"A very good illustration of the value rightly set upon the canoe trade is found in the story of 'The Lost Canoe' (p. 316): the Mabuiag warriors killed the women of Dauan and offended the neighbouring people of Saibai, so that, although victorious, they received a very cold welcome on their return home; everyone being afraid that the traffic would be stopped. There is no mention of canoes going to Moa. Probably the perpetual warfare with Badu and Mabuiag extinguished the trade with that island. The trade route was:—Muralug, Badu, Mabuiag, Dauan and Saibai, Mawata and Tureture, Saguane and Kiwai, to Wabad and Dibi. The route from Murray Island passed through Erub (Darnley) and Parama to the Fly delta" (see also vol. VI.).

XVI. WARFARE.

By A. C. HADDON.

I BELIEVE a distinction was drawn between different kinds of fights. The blood feud, or reprisal for injuries, necessitated a fight in which no quarter would be granted, and the stronger party would crush the weaker and probably either capture the women or kill them and the children. A life for a life was the recognised doctrine (pp. 53, 58) but the logic of this custom is not always apparent. Kwoiam killed his mother in a fit of anger and then went on the warpath to 'pay' for her death (p. 71) and it took the slaughter of the innocent inhabitants of two villages to wipe off the debt. Maida killed himself by greediness, yet Yadzebub, his son-in-law, murdered harmless people in three islands because he did not like to see his wife cry (p. 102), "he killed the men to make other people cry first." The idea seems to have been that the grief of a mourner would be lightened by the knowledge that many others were sorrowing for the death of the first person because that had led to the death of their own relatives and friends.

In head-hunting forays the men simply made a raid on a village in order to possess themselves of the skulls of the slain, and thus to gain glory and the approbation of their women¹. Maino distinctly told me that on such occasions they did not take women prisoners or violate them. If a man was caught doing the latter he would be told, "We come out to fight, not to do that," and he would be killed. Wyatt Gill says (*Life in Southern Isles*, 1876, p. 207): "The tribe occupying the portion of New Guinea opposite Tauan (Dauan) and Saibai is continually at war with its neighbours. The chiefs of Saibai and Dauan ornament their dwellings with strings of skulls of New Guinea bushmen. The owners of these ghastly trophies were very averse to our touching these '*malakai*,' i.e. 'ghosts,' as they called them. The warriors of Tutu and Saibai unite with those of Katau and Torotoram ('Tureture) in making raids upon the inland tribes for the sole purpose of obtaining heads. The skulls are carefully prepared and traded with to other tribes, or retained as precious treasures by those who secured them. A young man of eighteen gloried in the possession of half-a-dozen heads recently obtained from the interior."

Lastly there were the more or less ceremonial fights. Macgillivray witnessed and described one between two parties of Cape York natives (i. pp. 313—316), and Jukes

¹ For similar customs in Kiwai, cf. J. Chalmers, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxxiii. p. 123

(1. pp. 255, 256) had a similar experience in Erub. In both cases there was a great deal of noise and much interchange of missiles, but as soon as one person had received a blow with a tomahawk the fighting immediately ceased and friendship was apparently restored. In neither of these two cases was the cause for the skirmish ascertained; probably, as Macgillivray suggests, "It was one of those smaller fights or usual modes of settling a quarrel when more than two people are concerned, and assumed quite the character of a duel upon a large scale." A marriage fight (pp. 223, 225) would have a very similar character, probably with even less serious results.

All the adult males were fighting men, with the exception of the *paudagarka* to whom reference will be made subsequently. There was no enlistment nor conscription, neither was there any permanent organization for war during peace, and it is probable that what little organization existed was extemporised on the outbreak of hostilities.

I do not know that there was any special training for a warrior. The Saibai lads had to undergo a fiery ordeal (p. 215) which was supposed to make them invulnerable to arrows. When old enough to join the fighting men the Tutu lads were beaten with the leaves of the coco-nut palm during a dance and "medicine" was given to cause them not to care for or have pity upon anyone.

Men never went far from home without carrying weapons of some kind or another, and the blowing of a shell-trumpet, or a smoke signal, would at once cause them to congregate, should an attack be imminent. In real war, or when attacked by a foray, and in all engagements or occasions of doubtful intercourse with white men, the women at once hid themselves in the bush; but in scrimmages, such as the marriage fight, or when a small quarrel was to be settled by a fight, the women would stand a short distance behind their men and supply them with arrows or javelins. In Kiwai, according to Chalmers (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXXIII. p. 116) the women always follow to a fight and assist the men.

When a man wanted to be avenged he went to the *kwod* and stated his grievance. Some red ochre (*parma*) was placed in the middle of the *kwod* and in token of taking up his cause a couple of champions painted themselves with the red ochre. This incident occurs in several of the Folk-tales (pp. 15, 21, 43, 93) and Manalbau and Sasalkazi are described as the champions. The other men usually followed their example and put themselves under their leadership and they went off in single file in two columns. This simple military formation appears to have been the usual method of procedure when on the war-path, the head of each column being a noted warrior each of whom carried a magical emblem, termed *augud*, which was supposed to give victory.

A favourite mode of warfare was for the attacking party to travel by night in their canoes and to so time their movements as to arrive at their destination shortly before sunrise. Having stealthily approached the doomed house or village the greater number of the men would remain outside the fence to cut off the fugitives who endeavoured to escape from the body of picked men who entered the house or houses. The two reasons given for choosing this time for the attack were that the enemy were dazed by being awakened suddenly in the dark and they were further incommoded by having to fight before they had time to relieve themselves. To these a third argument might be added, namely, that at that time of the day the vitality of the

body is at its lowest point, a fact that is known practically to doctors and generals; this combined with the other two factors, and the well-known advantage which attack has over defence, would give additional advantage to the aggressors.

Kwoiam (pp. 72, 74) twice attacked a village single-handed. His method of procedure was to steal up to the place soon after midnight, to pile up combustible material before the small entrances to the village fence or stockade; then, setting fire to them he placed himself at the largest entrance and awakened the sleepers with his yells. In a dazed and bewildered condition they naturally attempted to escape through the gateway that was not in flames, where they were impaled by Kwoiam's javelins.

Macgillivray speaking of the Kauralaig says (II. p. 4) occasionally hostilities, frequently caused by the most trivial circumstances, arise between two neighbouring tribes, when incursions are made into each other's territories, and reprisals follow. Although timely notice is usually given prior to an aggression being made by one tribe upon another, yet the most profound secrecy is afterwards practised by the invaders. Their mode of warfare consists chiefly in a sudden and unexpected attack, a short encounter, the flight of one party and the triumphant rejoicings of the other on their return. Treachery is considered meritorious in proportion to its success. No prisoners are made except occasionally, when a woman is carried off. Gi'om informed him that about the end of 1848 an old Muralug man went by himself in a small canoe to the southern point of Muralug, while the men of the tribe were absent turtling at the eastern end of Endeavour Strait. A party of Australian natives guided by his fire surprised and speared him and immediately on their return to the mainland made a great fire by way of exultation. When his friends returned they found the old man had been missing for several days; they were induced by his two sons to search for him, and found the body horribly mutilated, with many spears stuck into it to shew who had been the murderers [this is an Australian custom, but was, I think, never done by the Islanders]. This explained the fire, so another was lit in reply to the challenge¹, and at night all the men and lads of the tribe went in six canoes to the mainland. They came upon a small camp of natives who had not been at all concerned in the murder; they enticed one man out of the thicket where he had concealed himself, he was shot down with an arrow and his head cut off; later three men, one woman and a girl were butchered and beheaded. The Kauralaig returned to their island with much exultation, announcing their approach by great shouting and blowing on conchs. The heads were placed on an oven and partially cooked, when the eyes were scooped out and eaten with portions of flesh cut from the cheek; only those, however, who had been present at the murder were allowed to partake of this; the morsel was supposed to make them more brave. A dance was then commenced, during which the heads were kicked along the ground, and the savage excitement of the dancers almost amounted to frenzy. The skulls were ultimately hung up on two cross sticks near the camp, and allowed to remain there undisturbed.

¹ "When a large fire is made by one tribe it is often intended as a signal of defiance to some neighbouring one—an invitation to fight—and may be continued daily for weeks before hostilities commence; it is answered by a similar one. Many other signals by smoke are in use: for example, the presence of an enemy upon the coast" (Macgillivray, II. p. 7).

The account given by Macgillivray of the return home of the Muralug warriors and of the proceedings on arrival agrees perfectly with what Mr Wilkin was told in Mabuiag (Tales of the War-path, pp. 308—319) and with what I have obtained on several islands.

The Mabuiag method of cutting off the head of a slain foe was thus described to me. After an enemy had been hit on the head with a stone club, a cut was made all round the neck with a bamboo knife, the head was then taken with both hands (this had to be done in silence) and twisted one way with a long-drawn "*Ah!*"; then it was twisted the other way round with a short "*Isu!*" After this the head would come off with "*kluk,*" at which the warrior would say, "*Ah ———, kawai, kawai, Ah ———, kawai, kawai,*" and he would repeat these words all the time he was threading the head on the *singi* or ratan head carrier (cf. p. 72).

In Mabuiag, according to Mr Wilkin, after a successful foray in Moa the canoes first went to Pulu where they had a *kawaladi* or war dance. Then with great rejoicing and blowing of conchs they proceeded to Gumu where another *kawaladi* was held, this time in the presence of the women, some of whom joined in the dance. If this foray was a reprisal and some mourners were present who had lost relatives in the previous engagement, those who brought back heads pointed them out to the mourners and told them not to weep any more as their dead had been paid for or avenged, in some cases the head was actually given by the warrior to a mourner-friend. The men returned to Pulu and made an earth oven in which the heads were partially cooked and the lads who had been at this their first fight when an enemy had been killed were given the cheeks and eyes to eat "to learn him" and to make him brave and fearless. The heads were then prepared for preserving at Augudalkula in Pulu or in the skull house in Gumu (pp. 305, 306).

Sometimes when a Mabuiag man killed another in a fight and had cut off his head he would hold up the head and let the dripping blood fall into his mouth and would also give some to the young man who accompanied him but who had not yet killed his man, saying, "You do not know how to fight. You drink it and it will give you a strong heart."

Tutu men also drank the sweat of renowned warriors, and ate the scrapings from their finger-nails which had become saturated with human blood; this was mixed with their food in order "to make strong and like stone; no afraid." [This does not appear to have been a Mabuiag custom.] A Tutu warrior would tear out the tongue of a man he had just killed and eat it on the spot. The penis was usually also cut off by Tutu men; before a fight they would blow through a dried penis in the direction towards which they were going.

Kuduma informed me that in Nagir in order to infuse courage into boys, a warrior took the eye and tongue of a man he had killed and after mincing them and mixing them with his urine¹, administered the compound in the following manner. He told the boy to shut his eyes and not look, adding, "I give you proper *kaikai*." The warrior then stood up behind the sitting youth, and putting the head of the latter

¹ Cf. *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxxii. 1902, p. 424.

between his (the man's) legs, would feed him. After this dose, "heart belong boy no fright."

A survivor of the shipwreck of the 'Charles Eaton' stated¹ that "the savages on Boydany Island ate the eyes and cheeks of the shipwrecked people. This they were induced to do from a peculiar notion which they entertain, that such conduct will increase their desire after the blood of white men." The shipwrecked crew were brained in August, 1834, by a party of Aurid men who were fishing at Boydany (this island is not named on the latest Admiralty chart); whether the motive here given is correct I cannot say.

According to Chalmers (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXXIII. p. 123) the muscle behind the ear is given in sago to lads in Kiwai Island to eat that they may be strong.

There was no chivalrousness in warfare, but there were a few people who might not fight with one another, such as the members of the same totem clan (pp. 161, 162; New Guinea, pp. 188, 189). Not only would relations of particular degrees never fight one another, but there were certain relatives who could stop a fight either between two men or even between bodies of men (p. 144). Finally no one attacked the *paudagarka*.

Paudagarka was the name given to a peaceful man who would not fight even when the rest of the men were engaged in fighting. The enemy noticed the fact and when they returned home they mentioned it and in future they would not attack him nor his family. If the Moa men took a Mabuiag *paudagarka* prisoner they painted him red and inserted *urakar* leaves in his armlets and put a festoon of these leaves round his neck and sent him home.

Mr Wilkin made the following note: "The term *paudagarka* means 'man of peace.' It was applied to certain individuals (who were generally sorcerers or *maidelaig*) who were exempt from war and the consequences of war. No *paudagarka* could be killed nor could he himself take any part in fighting. At Moa there were two of them. Arusam is the son of that Maiti who enters largely into the story of ancient fights between Mabuiag and Moa. The father of Maiti, Apus, was also 'a man of peace'; indeed the title was hereditary in certain families. *Paudagarka* existed in all the islands about Mabuiag but so far as I could ascertain there is no story told of their origin. Only males could be thus exempted from bloodshed."

WAR DANCES.

A representation of a war dance (*kawaladi*, or Kwoiam's dance, or, as it is sometimes called, *Pibi kap*) was given to us by some thirty men in Mabuiag. They had variously painted themselves with black and with red and yellow ochre, they wore chaplets of young coco-nut leaves or white feathers in their hair, crossed shoulder-belts and petticoats of the same pale-yellow leaves, bands round their legs and ankles and streamers in their armlets to match. Each held a bow and arrows in his left hand and most of them carried in his right hand a coco-nut in the husk, or a pawpaw

¹ T. Wemyss, *Narrative of the Shipwreck of the 'Charles Eaton,' 1837*, p. 45.

fruit, to represent a decapitated human head. Feathers and leaves projected upwards from the back of their belts. The men usually danced in a circle, always moving clockwise.

In the first figure a single file of men ran with a stealthy trot in a crouching manner, the body being held at an angle of 45°; for the first half of the course the bows and arrows were held horizontally and subsequently vertically, at intervals the men stood still and vibrated the vertical bows which they held by one end and all the time they sang

a.....i.....a.....i.....a padi, padi, padi.

In the second figure the men advanced in four broad lines in a zigzag manner and stopped suddenly with a stamp and a shout, this was done repeatedly while they sang and waved the imitation heads in their right hands,

a.....i.....a.....i.....a kawa, kawa, kawa ("here!").

Next they advanced in single file in a circular procession starting with a prancing manner and continued with a skipping movement holding the body somewhat bent, then resting for a moment on one leg they beat the air two or three times with the other leg, then stooped resting on both feet and dumped the pretended heads on the ground and rubbed their faces in the sand, singing,

a.....i.....a.....i.....a isu, isu, isu.

[When a man had a real head instead of *isu* he called out (*Nnognin*) *kuik!* (Ngoni's head) or whosever head it might happen to be.] During this figure an old woman became so excited that she joined in too and swung a garment she had in her hand; doubtless when a girl she had similarly joined in a real *kawaladi* and trailed an enemy's head in the dust; shortly afterwards another woman joined the dancers and she waved a stick. [In former days the heads of slain enemies were given by the warriors to their sisters or other female relatives to hold in their hands while they danced along with the men. A *kawaladi* was the only occasion on which men and women danced together in Torres Straits. Gizu stated that the women danced within the ring of warriors; in one dance, at any rate, he described them as clinging to the arms of the men somewhat after the fashion in vogue among the Motu in the Central District of British New Guinea.]

In the next figure the men emerged four deep with a chassé step, halted and rubbed the heads on the ground so as to fill the eyes, nose, mouth and ears with sand, and sang,

Ui a dara a mesere nau nau a. [D. C. ad lib.]

The dancing movements were becoming increasingly vigorous as the excitement grew in intensity and every now and again the cry of victory was raised; later they sang

*O dubu dubua, o mamu nai igia,
a sire dubua, o o a mamu nai igia. [D. C. ad lib.¹]*

¹ All the words were taken down by Mr Wilkin. Mr Ray is unable to translate them fully; in this one *mamu*=carefully, *nai* is probably *ngai*=I, and *igia* is *igi*=alive.

One figure consisted of dancing with a prancing movement. The men stopped at intervals and then they stooped down and 'grounded arms,' the bow being held in the left hand and an arrow in the right; some almost squatted for a moment whilst doing this. There was no gesture of shooting an arrow.

In one figure the men advanced in two close columns and then retreated in single file on each side of the compact mass, facing the spectators all the time.

Finally the men danced rapidly on the tips of their toes as if they were boring a hole in the ground.

Ten years previously I witnessed a similar scene in Muralug. Near a fire sat the primitive orchestra, the drums were beaten in a rhythmical monotone, and a wailing chant accompanied them. Gradually from the far distance swarthy forms came, as it were, into focus, and marched along in twos or threes; then, in sinuous course, they performed their evolutions, varying the celerity of their movements to the time of the weird singing. A mass of dried herbage thrown on a fire lighted up the scene and revealed a glowing picture of savagery.

The blackness of the dancers' nether parts was intensified artificially. The upper portion of their body was smeared with red ochre; the frontlets, crossed shoulder-belts, and anklets of pale yellow leaves gleamed brightly. The round shell ornaments stood out with opaque whiteness against the ruddled chests, while the pearly crescentic breastplates shone with a softer lustre. The loin-cloths and bits of red calico on the armlets or in the hair gave further colour as did the large white triangular pubic shell (*lōda*); bunches of leaves inserted in the armlets, at the shoulders, appeared as verdant epaulettes; other bunches were inserted in a belt behind, the green showing up in vivid hue by the camp fires. The bizarre effect was enhanced by black cassowary plumes projecting from the gauntlet on the left arm, or stuck tailwise into the belt at the back. The yellow frontlet or chaplet was either a simple band¹, or looped, or was prolonged into two streamers; again, white feathers were occasionally inserted into the black, frizzly hair, or a fine effect was produced by a coronet of cassowary feathers.

This dance illustrated the 'war-path,' the band of pretended warriors sometimes marching, more often skipping or stealthily stealing along, suddenly coming upon the foe with a "*Wahu!*" Then they skipped two or three times, usually raising the right leg, brandishing their weapons at the same time. Again and again the dread "*Wahu!*" resounded. This really effective manœuvre showed to yet greater advantage when, instead of being in rank, the men deployed in a semicircle facing the flaring fires, then, with their glittering eyes and gleaming teeth, and the waving of bows, arrows, and stone clubs, one realised how terrible to the lonely and surprised enemy must have been the "*Wahu!*" of such a foe. The series of war-dances concluded with an evolution in lively measure, evidently indicative of military success, as, with exultant cries, the performers swayed their right hands. The significance of this last movement is obvious, although no coco-nuts represented the heads that should have been there.

¹ *Internat. Arch. für Ethnogr.* vi. 1893, p. 139, pl. xi. figs. 2, 3. *Ethnogr. Album, Pacific Is.*, i. pl. 336, no. 10. The chaplets or feather coronets, crossed shoulder-belts, the leglets, anklets, the *lōda*, paint, etc. constituted the usual war costume (p. 71).

PREPARATION OF HEADS FOR AUGUDALKULA. (By A. WILKIN.)

On the conclusion of the festivities which followed a victory (or massacre) the heads of the slain were taken by their owners to Pulu to be cleaned. A great earth-oven was dug and, after the scalps had been cut from ear to ear and from back to front, the heads were subjected to a short period of cooking which rendered them easy to skin and at the same time, so far as they were eaten, more palatable—for the boys were compelled to partake of the cheeks, eyebrows and eyeballs on pain of castigation. The object of this mild form of cannibalism was to develop those manly qualities whose crowning glory was the acquisition by the young warrior of a head of his own taking.

The brains after being broken up with a piece of stick were shaken out through the foramen magnum. The best skulls were now rendered as life-like as possible by the addition of beeswax cheeks and noses and artificial eyes of nautilus nacre but the indifferent specimens were simply painted red. The former trophies were deposited in the *pukar* baskets¹; the latter in the corners, *paipa-* and *dabun-kurubad*², of the cave, and the expression 'I kill you for *dabun kurubad*' conveyed considerable contempt for the features of an opponent. The lower jaws were decorated with red paint and cassowary plumes and were retained by the head-taker as proofs of his valour. Upon the



FIG. 44. Decoration said by Gizu to have been painted on a skull taken by him at Adam (cf. p. 315). Gizu (2) belonged to the *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, *Umai* clan. The *kaigas* was outlined in red, the space around was painted black and the rest of the skull was reddened. Drawn by Gizu. Reduced by one-half.

forehead of each skull before its final deposition in the cave was inscribed in a black oval the *augud* of the owner (fig. 44), and by these marks they were arranged, so that each clan had only to glance into Augudalkula to know whether its reputation for prowess was well sustained or otherwise. [The large collection of crania in the British Museum (Natural History Museum) from Mabuiag, cf. Vol. I., was obtained mainly, if not entirely, by the Rev. S. MacFarlane from this cave, but some of the crania may have come from a skull-house in Mabuiag, but there was no essential difference between these trophies. These crania, however, are not decorated with any recognisable *augud* symbols. Mr Wilkin's informant probably exaggerated somewhat.]

¹ For a description of these baskets and of the cave of the *augud* cf. *Cult of Kwoiam*, and cf. p. 309.

² Mr Ray suggests *paipa korbud* (or *kurubad*), windward corner, and *paipun korbud*, leeward corner.

KWIKWI-IUT AND KWOD. (By A. WILKIN.)

The name *Kwikwi-iut* signifies Head-house in both senses of the word. Two such houses once stood at Mabuiag, one of which existed at a comparatively recent date and was destroyed by Dr MacFarlane.

The older of the two was at Gumu and belonged to the *Kaigas* clan—whose district was Sipungur. Its site (*giam*) was the property of Dagai (*Kaigas, Surlal, Umai, 2 A*). This building fell into disrepair and a new house was built at Bau¹, where its site is still shown. It belonged to Pedia (1 A) and Gib, two brothers and well-known members of the *Dangal, Kodai* clan. The description of *kwikwi-iut* by Gizu was supplemented by a drawing (fig. 45), which makes it appear that the house was very similar to the



FIG. 45. *Kwikwi-iut*, drawn by Gizu.

long houses of Mawata and the Fly delta. It was built on piles, had a door at either end, and was festooned with reddened skulls. Coco-nut palm leaves were placed upon the roof, gable ends and eaves, and its posts were painted with *parma*. No woman or small boy was allowed to enter.

Near the *kwikwi-iut* at Bau was a *kwod* which consisted of four walls with one wide entrance and a light flat roof made of coco-nut palm leaves. Its height was not more than six feet (fig. 46). Several authorities declared that the *kwod* served as a place of meeting when the *kwikwi-iut* was too hot or overcrowded, and that the men and boys of a certain age slept in either indifferently. The conversation, it is said, turned mostly on fighting and heads, and each clan strove to outdo the other in tales of prowess.

Gizu, though pressed on several occasions as to the accuracy of his statement, maintained that both *kwod* and *kwikwi-iut* contained four fireplaces of the clans *Kodai, Sam, Tabu* and *Umai*, two on each side, and he was supported by the younger men. All that can be said is that, if his account be true, the *kwod* at Bau differed materially in its arrangements from that at Pulu (this belonged to the heirs of Yamakuni, *Dangal, 10*).

It was the function of the boys to carry food and water to the inmates of these buildings and to prepare their tobacco-pipes. When a boy left the fire at which his

¹ This phrase suggests that the Bau house replaced that at Gumu, but in his account of the feuds between Mabuiag and Moa (p. 314) Mr Wilkin refers to a *kwikwi-iut* at Gumu and another at Bau.

elders were seated he was instructed by his father as follows: "When you go away you go along four-leg. By and by you been go little way, then you bend back. You no stiff yourself, my boy, or *maidelaig* (sorcerer) he make you no good. When you no see them big men (elders) no more, then you stiff yourself."



FIG. 46. *Kwod* at Bau, Mabuiag, about 25 ft. (7.5 m.) by 15 ft. (6.5 m.), sketched by A. C. H. in October, 1888.

[There is some uncertainty about Mr Wilkin's notes that cannot now be cleared up. The Gumu skull-house certainly belonged to the *Kaigas* clan and probably to the *Mugi augudau kazi* (p. 172). As the Bau house contained fireplaces belonging to the four clans that together comprised the *Kai augudau kazi* it must be regarded as having belonged to that phratry. Probably each phratry originally had its skull-house, in addition to its corner in the Augudalkula cave in Pulu, that of the little totem was formerly at Gumu, which was within the district of the island owned by the clans of that phratry. The skull-house of the great totem was latterly at Bau, wherever it may have been originally; it is not clear whether this also ultimately served for the *Mugi augudau kazi*. A. C. H.]

XVII. TALES OF THE WAR-PATH¹.

By A. WILKIN.

THE FEUD BETWEEN MABUIAG AND MOA.

A PARTY of Mabuiag men took a canoe named Waumeran to go fishing for turtle in the North-west season. The captain of this boat was called Gib. After they had been out a week their food was exhausted. 'We been look turtle and dugong one week. Food belong us all he finish now.' Owing to stress of weather they failed to make Mabuiag and had to land on Moa at Murarad. Gib, Pedia (his father [?brother, see 1 A] a *maidelaig*), Bagari or Iburu (9 A), Waiaba (4), Yati (6), Gibara, Kole, Guni-Maira and Parsau (12?) went to plunder a garden for food; no one remaining by the boat. They went and returned well loaded but were observed by a woman who reported to the men of Moa. Again they came, but this time the bush was alive with warriors, one of whom Muiam rose up and called to Waiaba '*Ni laka au? laka au?*' (i.e. What are you come again for?)². The Mabuiag men were taken completely by surprise. They sprang up but received a shower of spears. The old sorcerer Pedia was wounded with four or five, yet, because of his magic, he died not but escaped to the canoe. Bagari (Iburu), Waiaba and Yati perished on the field. Gib covered the retreat with his bow and arrows keeping the enemy at bay until nearly all were exhausted. But one who had another bow and arrows had made good his retreat to the boat and Gib reproached him in his distress. But the Moa men had had enough—fortunately—and departed, for the canoe was almost fast and they could scarce launch her into deep water. Parsau was missing, and though they waited he came not, so that all thought him dead. Thus they set the mat sails and by and by arrived at Mabuiag. Meanwhile Parsau hid in the bush and presently made good his retreat through the scrub and swam across to

¹ I have printed these narratives precisely as they occur in the ms. handed to me by Mr Wilkin. Unfortunately he did not live to see them in type and in consequence they have not received his final revision. I have added a few footnotes. The numbers in brackets after the names of most of the men refer to the tables of genealogies. These references are probably correct, for examination of the genealogies shows that the individuals who were associated together would probably have been alive at the same time; in several cases they are own brothers or near relations. Most of the names of places will be found in the map in the Introduction.

These narratives give a vivid picture of native warfare, and we may regard them as being as accurate as most historical records which are narrated by the conquering side. These are accounts of historical events, but it is not difficult to imagine how these could easily be transformed into hero-tales and so become folk-tales. A. C. H.

² Lit. 'You again eh? again eh?'

Badu. The pursuers were hot after him but could not swim like Parsau. Thus he told his tale to the men of Badu and abode with them one night, receiving great kindness at their hands, for they put him safe ashore among his kinsmen of Mabuiag, being then, as they still are, the allies and relations of that island. The canoe had already arrived, so the Badu and Mabuiag men met and yarned together for they were sorry. Still they said, 'Let us wait yet a month and the men of Moa will forget, so shall we fall upon them unawares.' So while they waited they made a new head-house and cleared the old one, carrying the skulls to Pulu and storing them in the great cave¹, the well-favoured in the two *pukar* baskets of *buz* on either side of each of the mighty *augud*, the club and the dance *gud*; and the ill-favoured, clan by clan in heaps along the walls, and five men watched over them night and day.

In the meantime the men of Moa had these events driven from their minds by others of even greater import, and indeed the warriors of Mabuiag too had forgotten were it not for those happenings. There lived at Moa at Damu Pad a sorcerer Apus whose fame reached from one side the straits to the other. This *maidelaig* had a son Maiti and a daughter named Kodau who was married to Muiam. Now though Kodau was a daughter to a sorcerer she was subject to all the frailty of human nature, and Muiam had reason to suspect her fidelity. One day, therefore, when she went into the bush to dig yams and taro and sweet potatoes he followed her and hid close to the garden—and this he did to prove her. Taking a stone he threw it softly in her direction and Kodau seeing it started and cried out, 'Ha, what is this—surely a spirit's handiwork?' Again he threw a stone that lodged near her foot. This time she looked up and said, 'Is that you Gaizu?'—for Gaizu was the younger brother of Muiam and she loved him. Then Muiam gat him home in wrath and sat apart in the house making ready his great spear with the two prongs that he had from the mainland blacks—*dagulal* is the name of it in Moa—nor did he speak to Kodau when she came in and saluted him, for he thought always that she had betrayed him. Thus it was that as she stooped over the fire making ready the meal of her lord the evil that was in him called out to kill her thus, for surely he would lose his aim were his wife's face upon him. And Kodau died smitten through the back, and all men cried aloud in the village, 'Muiam has slain the daughter of Apus!' 'The child of the sorcerer is dead.' So the tidings came to Apus as he brooded alone in his hut among the charms and he became as a wild man that knows not good from evil, even as oft he had been before what time he abode many days among the corpses of men glutting himself thereon and drinking what is forbidden—the exudations of them that are passed over². A terrible vengeance he must take on Muiam for he had provoked the man who knew all things. Many days the old man sat by his fire brooding—his glistening eyes buried in his breast like those of some fell serpent, and the spirit of cunning entered into him and he bethought him how he might be avenged upon the man that slew and upon the man that mocked—for, surely, though no man is friend to a *maidelaig* in trouble, he should be in fear of him all his days, ordering his doings discreetly and not after the manner of fools. Apus took wood and wrought many images of men, giving to each a name, and to the

¹ Cf. pp. 5, 305, and Cult of Kwoiam.

² Cf. p. 322.

first the name of Muiam. For days he toiled, scraping with a piece of wreck-iron and shaping the *wauri*; then he tied them all upon a long string and went into the depths of the bush where those plants grow that belong to sorcerers.

He made medicine of these plants and each figure was rubbed therewith from head to heel. Next Apus dug a hole to make an oven and heated stones with fire, then he wrapped the *wauri* in leaves and put the stones upon them and above all mats to keep in the heat and steam. Three times he put them in the oven and three times the images were cooked. This done, he tied them all to the tops of trees so that they swung in the wind this way and that—and the manner of their swinging was as the manner of men surrounded by foes when they look to run but cannot for the press of spears.

Thus Apus made the men of Moa weak and foolish and an easy prey to the warriors of Mabuiag. Then the old man bethought him how to bring that vengeance quickly before the charm had lost its virtue, and as he thought, he stroked his throat with his right hand (*wakai luwai*)¹.

And as Apus performed his magic the men of Mabuiag took counsel together, and some were for forgetting and some for fighting, but the latter prevailed, whether because they still cared for their dead and would see them avenged, or because the spell of Apus was upon them, I know not.

When the four clans² of Mabuiag were agreed to fight they went to the islet of Pulu where lie the skulls of those they have slain and also the two war *augud* of Kwoiam. These two they washed with all reverence and painted with the red stone of Saibai and decked about with flowers and cassowary plumes such as the people of Mawata send them in their canoes from New Guinea. But women go not near to this place nor to the cave of skulls, and the two relics of Kwoiam, the *augud*, and the plumes of cassowary that were his.

When due preparation had been made and all had put on their shell ornaments, some round the neck, some about the loins, and were painted red and plumed with tufts of feathers they set forth to Moa in their canoes. But as they came openly the people of Moa saw them when they were still far off and fled to the mountains, where they dwelt under great leaves no better than the black-men with three heads³—leaving their houses and gardens a prey to the invader. Then Mabuiag took vengeance and burnt all their houses and destroyed their gardens, but all Moa was afraid to fight because Apus had taken away their valour. Only one man stood forth upon the hill and brandished his spear, but the Mabuiag men laughed and cried out to him to wait yet two days and they would deal with them as they dealt with their houses. This was at Iit.

Then they in their canoes returned to Mabuiag for they were foolish and did not make an end of the Moans at that time. Again they sat down and took counsel together, and there were added to them a few men of Badu who were at Pulu in the camp. Two days' respite they gave to the Moans and then again they set out in their

¹ Mr Ray suggests *wakai luwai*, throat stretch out, probably Apus stretched his throat with his hand and imitated the cutting off of a head.

² Probably, instead of 'clans' Mr Wilkin should have employed the word *boai* (p. 266).

³ Cf. p. 81 and Vol. I.

canoes and came to land at Dabu. One canoe they anchored and the others were made fast to it by ropes. The two boys whom they left in each assembled together in that canoe and watched so that if the Moans came upon them unawares while the fighting men were in the bush they might cut the cable and save all the canoes from harm at their hands.

The Mabuia warriors made themselves ready for war, painting their bodies with red *parma* and girding themselves about the chest with cross belts of palm leaves and they put also anklets upon their ankles and palm leaves below their knees. Every man swung his *lòda* upon his hip so that he might run freely, and set a circlet of palm leaf round his head with a feather of the white pigeon set therein, and this they did that they might know one another in the heat of battle and so that no one might be set upon by his brother. Some carried bows and arrows, some spears—but not many,—for they are the weapons of Badu and Moa—some stone clubs fashioned like stars or moons or half-moons, some had knives and hatchets that came from a white man's ship plundered in the eastern islands. Each stood with his great bundle of arrows under his left arm and the pearl shell shining on his breast, while Ganair (1) and Wanekai (1 A) took the lead, bearing on their heads the trophies of Kwoiam *gud* and *zar*¹, the cassowary plumes that towered above their heads and fell down over their faces like a visor; and on the left shoulder those two bore each the amulet swathed in ti-tree bark. For the rest they were armed like their fellows and had bows in their left hands. The two lines went through the scrub and no one spoke, for they hoped to find the Moans unprepared. By and by the path was lost and the two *augud*-men halted, then pointed with their bows to where small tracks struck off. On they went through the straggling bush till the mountain Womel Pad loomed high above their heads. Again the leaders paused and pointed, and as they looked they saw a woman of Moa digging wild yams. With her were her two sons slinging stones with grass slings² at the tree-tops, and shouting after the manner of boys when they play. The whole band sank down in the bush; only the two *augud*-men stood still, and, moving neither to right nor to left but always watching that woman and the two boys, spat the *paiwa* from their mouths that she might not see that they were men and escape, for she was more than a bow-shot from them. Yet though no man spoke the cockatoos among the trees were frightened and flew away, uttering hoarse cries, so that the woman looked to see the cause of their fear, and beheld the *augud* among the bushes. Then it was that the mask of cassowary plumes stood them in good stead, for she thought 'Surely they are *gugu* birds' and cried out to her boys, 'Come, my children, and see these *gugu* for your eyes are younger than mine.' But they heard not, being intent on their play. At this the *augud*-men



FIG. 47. Two *gugu* on the top of dead trees in the bush, drawn by Gizu. This bird was not identified.

¹ Cf. Cult of Kwoiam.

² I think there must be some mistake here, as this is the only record we have of slings. A.C.H.

made as if they would run forward, and all men started to their feet and made haste and caught that woman and her boys, and Bainu (2A) it was who slew her with his spear (grandfather of Peter who told me this tale), others followed hard after the boys and killed them too, but one Waba (6) who outran the chase became as if blind, and falling came near to break his leg; which was the work of the *augud*, for Kwoiam could never suffer any man to go before him into battle¹. When they had made an end of cutting off the heads of these three and were come a little further on the way through the scrub they found the foot of the mountain Womel Pad. Now the sides of this mountain are steep, like the walls of a house, but as the house is covered with grass so is the rock with bushes, and by their aid they climbed to the top. And the men of Mabuia were like ants seeking food, so thick were they upon the hill side as they followed the relics of Kwoiam to battle.

When all were come at the top and were gone but a little way they two halted again and pointed, and lo! before them were the camp fires of the Moans upon a level place and the women and children of the Moans sitting under those great leaves which keep out the rain and sun. (So densely are they grown that even the reek of the fires can scarce come through them.) And all the Mabuia people clutched their weapons and scorn was in their hearts for these folk that feared to dwell in the lowland but hid thus like the black 'three-heads' of the mainland who know not houses but abide always under the shelter of leaves and trees.

Now the men of that place were all gone, save one, to the southern part of that island to cut wood for spears; thinking that their foes would come, but not then, and being besides careless and unmindful to set a guard. Tabungnazi is the name of the place where grows the wood for spears. Again the two made as if they would attack. Forthwith their followers bursting upon the camp began to slaughter them that were in it, and so fierce were they that none escaped—no not even certain women who cried, saying, 'Spare us, men of Mabuia, for we mourn even now for those your brothers who perished, Iburu and Waiaba and Yati our friends, for whom also you see us covered with dirt and wearing the *sogea* of mourners.' But they paid no heed and slew them all as they cowered, this one crying, 'Take me to wife!' and that 'Kill me, only let this my little boy go free!' The old men who were not fleet of foot caught young children and babes, snatching them from their mothers' arms and giving them to their sons and grandsons who had never fought before; then the sons were instructed of their sires how to cut the head from the body with the *upi* knife of bamboo, and how to steady that head the while, a finger thrust into each nostril. They taught them also to thread them upon the head-carriers and make them fast. Thus many children perished miserably upon blocks of wood as fast as the old men could carry them.

Meanwhile Parsau of Badu wrought a great feat of arms, for hard by he found another camp full of women and children. Parsau had neither spear nor bow but only his club. Yet he let none escape but killed them all, running this way and that smashing in their heads. After they had cut off all the heads and each had counted what he had, some were found who had three or four, some two or one—few with none, but

¹ Waba was punished in this way for going in front of the *augud*.

these went not away dishonoured for their brothers and friends gave to them of their superfluity.

But e'er they were at the bottom of the hill again the men of Moa returned with their spearwood and a great cry went up from the camp as they knew their women and children one by one, for none had heads and many a man was hard put to it to claim his dead. While they cried and sought the warriors of Mabuia came to a level place at the bottom of Womel Pad and began to deride them, shouting and holding up the heads they had won, "Come down and follow your wives," "Come, this is thy wife's head—take it. This is thy boy's, take it." Then were the Moans bitter against them and began to come down, exhorting them to prepare for death, and there had near been another fight had not the old men of Mabuia bidden them all to return after the two *augud*-men who were gone on towards the canoes, for the youths thirsted after more blood. But the counsel of the old men prevailed. 'It is no good that we fight without the *augud* of Kwoiam. So shall we surely lose one or two of our number,' and all obeyed and went, and though the Moans followed after them with angry shouts they gained the canoes and presently arrived safe at Pulu.

Then all danced the *kawaladi*, making a ring and singing of Kwoiam; and at the end of the dance they threw the heads upon the ground pellmell and played with them as boys play with a ball. Then the dog clansmen put the blood upon their foreheads and upon their faces and upon their breasts in a broad streak of crimson, and all men put in their girdles behind a tall plant, *zangigebal*, which overtopped their heads. Again the fleet left Pulu and paddled to Gumu, for there was no wind. But the women and old men saw them coming and the heads with them and heard them blow upon the conch shells, so they too knew of the victory and the old men beat upon the drums. As they touched the shore the warriors grasping their skulls leapt out upon the sand and a ring was formed about them. At once they hastened and drove forked posts into the ground amid a great noise of shouting and drumming, while the women took the trophy-heads of their lords and of their lovers and counted them with joy. Then all fell to and danced, the men with their *upi* swinging behind and the women hanging upon their arms. When they had ended the *kawaladi* they threw the heads upon the ground as before. There were sitting at the dance the three widows of Yata, Iburu, and Waiaba and all men remembered their great sorrow and took hold on the heads and piled them at their feet: some they put upon their bodies like flowers and told them to be of good cheer. 'Weep no more for your husbands. Behold the price that is paid. Is it not enough? Put your sorrow away and rejoice, for there shall be even more added to these!' So they spoke, consoling these women. Then they lifted up the heads and set them on those forked posts until such time as the great ovens at Pulu should be ready.

At Pulu they cut the heads from ear to ear across the scalp and slit them from back to front even to the end of the nose and down to the teeth. First they made a great feast and then each clan took its own trophies and put them in the ovens and covered them with stones and sand. Twice they did this and then the scalps came off to their hands even as the hide and blubber of a dugong when they are stripped from the carcase. The small boys they constrained to eat the cheeks and eyebrows and

the balls of the eyes, and those that were unwilling they beat, for unless a man do this in his youth he will remain a woman or a child all his life long. Moreover when he has taken such a head for himself in battle he is to be accounted fit for marriage.

Two months they lay at home and rested while the skulls were cleaned at Pulu. Some they took to the great head-houses of Gumu and Bau, some to the cave Augudalkula. The heads that were comely they stowed there in the *pukar* baskets, on either side of the twin *augud*, but them that were three-headed or ill-favoured they piled in heaps about the cave clan by clan, for every man had put his totem mark upon the foreheads within a circle of charcoal¹. The skulls were ruddled and so too were the jaw-bones that everyone kept for himself and for his women in his house, to be tally to him of the number of his slain.

Again the men of Mabuiag and Badu took counsel together against Moa. But they of Badu pleaded that they had friends and kinsmen at Moa and these must not be slain, so that seven days were given them to bring those they would save to Badu and to lay a trap for those they would destroy. Which thing they accomplished after this fashion.

About this time a ship of the white men had stranded upon an island called Ului, not far from Badu, but the white men got away safe in their boats and no one could lay hold upon their heads. Soon the ship was found by the Badu people when out fishing and they had from it tobacco and knives, which they gave to their friends and kinsmen but kept some for themselves. Now this tobacco of the white man was good, and whereas few were fain to smoke that which grew in those parts aforetime, now all men craved for the weed and loved the Badu people exceedingly. The canoes went again and this time they brought home two cases of long knives with which white men fight. These were kept for themselves and no Moa man could get such a knife even for a canoe or a wife—only Mabuiag and Badu had them at that time.

Then the Badu sent spies who saw that the Moans were forgetting and were taking new women as wives and were besides covetous of that tobacco which they had tasted. So they brought their friends and kinsmen safely to Badu to share in their good fortune, but to the Moans they said, 'Come, meet us on the morrow at the place called Adam and we will make merry with that tobacco,' having guile in their hearts. And the Moans being greedy and bewitched also by the spell of Apus agreed with them and danced forthwith along with their good friends of Badu.

When night fell a man of Badu went out to the point called Dugongor which is over against Mabuiag and lit a great fire there as had been prearranged, so that all Mabuiag might come to partake of that tobacco on the morrow. And the men of Gumu and Bau saw and understood the token and hasted and put off their canoes, going first to Pulu along the shore and then out to Badu by the seaward way for they were afraid did they go straight that the Moans would espy them and escape in the night. Then the people of Badu met them and welcomed them and said, 'Twere better that you go to Moa this night. In the morning we will follow after you. Take now your canoes and hide them in that creek of Moa which is hard by Adam. There you shall lie

¹ p. 305.

to-night and to-morrow we will be with you.' So the Mabuiag men did as they were bidden and slept that night in their canoes in the creek.

Adam is a level place in the midst of mangroves, and steep hills shut it in on all sides, so that it is hard for a man to go out from it with a foe behind him. Wherefore the Badu men had bidden the Moans to Adam. When the wild fowl began to awaken and cry out—the sun being not yet up—the Mabuiag people went ashore and got ready for battle. Then they marched through the mangroves till Adam was close in front and they could see the Moans round their fires, smoking the white man's tobacco and telling tales of old times. Soon came the Badu canoes, and all the men of Badu ready for war with weapons and paint and girt besides with these long knives that they had taken from the wreck. But the Moans thought no harm but only of the tobacco and the knives and spears that they of Badu promised to give them. But first they said, 'Let us dance together.' So, when all was set in due order, they danced, but the knives and spears were not left upon the ground as the Badu men carried them in their hands. Now a man of Moa seeing this said in the tongue of the white man to them that were instructed—for in Moa were men that had been among the Beretane¹—'See how they hold their spears always in their hands. Surely they mean to us no good. Come, let us fall upon them first and slay them so that we may take their heads before we ourselves are undone.' But a Badu man, Uria, heard the strange talk and divined the meaning of it though he knew not the Beretane. Wherefore he stepped aside into the bush as if tired of the dance and met the Mabuiag men and said, 'There is treachery breeding amongst the Moans for I heard them talk in a strange tongue. Go now and watch me when I sit down.' So he returned and sat down at the fire and the Mabuiag men came round about among the mangroves for they were willing to let none escape. Then Uria stood up and said to the Moans, 'Look now, my friends: remember what you did awhile ago and see, a shark is coming!' Then all looked and saw the Mabuiag men advancing, but the Badu people while they looked fell upon them.

Then there was a great slaughter of Moans.—Even though they too had relics of Kwoiam they availed them not for Kwoiam gave all his virtue to their foes. Afar off in Gumu men saw the dust of that battle go up like smoke. Scarce any escaped, and even the Moans that fled came near to be killed in their camp for the old men had warned them of their folly.

Gizu (2) slew one man that day, being a youth at the time, and most had two or three heads at the least. But Waipat of Mabuiag (4 B) had killed no one and he pursued after a Moan in the bush and caught him. Now this man's name was Maiti and he cried aloud that he was *paudugarka*—a man of peace (p. 302)—and the son of Apus the wizard. So Waipat spared him alive.

This Maiti was the brother of the woman Kodau who was dead and a man of peace, as it was said, whom none might harm. Therefore they brought him to Mabuiag and put red paint upon him, and though he was wroth they decked him for the dance of the heads and constrained him to bear his part therein, carrying the skulls of his kinsfolk. Thus was the vengeance of Apus fulfilled. Three times he put the *wauri* in

¹ *I.e.* Britons, a missionary word.

the oven and three times the Moans paid the price of Kodau. But the son of Apus was fain to dance at the death of his kin and abode a half moon at Mabuiag among those savage men. But they harmed him not at all and when his time was accomplished they let him go.

This is the story of the enchantment of Apus the sorcerer, of the death of his daughter after he put dooms upon the Moans, and of the shame of his son the man of peace.

HEAD-HUNTING AT TOTOLAI.

Three Mabuiag canoes were at Sarbi Island. They could not fetch Mabuiag because of the strong north-west wind and heavy sea. Showers of rain were blowing and to go to Bau was impossible. The Totolai men saw them, and seeing they would run in there prepared to kill them and stowed all their weapons handy, but out of sight. The Mabuiags cherished similar intentions towards the Moans. The Moa people agreed to invite them into a big house and shut the door to upon them so that they might all be easily despatched. The canoes reached Totolai in due time and Gra and Boirid went to meet them, followed at a little distance by Ngoni. Gra and Boirid took the mat from the canoe according to custom, the Mabuiag people would follow it and sit down wherever their hosts put it. As they were taking the mat Boirid saw Kabai wink at Naui (not Parsau) so he ran away and declared in the village that Mabuiag was come to kill them. 'Better we go to the bush,' so they hastened to escape. But Naui clubbed Ngoni, and Goba slew Giui, whose mother in her turn was despatched by Wairu (3) and Igerkuik (5 A), Guberunai killed a boy and girl, Ngagalaig killed a woman. Biangab, a young Mabuiag man, wanted to kill the old man Damu, father of Giui, but two other old men, though they too were of Mabuiag, protested—they were Ngagalaig (5) and Dabaisam (5)—on the ground that he had sent good turtle shell and shell armlets to Mabuiag. So Giui ran into the bush. Then all cut off the heads and repaired with much blowing of conches to Ulamain in Badu where they danced the *kawaladi*. From thence they went to Pulu where they danced again and deposited the skulls at Augudalkula.

THE LOST CANOE.

1. *The Fight at Dauan.*

It was the time of turtle-pairing when a Mabuiag canoe named Aritabun carried Kõneui (father of Parsau of Mabuiag), Dainei (12 A), Kame (1), Ilapi (12), and Kusin (12) to the reefs to fish. But the *maidelaig* Matai (1) put a spell upon them for he made *wauri*. The canoe never returned. So all the men of Mabuiag set forth to look for them. First they went to Buru (Mangrove Island) in rough weather and a gale of wind, but no news there. At Boigu they slept two nights but found nothing. Then they went along the coast of Daudai towards Dauan, and they saw a big fire on that island that they had

lighted as a signal because so many canoes were coming from the west. At Dauan they landed and asked again—thinking that the fire might be intended to bring them to Dauan to take off their countrymen. But here too there was no news. Meanwhile the Saibai men wanted to know the cause of such a fleet coming to Dauan, but when they got within a short distance they saw the Mabuiag people arrayed for war because they were enraged with sorrow and disappointment¹.

Parsau (Nau) wished to save his Dauan brother Siwia, so he sent him home to get some water from the spring on the hill. When he returned and handed the shell full of water to Parsau, Parsau spilt it. Siwia knew that meant a fight and ran away in time into the bush. Parsau then clubbed a man called Gami shouting '*I lap kalia nagi*,' 'a cut, look behind,' then the men of Mabuiag killed all the women of Dauan.

Meanwhile the Saibai canoes that had reconnoitred the Mabuiag men turned back on seeing the fight, and all said "Kwoiam has set his foot on Dauan," but when they got close and saw the enemy making *kawaladi* and 'talking of heads' they returned home and told what they had witnessed in Dauan. The men of Mabuiag re-embarked and went round to the Mabuiag side of Dauan². They left about daylight and fetched Ngukil by Dabungai that night after dark. At Ngukil they camped and danced and came on next day to Dabungai at their ease and danced again. But they were ill received, for the trade route for canoes was now closed.

2. *The Massacre at Gu.*

When the men of Mabuiag had returned from fighting at Dauan in the search for the lost canoe they decided to set forth again—this time towards the south. Accordingly they proceeded in their canoes to Badu and went ashore at Koted. Here they left the canoes and walked on to Tulu. At Tulu they got their bows and arrows repaired, and, while they were at work, Nguroi, a Badu man from Wabait, espied them from the bush bending their bows and with their other weapons lying ready to hand. He immediately divined that they had recently been fighting—as indeed they had—at Dauan—and that they had the intention of fighting again and that soon. So he reported the matter in Wabait, where all agreed that, as it was evident Mabuiag was going to fight Moa, Badu should not be found wanting in so righteous a cause. They made ready at once and started in their canoes for Moa, keeping round the south side of the island. Meanwhile their kinsmen of Mabuiag were not informed of their danger, and instead of joining forces with Badu proceeded on their own account to the northern side of Moa, landing

¹ My informant said they did not fight with Saibai on account of the canoe trade, but as there was an equally important trade in dugong harpoons with Moa and Muralug, the former of which they continually invaded, there seems no reason why on the score of trade only they should leave Saibai alone. The real reason was, I think, that Saibai was too much for them, but at Mabuiag I have no record of any defeats sustained at their hands. In any case Mabuiag and Saibai were the only islands that had properly appointed *kwiket-tut-men*. This view is rather confirmed by the fact that in spite of the trade the Mabuiag men did on this occasion attack the inhabitants of Dauan, a small and unwarlike island. A. W.

² Because they were afraid of Saibai.

at Widui and leaving their old men and boys in charge of the canoes. By way of food they had with them a quantity of mangrove shoots which the boys carried¹. They had no clear plan of action, their one object was to take heads, ostensibly as payment for the canoe and crew lost at sea (though how they could think the Moans were responsible it is impossible to imagine, but probably because they were stricken with the war fever from their success at Dauan and also because a head-hunting expedition to Moa was part of the daily routine, or as the narrator expressed it—"all same breakfast"). The *augud*-men went first as usual. On this occasion Kabai [? Gabai (1)] bore the chief *augud* (*kutibu*) and the cassowary plumes of Kwoiam (*boibu* and *zar*), Wedai (9 A) the lesser charm (*giribu*). As they went inland they saw smoke rising from the camp of Gu situated at the bottom of Womel Pad: to this smoke they were directing their march when a man called Tapi had the misfortune to cross their path. Tapi was cutting wood and the two made haste to take his head, but Kabai's head-gear got entangled in the brushwood and he only got clear just in time, for Tapi was making as if to run him through with his spear. 'Father,' quoth Kabai, 'you hand me your spear and run or my followers will kill you.' So Tapi, who was not his father but only a relative, gave him his spear and turned to go. But Kabai smote him through the back, exclaiming "*I lap ina*"—"Here (is) a cut," and cut off his head. Wedai slew Gerar, the wife of Ilap, and cut off her head. This matter ended, the Mabuig men made a dash for the camp and butchered the women and children only, for the men had gone to the neighbouring reef to pick up dead fish. At this season (North-West monsoon) there was no wind and the sounds of the massacre came clearly to them across the water. Screams and yells mingled with the dull thud of the clubs were plainly audible. Then the Moans knew that Mabuig was at work, and being discreet rather than valorous they lay down like one man upon the reef on their backs looking up to heaven—for all the world like a row of corpses. Thus they hoped to avoid exciting the attention of their enemies and in this ambition they were successful. One incident in the massacre is characteristic. Iwau (Dick) caught a boy and called to Parsau (see above), 'Parsau, Parsau here, I have got a man for you.' But he had gripped the boy Aiwa from behind under his arm-pits—just as men seize a turtle in the water—and Aiwa turned his head and bit his arm. So disconcerted by this action was Iwau that he let Aiwa go. A great warrior, by name Kobiged (7), was standing by himself at a little distance and saw the incident, so he stooped behind a bush right in Aiwa's path and let him fall almost into his arms. Then Kobiged in his turn sang out 'Parsau, Parsau, *I lap ina*.' Parsau answered 'Wait till I come and then throw him towards me so that I can club him without fear of hitting you by mistake.' 'Very well,' said Kobiged, and threw the boy at Parsau, who at once despatched him. Then the Mabuig people moved on down the creek to Giwain and replenished their stock of mangrove-food (p. 98).

Meanwhile the Badu men had landed at Mipa and were proceeding parallel to the coast when they met and killed two boys Wikar and Genaii in that part of the low country which is called Sogan. In looking for the camp to which the boys belonged they found the Mabuig party at Giwain flushed with victory.

¹ Among these boys was Gizu (2) himself—at that time probably about 15 or 16 years of age. A. W.

With the Badu men were certain Madalfin warriors come from the mainland in two canoes. They were half Muralug, half Australian, and were armed with throwing-sticks (*kubai*). All listened intently for the return of the Moans from the reef, and presently cries were heard at Gu. Their patience was now nearly exhausted so the Mainlanders put their *kubai* beneath the left arm-pit drawing them out again and waving them towards Gu, a form of magic which was used to hasten the approach of the foe. The Gu men came to an open place looking for the murderers and the Mabuiag, Badu, Madalfin people leapt upon them from the bush and killed them. Among them Puru was seized by Waipat but Taur and Bodaua (15 A), his two Badu brothers-in-law, besought him to let them have Puru as their share. "You give him to 'those persons'¹ who gave you a good girl to wife and by whom you have many fine children. What is one head to a man like you?" So Waipat graciously granted this petition and gave them Puru as their own. Then the Badu men took their heads and returned home by way of Sogan, while the Mabuiag men recrossed the island and took ship back to Dabungai, and that night there was *kawaladi* danced both at Badu and Mabuiag.

THE TUTU CREW KILLED IN MABUIAG.

Some Tutu people came to Mabuiag and stayed for a couple of months at Dabungai. At first they were good friends, but one day the Tutu men micturated on the coco-nut water-bottles and shells of the Mabuiag women when they went to fetch water, and a boy belonging to the Kulkalaig swam in the fresh-water hole. The women told their men-folk what had happened and the men said, "What are we going to do? Best thing we fight to-morrow." The next morning they fought the Tutu people and killed them all. One Mabuiag man named Kudungurgi shot at a boy in the scrub and killed him and shooting through a leaf he hit a *mari* in the eye and killed it, he cut off both their heads and threaded that of the boy on a head-carrier, *singe*, but carried the long narrow head of the *mari* in his hand.

This was given to me as a true narrative, but the *mari* episode was not explained.
A. C. H.

¹ Names of brothers-in-law could not be spoken, p. 142.

XVIII. MAGIC AND RELIGION.

By A. C. HADDON.

MAGIC, or sorcery, is the constraint of nature by man through the action of the spoken or written word, or through some deed in connection with an object, or by a pantomimic ceremony, or in some analogous manner. The efficacy rests solely in the word, performance, or object; thus the action of magic is direct and is not dependent upon extraneous aid.

Anthropologists¹ now frequently restrict the term religion to a belief in the existence of a personal or impersonal being or beings with powers transcending those of mere mortals and to the actions that result from such a belief. For example, if a man, who requires something specific, recites a formula or performs a mimetic action, he is doing a magical act, but if he requests some power to assist him to obtain that of which he has need, he is performing a religious action.

Although, among the Western Islanders, there are practices which, according to the foregoing definitions, can be classed as distinctly magical or religious, yet there are others which appear to me to be of an intermediate character, and therefore I have not attempted to make a definite classification of the observances dealt with in this section.

It is often difficult to determine where magic begins or ends in regard to medicine. The natives themselves, however, in some cases distinguish between magic, *maid*, and medicine, *lukup*²; but still the distinction is not always clear.

I have thought it desirable to bring together all I could find on the subject of magic, but magical practices that are described elsewhere in this volume are merely referred to here. When not otherwise stated the practices are those which obtain in the island of Mabuiaig.

¹ Cf. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd Ed., 1900, ch. i.

² The words *lukup*, or *lokof*, are not native to Mabuiaig. Mr Ray informs me that "Tom of Mabuiaig said that *lukup*, ink, was a Murray Island word introduced by the boys from the former mission school; *lokof* seems to be a variant of the same word applied to European medicine. I have in my notes that *gabū* means all kinds of medicine for external application, such as bark, and *upiri* signifies all kinds of internal medicine." We have, however, the names *gabū* and *upiri* for specific plants. The word *pui* means tree, plant, etc., as well as "medicine"; in the accounts of magical practices given to me in jargon English the word "bushes" frequently occurred and often this term was synonymous with "medicine," which word was also employed, as on p. 183; in these cases the "medicine" was supposed to possess a mysterious, that is, magical, rather than a curative power. Cf. *puiugarka* (p. 327) and *aripuilai* (p. 350).

The word *puri puri*, or *pura pura*, is occasionally used for the producing of disease or sickness by magic. It is a Daudai term, as one informant said, "this word come from outside the sea."

There were some magical rites that could be performed only by members of particular totem clans, and it is probable that the performance of many other magical rites was limited to certain groups of people. Several magical acts fell to definite individuals as part of the routine duty of kinship; other forms of magic might be practised by anyone. Finally there were specially trained magicians or sorcerers, the *maidelaig*, who constituted the only professional class among these democratic islanders.

THE TRAINING OF A MAGICIAN IN MABUIAG. (BY A. C. HADDON AND C. G. SELIGMANN.)

Apparently any man might be initiated into the mysteries of magic, but as a matter of fact very few cared to undergo the unpleasant and rigorous process. A *maidelaig* was a man who understood all kinds of magical and medical lore; for example, a *maidelaig* could cause disease and death and could cure an illness. He could lure dugong, turtle and fish by charms or he could strike and kill animals with unerring aim, and he knew furthermore the virtues of animal and vegetable products. At all events such was his reputation.

A lad who chose this profession was inducted by a *maidelaig* who instructed only one aspirant at a time. He was taken into the bush by the instructor and the first operation consisted in the old man defæcating into an *alup* shell filled with water; when the mixture was well stirred the novice had to drink it all up, and in order that he might have the full benefit of it, he was enjoined to keep his eyes open whilst drinking (we were informed this was not done in Nagir nor in Muralug). It is said if the eyes watered during the process of training the novice would not make a good *maidelaig*, but if his eyes were red and dry he was all right.

Then he had to eat the unripe fruit of the *kara* tree (*Capparis* sp.), which made his eyes red and "inside bad," and also to chew "rope along bush," *gawai*, which made the skin itch, as well as *barmeg*, *kerikeri* (a zingiberaceous plant), *uidoi*, *maripui*, *kubilgin* (*Diospyros* sp.) and other plants, also the flesh of a kind of shark, *gibagib*, or of a fish that bites like a shark. Lastly he had to eat the decomposing flesh of a dead man which was full of maggots, the effect of this revolting diet was to make his throat bad. Altogether he was in a very uncomfortable condition, with blood-shot eyes, a sensation of feeling wretchedly ill all over and in a semi-frantic state.

Sometimes a man would show the white feather after proceeding a certain distance with the discipline and give it up altogether. It was believed that if a man was frightened the medicines might have some disastrous effect upon him. Occasionally a man succumbed to the rigour of the initiation and ruined his health or even died. The course extended for about a month. If he came successfully through this ordeal he was instructed in all the mysteries of magic during the next three years. Samiai, whose nose is completely eaten away by lupus, is said to have tried to be a *maidelaig* under Wanaia, but he could not retain some of the fruit given him and was very sick, part of the vomit passing through his nose, subsequently the nose rotted.

The *maidelaig* made a practice of eating anything that was disgusting and revolting

in character, or poisonous or medicinal¹ in nature, not only during the course of instruction but subsequently whenever about to perform a special act of sorcery. For instance they were said to eat frequently flesh of corpses or to mix the juices of corpses with their food. One effect of this diet was to make them 'wild' so that they did not care for anyone and all affection temporarily ceased for relatives, wife, and children, and on being angered by any of them they would not hesitate to commit murder (p. 309).

When the *maidelaig* considered that the young man was sufficiently instructed he told him to take a stone and hit a fish; if he hit and killed it 'then he savvy,' or he was instructed to throw a stone at a lizard which should be struck at the first attempt. At the end of three years the pupil was tested as to the benefit he had derived and his master told him to prove that he was a *maidelaig* by killing somebody; if he did not succeed the first time he might try again, but if he failed the second or third time he was considered unfit for the profession.

One of us has previously recorded (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. p. 399) that in order to demonstrate his own powers the new *maidelaig* performed magic with *kuman* (p. 325). When the patient was sick the sorcerers visited him and innocently enquired as to his condition. The patient asked him to kill the enemy who had wrought the mischief, this he promised to do and took up a stone and pretended to throw it. (If a *maidelaig* threw a stone into space, saying for whom it was intended, the projectile was quite as efficacious as if it had actually hit the person.) The sick man got worse and told his father that he was very bad now, "Bone along me slew (creaked) last night." The father vainly tried to make his son better by cutting him (blood-letting was the universal panacea for all ailments in Torres Straits), and suggested they should get some bush remedies. By this time the sick man was "all bone, got no meat," and he asked the *maidelaig* to get him some medicine. He agreed, but procured a "bad one" and rubbed it on the skin of the sufferer, the effect of which was to make the man worse and at length he died. The young man was then satisfied that he was proficient.

A *maidelaig* did not necessarily bring up his own child to the profession, though he would often do so, and it was not an unknown thing for the son of a man who had, to the common knowledge of the community, been done to death by a *maidelaig* to himself become a *maidelaig* in order that he might avenge his father. The *maidelaig* compared himself and his pupil to the fish-eagle (*ngagalaig*) and its egg, and pointed out that the pupil then in the egg stage would some day become as fierce an eagle as himself.

A *maidelaig* was not always known as such to the general public. The *maidelaig* used to meet together in the bush at night time in order to perform their sorcery.

As an example of this, one of us was told the following, which is not very explicit, but it evidently implies that there was cooperative magic, and that the body of sorcerers could constrain an individual *maidelaig*. In this particular instance it was supposed that a certain *maidelaig* wanted to do some harm, while the other *maidelaig* desired

¹ The young leaf shoots of *budzamar* (*Cycas* sp.) were eaten by a *maidelaig* when he wanted to be 'wild,' as well as *kumani*, a creeper described as having small black fruit, and the leaf and root of *kara* (*Capparis* sp.), the latter produced nausea and vomiting, the ripe fruit is said to be universally eaten without ill effect.

to drive the harm out to sea. At night time they all entered into the water of a creek and made movements as if pushing the water out to the sea, while the man who made the charm kept behind the others and surreptitiously pushed the water in the opposite direction. One of the *maidelaig* looked behind him and said, "No good you do that," and then all worked in the same direction. Waria distinctly said that one *maidelaig* could not counteract the work of another.

Peter of Mabuiaig informed us that there were still several *maidelaig* in Murray and Darnley Islands, as, for example, those old men who had lost all their teeth, which was said to be due to their having eaten human corpses; some young Miriam men also are credited with being sorcerers. When the Mabuiaig church was opened in 1897 a certain Murray Island *maidelaig*, whom we strongly suspect was no other than our friend Ulai, wanted to kill a Mabuiaig man, "but God turned the *maid* against themselves," and a young Murray Islander died and was buried in a small island to windward of Mabuiaig.

Save for their reputed powers the *maidelaig* did not differ from ordinary men, they went fishing, worked in their gardens, and were as subject to the effect of another man's sorcery as anyone else. The *maidelaig* could be employed by an individual to encompass the sickness or death of a person either for spite or to avenge a crime (pp. 214, 277), indeed all deaths were put down to sorcery (p. 248). They were paid by those who employed them but we did not hear of any public remuneration, nor do we know that they were ever mobbed or violently put to death on account of their magical practices. There is no doubt, however, that the *maidelaig* relied to a certain extent on their reputed powers to obtain special privileges, thus food was frequently presented to them (p. 214). It has already been stated (p. 231) that exemption from the bride-price was sometimes enforced; but, on the other hand, there was often a reluctance to marry the daughter of a *maidelaig*, on account of the risks that might be run if the father-in-law were offended (pp. 214, 247). A *maidelaig* would sometimes let it be known that he was offended and in this way would levy blackmail, and whenever a man was sick his friends immediately tried to think what *maidelaig* had been offended. A *maidelaig*, when offended, seldom or never acted immediately. Before bewitching a man a *maidelaig* spat in the direction of his victim and of his friends, taking care not to be seen doing so; at the same time he thumped the deltoid region of one of his own arms with the fist of the opposite hand; this was a piece of imitative magic to prevent his victim or his friend using their javelins against him; he might also insert splinters of wood into his gums until they bled to prevent relatives of the man he was bewitching concerting measures against him. Although we have little definite information on the subject, it is probable that a certain amount of terrorising and blackmailing went on in a quiet way; but as the *maidelaig* do not appear to have been a definitely organised society they did not have any recognised authority or power.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AGAINST PEOPLE BY MAIDELAIG.

(By A. C. HADDON AND C. G. SELIGMANN.)

On showing in 1888 the wood-cut of an upright wooden female figure in Jukes' "Voyage of the Fly" (i. p. 185) to Nomoa of Mabuiag, he said it was an image for *maid*, and that the *maidelaig* 'kissed' the post, put 'medicine' into the orifices in the figure and said to it, "Help me to kill — to-day."

For various magical practices by a *maidelaig* against individuals, cf. pp. 197, 198. A magical ceremony to procure male children is described on p. 196.

We have no information whether the *maidelaig* operated through objects belonging to the victim or intimately associated with him such as hair, nails or the like.

The Magical Stone.

Among the implements of sorcery were stone-headed clubs and spears, both of which were treated magically, and a stone called *uruwain*, of a pointed ellipsoidal shape which was stated to be hollow and filled with "medicine."

A smooth, black, rounded stone called *uruwain* was used by the *maidelaig* to kill people. At night time the *maidelaig* chewed *kara* and *barmeg*, spat the bolus into his hand, and anointed his arm and shoulders, and the previously reddened *uruwain* with the mixture. To test the efficacy of this charm the *maidelaig* left the *uruwain* in his house, and picking up any stone tried to knock down the first bird he saw with it; if he succeeded, his charm was in good working condition, and he proceeded to kill his man. To do this all that was necessary was that he should go through the action of throwing the *uruwain* in the direction of his victim who should be asleep. If he did not kill the bird at which he threw a stone he recognized that there was something wrong with his magic and started charming the *uruwain* over again.



FIG. 48. Models of wooden *wauri*, Mabuiag. A. One-half natural size. B. One-quarter natural size, painted red and black. Cambridge Museum.

Human Effigies.

Small wooden human effigies made of thin slats of wood, *wauri* (fig. 48), were made by the *maidelaig*, these were coated with beeswax, or the *wauri* might be made entirely of beeswax. An image was utilised for magic in various ways, but always the first action was to call it by the name of the person who was to be operated upon. If the *maidelaig* pulled off an arm or a leg the patient felt sore in the corresponding member and became ill and could not get any relief from his pain, then he lay down and was unable to rise. The next day he died. Should the *maidelaig*

restore the dismembered limb to the *wauri* and put all straight, the patient would recover. See also pp. 197, 198.

Another method of compassing the death of a person was to take the spine of a sting-ray (*ibaiib*) or the bone point of an arrow and prick a wax *wauri* that had been named. Then the *maidelaig* talked to the *wauri* and later the *wauri* was asked when the patient would die. In the former case when the man whose name had been given to the *wauri* went fishing on the reef a sting-ray would sting him in the place corresponding to where the *wauri* had been pierced.

Sometimes a *maidelaig* put a *wauri* on the bough of a tree and as it swayed in the wind the man against whom the *maid* was made became ill. A friend then gave a present to the *maidelaig* to make the patient well, and the *maidelaig* took the *wauri* and stuck it firmly in the sandy bottom of the sea or kept it steady with stones in the sea, and the patient recovered. For another account of this form of magic cf. pp. 309, 310, 316.

A rough effigy of the human figure was made of beeswax, and a spear made of *buru buru* wood and pointed with four sting-ray spines was thrust into the chest of the image while a glowing morsel of charcoal was put in its mouth. The name of the subject to be bewitched was mentioned when the *wauri* was being made. The *wauri* might finally be destroyed in the fire or in hot ashes, in which case the previously wasted victim suddenly died. The *wauri* might be pulled out of the fire as soon as the shape was lost and kept to make the effigy of another victim.

It has been stated (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. p. 399) that the sex of the individual to be injured was indicated on the *wauri* and that stone images were used for rapid effect and the wooden ones for lingering illnesses. The *maidelaig* hit a male stone *wauri* with the *uruwain* and put some poison in its mouth and the man who was represented by the image would die.

Kuman.

One method of injuring people was employed at *naigai* time. This corresponds to our September at which season the ground is parched and vegetation becomes very dry. The vine called *kuman* loses its leaves and the stem breaks up at the nodes into internodes some 6 inches to a foot (15—30 cm.) in length. These dry segments often bear a striking resemblance to some of the long bones of the human skeleton (fig. 49) and this has naturally led the *maidelaig* to employ them in his nefarious magic.

The joints of the *kuman* vine were collected and the *maidelaig* gave the name of some part of the body to each joint. For example one joint would be called an 'arm,' another a 'leg,' a third the 'belly,' and so forth. The *maidelaig* crouched like a *ngagalaig* (fish-eagle) and imitating the way that bird tears flesh off bones threw the segments behind him without looking round.

If he left the spot without turning round to look at the *kuman* internodes the patient would die. But if he did not wish to proceed to this extremity he turned and looked at the segments and subsequently he would return and pick them up and place them together and put "medicine" on them and the patient would recover.

If he had looked behind and then wished to cure the patient, but could not, another *maidelaig* would rub certain leaves on the patient and 'gammon' him. When the patient died the blame of the death would be put on another island.

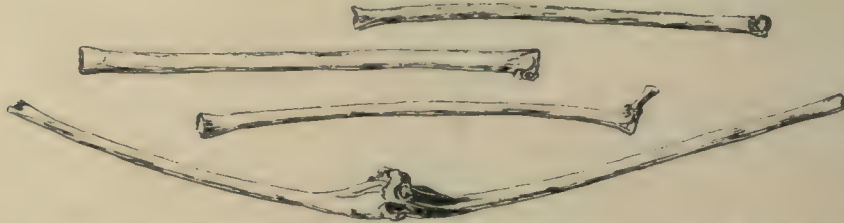


FIG. 49. *Kuman*, used in magical practices against people, one-quarter natural size. Cambridge Museum.

Sorcery with a Crocodile's Tooth.

In 1888 one of us was informed that a *maidelaig*, whether he did or did not belong to the *Kodal* clan, might perpetrate sorcery with a crocodile's tooth. He took the large canine-like tooth of the lower jaw of a crocodile (*kodal gi-dang*), painted it red, and filled the hollow base with various kinds of plants, and finally he rubbed it all over with the fat of a corrupt human corpse. Next he took a long string of plaited coco-nut fibre, and tied one end to a young and slender tree and put the anointed tooth in the fork of the first branch. Then he said to the tooth, "You go into that man (naming some individual); do not go all over his body, you go into his heart. Are you ready? Stand by!" The *maidelaig* pulled the free end of the rope so hard that "it come thin" as if it would break, suddenly he let it go and the rope sprang back, the recoil of the bent tree causing the tooth to shoot forward—and the man died. We obtained a somewhat different account in 1899 from another informant who said that *kara* and *barmeg* leaves were tied round or inserted in the cavity of the reddened crocodile's tooth which was tied by its base to one end of the rope, the other end of the rope being fastened to a young tree or else to the springy limb of an older tree. A knot was tied in the cord close to the tooth if the man was to die quickly, for according to the distance of the knot from the tooth so long would the man take to die. The cord was about a fathom in length. To work the charm the *maidelaig* took the tooth, which was considered to be endowed with all the attributes of the crocodile, and pulled it so that the sapling was bent; he then let go and the tooth flew in the direction of the victim whither it had been pointed. At the same time a spiritual tooth struck his victim and entered his body. In order that this might stick fast, the real tooth had often bound to it the spine of a sting-ray on one side and that of a stone fish, *uzi*, on the other.

A crocodile's tooth was also used in a similar manner for incendiary purposes, in which case it was instructed by the *maidelaig* in this wise: "Don't be lazy, you look very smart, you go and burn down that house."

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC CONNECTED WITH HUMAN BEINGS.

There are various examples of a sympathetic relation between human beings or between people and animals.

At Yam there would be a death for every man who fell asleep during the war-dance (p. 377); this may explain the prevention of anyone falling asleep at the skull-giving ceremony in Nagir (p. 259). The leaves on the trees at Pulu represented the Mabuiag men and if the former were burnt men would be killed in the next battle (p. 370). Turtles are supposed to be very susceptible to the influence of women who are unwell (pp. 196, 207, 330). Various magical practices are connected with women's puberty customs and child-bearing which have been described on pp. 194—207. The navel-cord exercises an influence over the child (p. 197) and the *kupai* was also a prominent feature in the hero-cults. Mr Wilkin was informed that "at parturition a woman would get a good-looking man to come and sit behind her so that the child might take after him; fair men were and are more admired than dark. Mothers also eat *garum* fish and hang their bones round their necks to make their children handsome."

The compelling power due to the mentioning of the name of a person is acknowledged, pp. 14, 29, 35, 86.

A tree was employed as a life-token by a culture-hero in Kiwai (p. 34).

The acquisition of bravery through a modified form of cannibalism was widely recognised (pp. 301, 302, 305, 314); even the smelling of putrid heads makes people strong. When Tomagani held up his nose disliking the scent (p. 74), Kwoiam said to him, "*Ganu*, smell, *mata*, continually, *angeda*, keep getting, *nibeka*, for you, *kulasibaka*, for a stone liver"; the virtue gained by smelling could also be obtained by objects such as the crescentic *augud* of Kwoiam, for when that hero sent Tomagani to catch a fish (p. 72) he said, "Go and get a fish for us two and for the two shining ones to sniff," cf. also p. 76.

"A singular mode of treating various complaints consists in attaching one end of a string to the patient, while the other is held in the mouth of a second person, who scarifies his own gums at the same time until they bleed, which is supposed to indicate that the 'bad blood' has passed from the sick to the sound person" (Macgillivray, II. p. 31).

LOVE CHARMS.

A man who performed this kind of magic was called in Mabuiag a *puiugarka*, he need not be a *maidelaig* as it appears to have been part of the duty of a *wadwam* to instruct the initiate in these matters (pp. 211, 213, 216). Various accounts of *rugaig puri* or 'sweetheart medicine' have already been given (pp. 102, 211, 212, 213, 216, 225). Magic was also employed to drive away a girl's affection for a lad (p. 217).

I obtained the following account in Mabuiag: A *puiugarka* took a young man who wanted to gain the affections of a girl and submerged him in the sea at Kuikurasaran rock, off the most southerly point of Mabuiag, where the tideway is very strong, and he was thoroughly washed and rubbed all over with bunches of leaves

both in the sea and on shore. The young man had to chew some medicine and swallow his spittle, the *puiugarka* looked at him to see if his eye watered, in which case he was 'no good,' but if his eye did not water he was 'all right.' The *puiugarka* chewed some medicine and spat it on the nape of the neck, on the forehead, at the angles of the scalp, on the face, on the angles of the jaw, and in the pit of the knees of the young man who then was irresistible to the girl.

I was told by Painauda of Muralug that just as a snake that is in one tree, can by swallowing its spittle make a bird that is in another tree come to it, so if a man chews certain medicine and a girl sees him swallowing the infusion in his saliva she understands what the man means and is constrained to go to him.

The following information was obtained by Mr Seligmann in Mabuiag: "The end of the os penis of a dog was bent or broken so that it became hook-shaped, the bone was then plastered with a chewed mixture of the following plants, *tunai*, *passag*, *tokar*, *kiaki*, *paiwa*, *matoa*, or of as many of them as could be procured, and wrapped up in *kimar* leaf. It was worn at the back of the neck during a dance by the man who wished to secure the affections of a particular girl. When the girl smelt the charm she would probably succumb. The red *udai* seed was sometimes hung beside the above-mentioned charm. The *udai* was called by the name of the girl. Mr Seligmann did not gather that it represented the girl, but rather that it helped the man to recall the girl to his mind. All the time he is dancing the man must repeat to himself or think hard of the name of the girl in question. *Kiaki* (*Polanisia viscosa*) was worn as a love charm. *Ngail* (*Achyranthes aspera*) is described as having clinging seeds or seed-pods, hence if a man wears it, 'woman like him.' A quid of the roots of these two plants was chewed and held in the mouth during a dance as a love charm. Chaplets of *Titur* (*Delima* or *Tetraceros*) were also worn for the same purpose."

MAGICAL APPLIANCES.

Besides those appliances used in magic to which reference is elsewhere made, the following deserve special mention.

Bull-roarers were employed for the following purposes: shown to lads at initiation, Muralug (p. 217), Kiwai (pp. 218, 219), Cape York (p. 220); to make food abundant, Mabuiag (p. 346), Kiwai (pp. 218, 219); to ensure luck in turtle-fishing, Mabuiag (pp. 330—333); to raise a wind (p. 352).

The magical flourishing of a throwing-stick to compel the approach of a foe referred to on p. 319 is the probable explanation of a similar act by Kwoiam (p. 77).

There appears to have been something magical about *paiwa*, this is the bark of a tree that grows in New Guinea and is imported into the islands on account of its agreeable odour. Apparently an inferior kind grew in some of the islands (p. 65). *Paiwa* was chewed and the saliva spat on the neck of a person before decapitation (pp. 79, 100), it was employed as an attraction for Sigai and Maiau (p. 65), it entered into the composition of "sweetheart medicine" (pp. 211, 216) and it rendered people invisible (p. 311).

A pair of boar's tusks fastened together at their bases, decorated with seeds and often with a central depending string, were held in the mouth by Tutu warriors when fighting. Two specimens of these fighting charms are in the British Museum (cf. "Ethnographical Album," I. pl. 339, no. 3; pl. 340, no. 5), one of them was the property of Kebisu (16) the former chief of Tutu.

Kwoiam consulted his magical crescents, *kutibu* and *giribu*, before going anywhere and they assisted him in various ways; these *augud* and other relics of Kwoiam (pp. 369—373) had magical powers and were held in great repute as aids to warriors; besides the reputed relics of Kwoiam in Mabuiag there appear to have been similar objects in other islands.

MAGICAL FORMULAE.

It is doubtful whether any act of magic was performed without an expressed wish or command, or the utterance of a formula of some kind or another; such a phrase was termed a *wenewen* (*winiwin*, *unewen*, *winawen*, etc.) and it appears generally to have been muttered or spoken rapidly in a low voice.

Mr Ray gives me the following information: "*Unewen* is used in the Gospels, which were translated from the Samoan, wherever the latter version has *mana*. The Polynesian and Melanesian word *mana* expresses power or influence of a mystical or spiritual nature and also any means, song, incantation or charm by which this power is exerted. The English word 'power' is ambiguous, and often merely means 'authority.' The Samoan word for power in the sense of authority is *pule*, and where this occurs in the Gospels it is translated by the Mabuiag *kupai*. It may be noted that the Samoan New Testament was translated from the Greek and uses *mana* as the equivalent of the Greek *δύναμις*, whilst *pule* is used for the Greek *ἐξουσία*."

The former Saibai translation of St Mark's Gospel was made from the Lifu version in which only one word *mene* is used for 'power.' 'Spiritual power' and 'authority' are not discriminated. *Mene* however has really the same meaning as *mana*. It is translated by the Saibai *parpar* which is the Daudai *pūripūri*, magic or witchcraft. In the Mabuiag Gospels '*parapar*' is used for 'miracle,' and in the Lord's Prayer only is it used for 'power.' These are no doubt survivals from the general use of the Saibai Gospel throughout the mission in the Western Islands."

The Samoan teachers evidently considered *wenewen* as equivalent to *mana*, but so far as I am aware the former term was confined solely to words and did not imply the supernatural influence that, according to Dr Codrington, *mana* predicates in Melanesia, and in Pratt's Samoan Dictionary I find that *mana* is 'supernatural power' only. The opinion of Samoan teachers is worth nothing concerning the equivalent meaning of Papuan and Polynesian words.

Examples of *wenewen* will be found on pp. 183, 185, 350—2. Kwoiam also employed magical formulae which commenced with the words '*Mawa keda*' (pp. 72, 76, 77, 80).

MAGIC CONNECTED WITH FISHING.

Turtle-fishing.

Many plants were necessary to properly prepare a canoe for success during the *surlal* (turtle-breeding) season. The canoe was thoroughly dried and fires were made in the bow and in the middle. Mats were held over the canoe so that the smoke could not rise but spread over and around the canoe. The smoke from the centre was subsequently allowed to rise vertically for a short time. The *urugi* plant (*Uvaria* sp.) was next burnt in both fires, and an individual stood in the bow scraping a half-consumed *urugi* stem, and walked aft so that the powder he made fell into the canoe. This was a specific charm against a previous possible contamination of the canoe by a menstruous woman who might have eaten turtle caught by that canoe or infected it by her touch. The whole canoe was then smeared inside and out with a mash made of scrapings of a coco-nut, so young that the shell had not formed, and of the leaves and stems of *sakili* (*Alyxia spicata*), *titur* (*Delima* sp. or *Tetraceros* sp.), *kaikukua* and *gabu* (*Heptapleuron* sp.).

Immediately before the canoe started, *titur* branches were burnt and with this charcoal, mixed with turtle fat, lines were drawn from the outer angles of the eyes nearly to the ears of the crew. Chaplets of *titur* twigs were also worn "so man see plenty *surlal*." Young *potalai* (*Maba* sp.) plants were fastened to the bow and stern of the canoe, as were also portions of the plant *Abrus precatorius* (Crab's eyes).

When hunting turtle at other times than in the breeding season, the head, cesophagus and probably trachea of a turtle stuffed with twigs of *gulda-pui*¹ (*Maba reticulata*) were fixed in the bow of the canoe. This prevented the turtles from sinking prematurely. *Pibi* (*Commelina nudiflora*), *salil*, *ngobur* (*Psoralea*, sp. nov.), *timi* (*Abrus precatorius*) and other herbs were tied together and placed in the bow and stern of canoes when turtling to prevent the turtles from sinking. (The foregoing information was obtained by Mr Seligmann.)

Formerly the shells of turtles were placed on a long platform (*agu*²), and as each canoe had its separate *agu* the crew that could show the greatest number of turtles at the end of the season acquired the greatest glory. The *agu* consisted of a bamboo staging covered with leaves of coco-nut palms and on these were placed the heads and shells of the turtles. Hanging from the *agu* were numbers of large bull-roarers, *bigu*, which continually vibrated in the wind, and on it were placed the *padatrong* rattles³. Waria made a sketch (fig. 50) of an *agu* which was represented as composed of small tree-trunks lying in two long rows; boughs were laid across them and the turtles' carapaces placed on these and tufts of dracæna leaves were inserted vertically between the carapaces. D'Albertis thus describes one he saw in Dauan: "all the shells

¹ *Gulda-pui* = canoe-like plant.

² The term *agu* also signifies the back of a turtle.

³ These are described in volume iv.

of the turtles killed in the place are placed in one long row extending from the little temple to the beach" (II. p. 8).

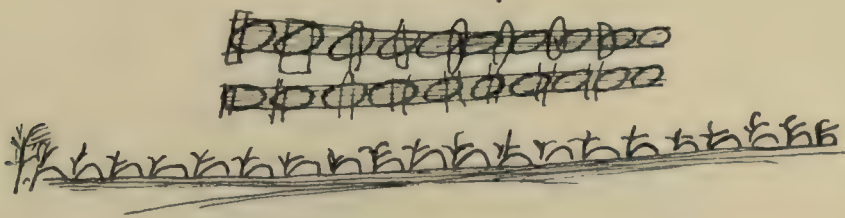


FIG. 50. *Agu*, or turtle-platform, drawn by Waria.

Preparatory to starting out to catch the floating turtles the men took a bull-roarer from the *agu* and swung it over the canoe (fig. 51), and they also stood round the *agu* and whirled the large (*bigu*) and small (*wanes*) bull-roarers (fig. 52, Pl. xx. fig. 2). A performer whirled a *bigu* many times round his head and a *wanes* was at first swung in the same manner, but after a few revolutions it was lashed backwards and forwards and was thus made to produce more than one kind of noise.



FIG. 51. Drawing by Sunday of the turtle-ceremony at a canoe at Gumu.

When the canoe was ready to start the men said to the *mari* of the *wauri* that were on the *agu* (that is the spirits of miniature images of men which were made of wood bound round with dodder), "Come along all our crew, come with us." Then they swung the small bull-roarers and put some *wauri* and *bigu* in the canoe. When the canoe was sailing the crew addressed the *wauri* in allusive and elliptical phrases which I was unable to understand but which were somewhat as follows: "We sail now, all our crew (the *mari* of the *wauri*) go and swim in the middle, and I hope whole rope be rotten, when I sail him rope break, when I lower sail rope break, when I raise the sail rope break." The following was said in connection with the turtle ceremony at the *agu*:

Aiewal ngapa wangau¹ ngolmunia ngolmulpa sera midi rangad gimamani kauki
 Come hither fill up along with us for us what? mast is put up along here
dadia urpalau¹.
 in middle dive in the sea.

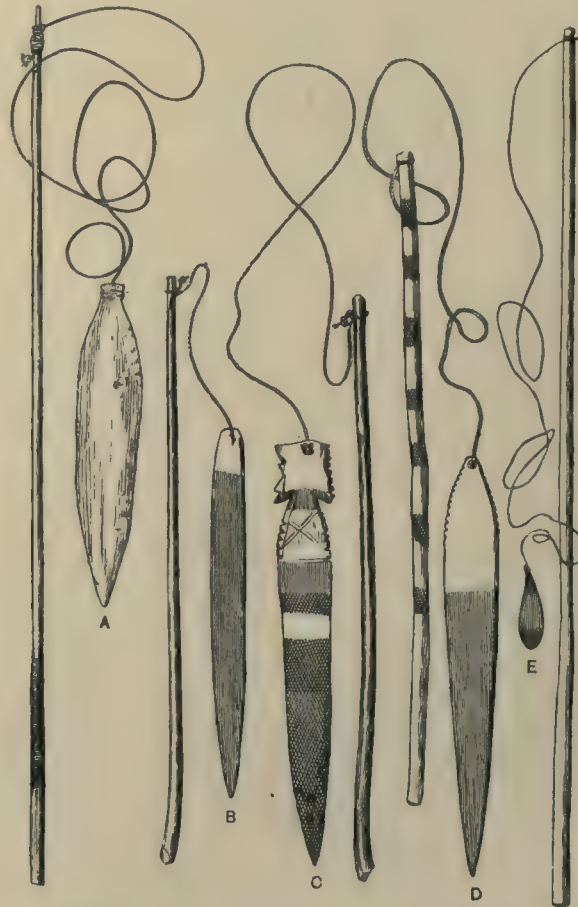


FIG. 52. Models of large (*bigu*) and small (*wanes*) bull-roarers as used in turtle-ceremonies in Mabuiag, the vertical shading indicates red paint and the cross-hatching black paint. One-eighth natural size. Cambridge Museum. A—D, *bigu*, E, *wanes*.

When the canoes were expected to return a man would station himself on a hill to look out, in due time he would see the under sides of the captured turtles gleaming in the successful canoes while yet a long way off; then he whirled a small bull-roarer and the women knew the fishers had been lucky. Apparently this was done only in the *surlal* season.

¹ These are imperatives.

On the arrival of the canoes the men went first to the *agu* round which they marched clockwise swinging bull-roarers and pulling the rattles; if they marched in the counter direction the turtle would swim away. Sometimes the turtle was placed on its back in the *kwod* at Gumu and a similar ceremony took place. The symbolic magic performed by the members of the *Surlal* clan at this place has been described on p. 183.

The old, clever carving in wood of a turtle (Pl. xvi. fig. 5), which I obtained in Tutu in 1888, was fastened to the bow of a canoe when the latter was employed in turtling in order that, by magical constraint, the turtle might come to be caught; doubtless the *surlal* figure (Pl. xvi. fig. 6) also in the British Museum had a similar significance. We procured in Torres Straits two pieces of quartz (fig. 53) fastened together by gum, which symbolised the copulating turtle, and was used as a charm by some North Queensland natives for success in turtle-fishing; my informant called it *lewer mog*, which are Miriam, or Murray Island, words meaning 'a piece of food.'

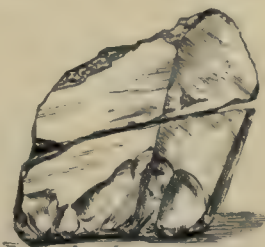


FIG. 53. North Queensland turtle charm. About $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. Cambridge Museum.

During the *surlal* season the empty carapaces of turtles caught during the current season were filled with *potalai* (Maba sp.) and preserved dorsal side uppermost. Even at the present time the carapaces must be preserved intact, for if they were broken the female turtles would immediately sink when a canoe approached as "back belong him sore." Also during this season the heads, etc. of turtles were stuffed with *potalai* or *gulda-pui* and hung over the side of a canoe or in the turtle-house¹. For other examples of magic connected with the turtle cf. p. 184. Taboos connected with turtle-fishing are mentioned on pp. 196, 207, 271.

Turtle Ceremony at Pulu.

Frequently during the *surlal* season the following ceremony took place in the *kwod* at Pulu as it ensured good luck in catching turtles.

A post (*baiu*, or waterspout) about ten to fifteen feet (3—4.5 m.), on which a human face was carved, was erected; to each side of this were hung two narrow carved boards

¹ This may be similar to what D'Albertis records (II. p. 7) having seen in Dauan on December 1st, 1875. "Two puppets representing men, made of straw, are placed at about eight paces from the front of a sort of hut, made of branches and leaves. In the interior, and outside near the entrance, hang strange ornaments in the shape of the eggs and entrails of turtles, which emit a horrible stench. On one side, near the entrance, there is a wide platform supported on stakes driven into the ground; this is covered with the bleeding heads of turtles. The interior surface of the hut was covered with the bones and skulls of the same animal. On the roof are putrid heads; and all around eggs and entrails hang in festoons. I also observed inside the hut two human heads, partly painted red and half covered with the skin of a large sea-bird with white plumage. I was told that these were the skulls of two famous turtle-hunters, held in great veneration by the natives, who present them from time to time with offerings of food, and also, by smoking near them, enable them to enjoy the fumes of tobacco." Cf. also *loc. cit.* p. 210.

(fig. 54), these were decorated with red paint, the long feathers of the pelican and a tuft of cassowary feathers were attached to the lower end of each. From the top of the post depended four ropes and springing out of the ground at its base were several *kaikai*, or sticks decorated with white feathers, which represented the spray or breaking water where a waterspout joins the sea (figs. 75, 78).

Numerous recently caught turtles or dugongs were placed round the post and four men caught hold of the ropes and danced around the *bain* in a semi-crouching manner, sharply flexing each leg alternately. The arms of the men were adorned with armlets and string wristlets and two short cords were fastened by their middles to each elbow, so as to form four moderately long streamers. They repeatedly sang the following words to the beating of a drum:

Buru iabu, buru iabu,
Buru track
Nanu gubanu puzipa, nanu gubanu puzipa.
it in the wind follows.

My informant translated this song as follows: "End of Mangrove island (Buru) wind belong him carry him up." The idea evidently being that the *surlal* season begins when the wind veers round from the south-east to a little east of north and thus blows from the direction of Buru.

A number of men surrounded the four chief actors, standing in a crouching attitude and swinging their arms backwards and forwards. Whilst all this was going on, the *muri* (pp. 5, 359) played around.

Everything was put away during the north-west season.

Wiwai.

At Gumu under a *komak* tree there is a rounded boulder of red granite called *wiwai* about two-and-a-half feet (76 cm.) in height and five feet (152 cm.) in circumference. It now belongs to Aki and Anu¹, but formerly to Matu. When it was first found a big feast and dance were made for this stone. By the side of the stone are three upright stones in alignment, each of which is simply called *ad* or collectively they are termed *adil* (Pl. XXI. fig. 2).

The ceremony connected with this stone takes place in the *surlal* season and its object was to ensure success in catching turtle. The men who had charge of it had to clear the ground in one minute. The stone was anointed with turtle oil and painted with black paint (*ubuai kubi*). A ring (*du* or *kod*) some nine inches (23 cm.) in diameter was put on the top of the stone and various kinds of plants, the leaves of which hung down from the ring; and inserted into it were half-a-dozen short feathered sticks



FIG. 54. Boards used in the turtle-ceremony at Pulu. Length 146 cm. Cambridge Museum.

¹ Probably these are the men who are *tukoia* to each other (in this case first cousins on the father's side) in genealogy 7.

(*kaikai*) (fig. 55). Half-a-dozen *kaikai*, some four feet (122 cm.) in height, were stuck in the ground around the stone.

A number of men sat round. The dancers were entirely covered with leaves and held a bunch of grass in each hand; first one advanced and danced in a crouching manner, no drum being beaten, then he stooped and beat the ground to the right and left of him with leaves of *potalai* (*Maba* sp.) and of *ubar* (*wangai*, *Mimusops kaukii*) to the accompaniment of a drum, and danced with a slight but quick springing movement in the same ground, covering his face with the leaves he held in his hand, and turning his head in various directions, but no drum was beaten. Fig. 56 is a drawing by Sunday of this ceremony, but since he does not represent the men as covered with leaves, the covering may have been partial and not complete.

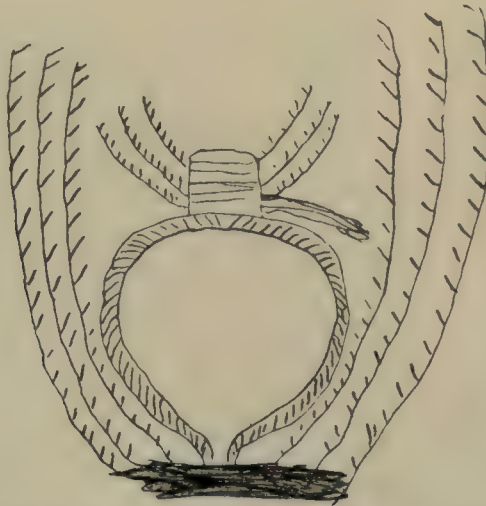


FIG. 55. Drawing by Gizu of the *Wiwai* turtle-shrine at Gumu, Mabuiaig.

There was also a porpoise-dance at Gumu, but of this I have no particulars.

Maino, of Tutu-Yam, stated that his people also had a *wiwai*, a large stone that no one could lift¹, which was thrown up by a whale. The ceremony consisted in cleaning the ground and stone, the latter was painted red and reddened shells were placed around. The man who danced was ruddled, in his hair he wore red hibiscus flowers, leaves were inserted in his armlets and he held caladium leaves in his hands. He also held one end of a rope, the other end of which was held by one old man, who, with the other men, was in a canoe; the old man hauled the dancer, or *gapupulaig*, into the canoe and then they would catch plenty of *gapu* fish. As the *gapu* was used in catching turtle this ceremony was also connected with turtle-fishing.

¹ Hence women who stay at home and are not continually gadding about are termed *wiwai ipika*; the opposite class of women are called *wati pawal ipika*, evil-doing women.

The method of turtle fishing with the *gapu* (sucker-fish, *Echeneis naucrates*) is described in Vol. IV. and cf. pp. 44, 149. The natives of Mabuiag have a great respect for this fish and firmly believe it to possess supernatural powers. For example, when there is something the matter with the bow of the canoe the *gapu* is said to attach itself to the neck or to the anterior shield-plate of the turtle; when the lashings of the float of the outrigger to the thwart-poles are insecure the *gapu* is believed not to stick fast to the turtle, but continually to shift its position; if the strengthening crossties in the centre of the canoe are faulty the *gapu* is stated to attach itself to the turtle and then to swim away. More than once was I told, "*Gapu* savvy all same as man, I think him half devil."



FIG. 56. Drawing by Sunday of the turtle-ceremony at Gumu, Mabuiag.

The *wivai* shrine is shown in elevation on the top of the upper figure and in plan within it.

The nicely carved wooden representation of the fore-part of a *gapu*, from Nagir, in the British Museum (Pl. XVI. fig. 4), was probably employed as a charm for ensuring the capture of the sucker-fish; and the *gapu* carved on the central disc of the rayed, feathered object ("Album," 1. pl. 333, no. 2) held in the hand by Tutu men when dancing may have had a similar significance.

Dugong-fishing.

At the mouth of the Fly River, along the Daudai coast and in the neighbouring islands, certain carved wooden charms called *agumanakai*¹, or agu-spirit, are stuck in



FIG 57. Dugong charm, *kobai*, Mawata, length 425 mm. Cambridge Museum.

FIG. 58. Turtle and dugong charms, *agumanakai*, one-third natural size. Collected by the Rev. J. Chalmers. A. C. H. collection.

a canoe when going turtle- or dugong-fishing; they were employed in Saibai and probably also in other islands. We obtained one (fig. 57) which came from Mawata;

¹ Doubtless this should be *agu-marakai*.

it represents the head of a dugong, on it is also carved a ray which was probably the totem of the owner. This charm was called *kobai* (perhaps from its general resemblance to a throwing-stick) and was stuck in the bow of a canoe; it not only attracted dugong to be caught, but pointed towards the direction in which the dugong were to be found. Several of these charms and other figures will be found on pl. 203 of the Second Series of Partington and Heape's "Ethnographical Album," of these No. 5 represents a man, Nos. 2, 4 are birds' heads, and No. 3 may be a dugong; in fig. 58 others are illustrated, *C* is evidently a dugong, *A* is a bird's head, probably a fish-eagle, the others are degenerate figures. Various feathers and leaves are attached to them. It is extremely probable that the carvings (fig. 59) formerly inserted at the stern of most Torres Straits canoes had a magical significance. The upper end of the flat sticks of wood were generally carved to represent the head of the frigate-bird¹, and occasionally that of the sea-eagle; a wooden fish's tail was sometimes present which, from its shape, was almost certainly intended to represent the tail of a king-fish or one of the allied predaceous gigantic mackerel. All these creatures are voracious fishers. The indication of a head at the butt-end of the dugong harpoons (Vol. IV., also *Cunningham Memoirs*, x., Roy. Irish Acad. 1894, pl. iv., and "Album," i. pl. 326, no. 5) was doubtless magical in significance.

A man who "savvy medicine along dugong" (probably he would be a member of the *Dangal* clan, but of this I am not sure) made a wooden² effigy of a dugong and painted it red (Pl. XVI, fig. 1), or black with a red band which extended from the mouth down the middle of the back to the tail (Pl. XVI, figs. 2, 3, and see p. 183). The pigment was mixed with dugong oil. He then gathered certain plants which he chewed and mixed with *damu* (the sea-grass, *Cymodocea* spp., on which the dugong browses), red paint and dugong fat. The mixture was placed in the cavity of the model and the charm was complete. Twigs of *gabu* (*Eugenia* or *Heptapleuron*) might also be tied to the head. I procured one (Pl. XVI, fig. 1) at Moa in Sept. 1888, which was fortified by the addition of the fibulae of the *maidelaig* who had originally carved the model; when he died these leg-bones were secured, and when painted red and affixed to the wooden charm, they greatly increased its efficacy. One of these charms was suspended beneath a dugong-platform to lure the dugong to come and be harpooned.

The nose and anterior part of the face of a dead dugong were used in a similar way to the wooden effigies, as were also the larynx and trachea, which were previously stuffed with *gabu*, *aibo* (*Jussiaea suffruticosa*), *waik* (*Acanthus ilicifolius*), and *ngobur* (*Psoralea badocanea*), then "dugong he smell him, he come quick." (C. G. S.)

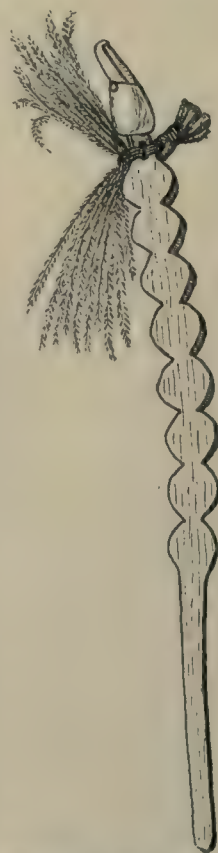


FIG. 59. Flat stick of wood from stern of a canoe, carved to represent the pod of the 'Queensland bean' and the head of the frigate-bird, *womer*.

¹ Cf. "Ethnographical Album," First Series, pl. 323, no. 4.

² I collected a stone dugong at Tutu in 1888, cf. "Album," i. pl. 345, no. 1.

If a man who had harpooned a dugong did not give some of the meat to a *maidelaig* and the latter felt aggrieved, he might say, "Next time you make a dugong-platform (*neët, nat* or *noët*, p. 41 and Vol. IV.) I will give you something." Then he took a stone effigy of a dugong in which there was a cavity and into this he put "poison medicine, or any bad stuff and thing along reef and sea-water, he stir up, and poison done." The man would meet his death by his neck becoming fouled in the coils of the rope when he plunged into the water to harpoon a dugong and thus he would be drowned. Death by strangulation in this manner occasionally occurred, and formerly it was always accredited to a *maidelaig*. In the manuscript of the genealogical history of his people, which Waria sent to us, is the account of the marriages of Tigi (Table 4); we read that Maiak, her first husband, "*noat*, dugong platform, *moidadin*, built, *keda*, thus, *keda*, in this manner, *nuin*, him, *dangalan*, a dugong, *kato-kunumidin*, strangled." I give (fig. 60) Waria's sketch of this sad event.

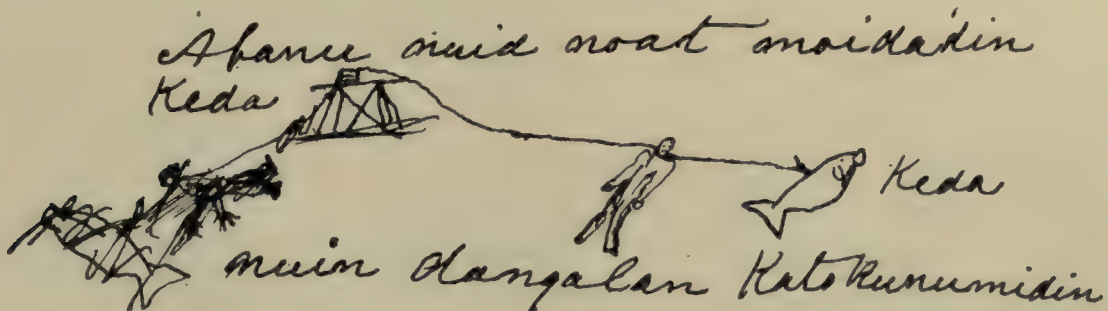


FIG. 60. Drawing by Waria illustrating the death of Maiak by strangulation when dugong fishing.

The following act of sympathetic magic was practised in Mabuiag: before setting out to harpoon dugong a man would press the palm of his hand deeply into his wife's abdomen with the object of securing a dugong and her calf. (C. G. S.)

Mudu Kap.

The people of Mabuiag had a *kap*, or dance, when the star called *kek* first appeared, just before sunrise, over the island of Moa; at that time the south-east wind (*waur*) sets in and all kinds of food are ripe. The dance lasted for three nights, and the performers wore various masks, such, for example, as the *mudu*, *dibubuag* and *wamedebu*, all of which were turtle-shell masks made to represent a human face (figs. 61, 62).

The *mudu kap* lasted for half-a-day. Two men alternately wore one mask. A dugong-platform was made in front of a mat screen, *kai*, and in front of the dugong-platform were the spectators. The latter provided a feast, the food being distributed among everyone present.

One performer retired behind the screen and put on his shoulders a ring of wood, or cane, on which he rested the mask, *krar* (fig. 61). He was dressed in a coco-nut leaf petticoat, *tu*, and he carried in his right hand a coco-nut leaf flag, *dadu*. On coming in front of the screen he picked up a dugong harpoon that was lying ready for him and went on to the dugong-platform. Then the spectators sang the following song to the double staccato beats of a drum, and at the same time the masked man shook his harpoon:

Mata girima noataka, mulpa gi wanamai, a kaura mut tapi,
 Only to platform down point putting and ear husk of coco-nut swimming,
a noata bubu, noata pudar, a masir pudar,
 then platform tide platform kept falling then was stopping falling,
a noata bubu, noata pudar, a masir pudar a.
 then platform tide platform was falling then was stopping falling then.

(The ending *r* is sign of continuous action, and apparently here refers to motion of the tide up and down past the platform. S. H. Ray.)

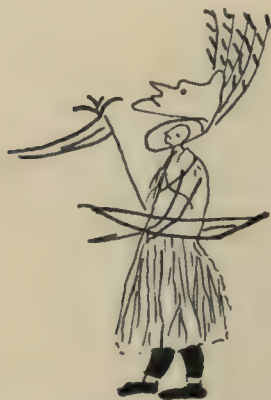


FIG. 61. Man dressed for the *mudu kap*, drawn by Waria.



FIG. 62. *Dibubuag* (A) and *wamedebu* (B) masks, drawn by Gizu.

The song, the meaning of which we cannot understand, was continually repeated.

The masked man then went along the sand beach, dancing as he went; as soon as he came back to behind the screen he changed the harpoon for a bow and arrow. He danced with a skipping sort of motion, then he slowly lifted up one leg and rested for an instant on the other before repeating the action; during this performance he made a sweeping movement with the *dadu*, while the drum was beaten and other men sang the following song:

"Ngi kai nagi a ngau muda kawa ngau mud sena Sewainēbanu."
 You now look and my house here my house there at Sewainēba.

"You look, see to my house, my house is over there at Sewainēba" was the translation given to me by my informant.

The women returned to their houses.

The other man put on the mask behind the screen, and coming in front, went on the top of the platform. The drum beaters made numerous beats on the drums, and the women returned. The masked man sat on the platform, as on a chair, with the *wap* lying across his knees, but when the people sang the first song to the beating of the drums he shook his harpoon, and then he squatted on the platform and again shook his harpoon, then he leapt off the platform holding his harpoon as if he were spearing a dugong. Next he danced, retreating backwards and forwards with a light springing step and alternately thrust the harpoon backwards and forwards. Finally he retired behind the screen, and the *kap* finished with a big feast.

I was informed repeatedly that a *kap* was "only play, like holiday"; by this I conclude that our informants did not understand the significance of the performance and that its humorous side and the festivities associated with it alone appealed to them. The pantomime of dugong-fishing clearly marks it out as a dance connected with that employment.



FIG. 63. Drawing by Gizu of a dugong-ceremony at Dabungai, Mabuiag.

Unfortunately I have no information as to the spot where the dance was held; but since my return Mr Cowling has sent me some sketches by Gizu, one of which represents "dugong play at Dabungai" (fig. 63); no further information is forthcoming, but it is very possible that Gizu intended to illustrate a dance of this kind. His men, however, appear to have over their faces a leafy mask, somewhat similar to the *markaikwik* of the death-dance (p. 253, fig. 36 and Pl. XIV.) but without the three downwardly projecting feathered wands. Anyhow we may conclude that a mimetic representation of harpooning the dugong was performed at the *kwod* at Dabungai, where other dugong ceremonies took place (pp. 162, 182).

The symbolic magic performed by the members of the *Dangal* clan at Dabungai has been described on p. 182. From various fragmentary notes in our possession it is evident that there were several ceremonies connected with turtle- and dugong-hunting, as well as with ordinary fishing, of which we are unable to give an account. It is

also most probable that these occurred only in definite places; we know this was the case for some ceremonies. As formerly the clans lived in definite localities (p. 159), so the magical ceremonies that had for their object a successful fishing season would necessarily form part of the function of the clan which lived in that locality.

The Saw-fish Dance.

The *Waiitutu kap* or Saw-fish Dance was witnessed by me at Waiben (Thursday Island), early in November, 1888. For more than a week before the ceremony took place the Nagir and the Muralug islanders, then resident on Thursday Island, made their preparations and practised their chant. The men who made and decorated the elaborate masks sat in the bush away from the village (Pl. XVIII. fig. 2, Pl. XIX. fig. 1).

When all the preparations were completed and the time had arrived for the ceremony to commence, the performers retired behind a mat screen or *waus*. In front of this was an open space, round which, at some distance from the screen, spectators of all ages and both sexes were arranged. To one side of the spectators were a couple of men who beat the drums. One of the drums was a large hour-glass shaped *warup* and the other was a cylindrical *buruburu*. As the dances were usually at night, a fire was kept burning to illumine the proceedings.

At the commencement of each dance, which coincided with a prelude on the drums, a masked man appeared on each side from behind the *waus*. The two men advanced forwards with a sedately capering step and crossed over to opposite corners of the dancing ground and ultimately retired to the ends of the screen: then they crouched down and slowly wagged their large grinning masks from side to side.

As soon as the two couplets of the chant were finished, they disappeared behind the *waus* for rest and refreshment, and their places were taken by two other dancers. Only two men danced at the same time. This performance was repeated for hours in succession, occasionally there were longer periods for rest. The ceremony commenced on a Sunday afternoon and was continued every evening and during the nights till the following Thursday.

The performers wore the *tu* or men's dancing petticoat and palm-leaf *kamadi*; on the legs were *makamak*, *dana-kukur*, and *brua*; *musur*, with leaves inserted, adorned the upper arms; in the right hand strips of palm-leaf were held, and the large mask completely enveloped the head and neck.

The music consisted solely of drum-beating. At first, as a prelude, about twenty rapid beats were given, then followed a monotonous series of beats of about eighty to a minute till the chant was ended, when after a slight interval the whole was repeated. The score will be found on pp. 376—8, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXIX. 1890.

The chant, which was sung by the spectators, was called *Waiitutu kap kudu*, or the Couplets of the Saw-fish Dance. The following is the best rendering I can give:

1. *Ngai natan he! Dan abai he! Marinaidemi he! he! he! wa!*
I burn up pool covering they are reflecting.
2. *Ngita kai he! Ngai kika he!—he—! Tuwa patan he! He—he!*
You now for me tu have cut.

3. *Yawa boi he! Wa ponipan he! Yawa boi he! he! he! wa!*
 Farewell Yes! lightning Farewell.
4. *Wapi senu ngapa! iabu ulaipa he! Pula sena ngapa! iabu mulu sipa! sanderal he!*
 Fish there comes track go along stone there comes down there.

The following is the meaning of the song:

1. I see my reflection in the pools of the reef.
2. You have cut the young coco-nut palm leaf for me.
3. Farewell dead coco-nut palm leaves. Yes! there is the lightning.
4. Fish are coming, we must build fish-weirs in their route.

The first line refers to the glassy surface of the sea during the calms of the north-west monsoon. Petticoats, *tu* (footnote 1, p. 253), are required for the dances. The dead leaves, *boi*, fall off the coco-nut palms at this season, and the lightning at night is a very characteristic feature of the rainy season and only occurs then; at times the whole horizon is glowing with a continuous display of sheet-lightning. Lastly, fish are very plentiful at this season and come inshore; on the reefs of several of the islands there are built ridges, or low walls, of blocks of coral-rock enclosing large areas and the fish that come inshore at high tide get caught in these fish-weirs when the tide recedes.

It is evident that this ceremony had relation to the commencement of the rainy season—a time when vegetation is renewed after the parching of the dry season and shoals of fish visit the shore; in other words, it is the beginning of a period of renewed life and plenty and consequently a time for rejoicing and dancing. We may safely regard the *Waiitutu kap* as a magical ceremony, the object of which was to ensure all these good things.

This ceremony has been described and the masks and scene figured in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. VI. 1893, p. 146, pl. XIII.

Fish Masks.

We have two drawings made independently by two natives of the *Iabur* mask. The mask consisted of a turtle-shell model of a fish, *baiŕg tim*, with long jaws; a man named Iabur was placed on the fish, the mask was decorated with various feathers and seed-rattles. This large mask was made by some Moa men who sold it to the Mabuiag people. In Joani's drawing (fig. 64) a figure called Malu is placed on the fish's nose, and a screen, *kai*, is shown in the background. The mask was used in a ceremonial dance, probably of a somewhat similar nature to that described above. The association of Malu (p. 64) and of Iabur (concerning whom we have no information) with the mask points to a hero-cult of some sort, but I was definitely told it was not an *augud*.

Masks representing fish were very common in Torres Straits (fig. 7, p. 54); often they were surmounted by a human face (fig. 65) and sometimes the animal was a composite one. In fig. 65 there are drawn a shark (*C*), a hammer-headed shark (*A*), and one of the large mackerels (*B*). Other masks of this kind will be found figured in Partington

and Heape, "Ethnographical Album," vol. 1. I was informed that no. 2, pl. 328 represented the head of a hawk and the body of a fish; it was dreamt of by Pédia (14) and



FIG. 64. Drawing by Joani of Mabuig of a man wearing the Iabur mask.

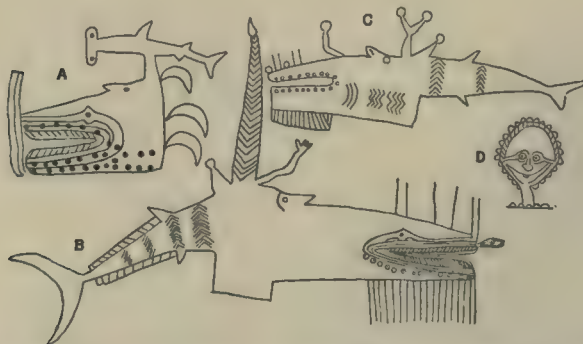


FIG. 65. Reduced tracings of dance-masks engraved on bamboo tobacco-pipes. A, B. British Museum (6520); C, D. Oxford Museum. (From *Cunningham Memoirs*, x. Royal Irish Academy, 1894.)

made by Nigi, 'father' of Gizu, and Anaii (2), 'uncle' by adoption of Waria (1); the man who wore it in a dance was painted black, was ornamented in the usual manner and carried a bow and arrows. No. 1, pl. 329, is a model of a *kaigas*; supporting the underside of the lower jaw are two sticks, one end of each of which is carved to represent the head of a frigate-bird; I do not know what are the two companion fishes. Both masks were obtained at Mabuiag by the Rev. S. MacFarlane. There can be little doubt that most of the masks of this character were employed in magical ceremonies that had relation to fishing operations.

AGRICULTURAL MAGIC.

Madub.

The *madub* of Mabuiag was described to us as a kind of *wauri* (p. 324); it was a wooden image of human shape (fig. 66) and some were said to be of the female sex.



FIG. 66. Drawing by Gizu of a male *madub*.



FIG. 67. Model of a tobacco charm, Mabuiag, one quarter natural size. Cambridge Museum.

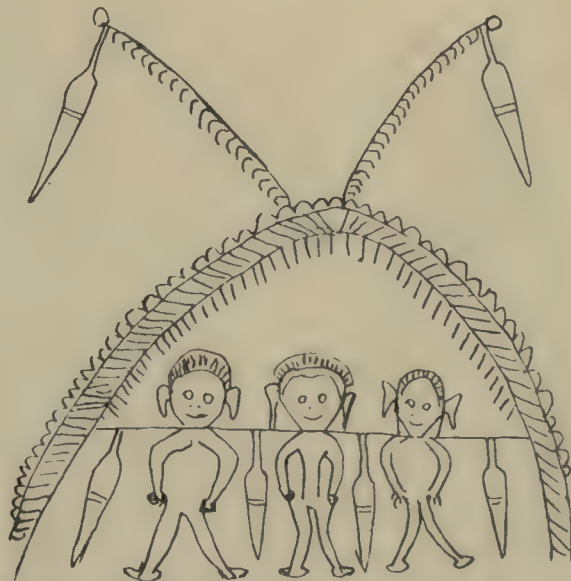


FIG. 68. Drawing by Gizu of a garden shrine in Mabuiag.

The business of the *madub* was to take charge of the garden beside which it was placed, and to give good crops of yams, sweet-potatoes, bananas and sugar-cane. One special kind, *sukub madub* (fig. 67), was placed in the tobacco (*sukub*) gardens.

Often a simple arch, or booth, of bamboo to which a fringe of *tu* was attached was made in the garden; the arch represented the rainbow (*kuruar*), and probably the *tu* represented falling rain, as in the rain charm of Murray Island (see Vol. VI.). According to Gizu's drawing (fig. 68) two fringed wands projected from the apex, to the end of each of which a bull-roarer (*bigu*) was suspended. In this "house belong *madub*" (*dau*) were placed from one to four *madub*, and several bull-roarers were suspended from a cord stretched across the *dau*. At night-time "the *madub* turn devil," that is became animated, and went round the garden swinging the bull-roarers to make the plants in the garden grow and they danced and repeatedly sang:

O ari ina, ina dauaiia muli.
Oh! the rain (is) here, here by the bananas it speaks.

In the day-time the *madub* turned again into wood.

Men also danced at night-time round the gardens and sang the song of the *madub*. In dancing the body was slightly flexed and jerked slightly upwards and downwards; the arms were flexed so that the fore-arms were roughly parallel to the ground, the hands being dropped; the legs were slightly bent. The head was turned first to one side and then to the other. In all the dancing movements each hand followed its corresponding leg. Frequently the right leg was scraped four times in succession on the ground, and a corresponding number of pulling movements were made with both hands to the right side, then the same actions were performed on the left side. After the men had danced and sung the spirits (*mari*) of the *madub* danced that night, alternately scratching the ground with each foot, and sang their refrain; indeed the *mari* of the *madub* do what men do.

There appear to have been several varieties of this kind of *wauri*: (1) *madub* of large size and carved in the round¹ (Pl. xx. fig. 4), it carried a bow and arrow, the former was made of bamboo (*marap gagai*), it made big food; (2) *kerere*, (3) *magag*, and (4) *dabugal* were very thin, carried a *boiboi gagai*, which as the name implies is a bow made of the mid-rib of coco-nut palm leaflets, and they made small food. All of them were distinctly asserted not to be *augud*.

When fruit was ripe and the yams and sweet-potatoes were ready for use in Yam, people held the *garig kap* at which the men who danced wore masks. The dance lasted all through one night; if any performer was tired, he slept for a little time and then resumed his dancing.

¹ Mr Seligmann was informed that a *madub* has certain marks, *kurui minar*, at the back of the neck which do not occur on men. The image should be made of one of four kinds of wood, viz. *urabar*, *naiwa*, *mepa*, or *kuzubu*. It should have a frontlet of banana leaf, a man's dancing petticoat, bands made of dracena leaves round neck, should wear a pearl-shell crescent and carry a *kobai*; the throwing-stick in this instance was a stick with a hook at one end. Our specimen (Pl. xx. fig. 4) was made of *urabar* (*Hibiscus*), and in addition to the foregoing had flowers of *Vinca alba*, var. *rosea*, and twigs of *uruar* tucked under the arm that held the throwing-stick.

Attention has already been drawn to the association of the bull-roarer with horticulture in Kiwai (p. 218); there is a similar connection in Mabuiag; in Yam the same also occurred where the *bigu* "belonged" to sweet-potatoes and yams as well as to turtle. Belonging to the same category was a remarkable object (fig. 69) described to me by Maino, which he called *madub* or *bigu*; it consisted of a large oblong slab which was suspended from an umbrageous tree in a secret place in the bush, where it could not be seen. The surface was painted black except for a red central band that expanded above and below; on the upper margin were two human clavicles, and a human humerus and femur were fastened to each side; at each corner and side was a white cowry and on the lower margin a row of white cowries, each of which was encircled by a band of red paint; a fringe of *tu* completed the object. It is evident that this, in some way, represented a human figure. It is worth noting that one of the *bigu* made for us in Mabuiag (fig. 52, C) was in the form of a man and doubtless this was associated with the *madub* rather than with turtle-fishing.

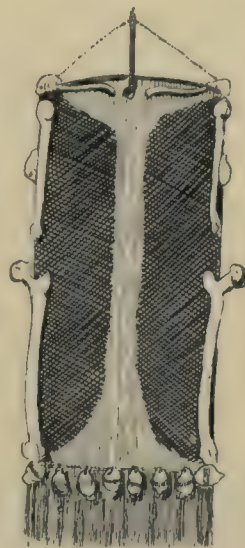


FIG. 69. Garden charm, Yam, after a drawing by Maino.

Some of the Mabuiag *madub* were said to be female; this agrees with the customs at the initiation of the lads in Kiwai described p. 218. I have elsewhere alluded to the magical association of women and agriculture in British New Guinea, *Head Hunters, Black, White and Brown*, pp. 106, 218. The fact that the *madub* are usually of male sex in Mabuiag is perhaps connected with the hero-cults that characterised the religion of the islanders.

The association of the sexual act with agricultural fertility is indicated on pp. 35, 36: the relation is implied in all the versions of the story of Sida.

There was also at Yam a mythical woman named Modokorosa, who was once the wife of Sida (pp. 28, 32); her function was to take care of the gardens and to make the coco-nuts, bananas, yams, and other garden plants fruitful.

Ubarau zogo.

In Yam there was a shrine called *ubarau zogo*¹, the shrine of the *ubar* (or *wangai*, a wild fruit, *Mimusops kaukii*); it consisted of a small stone figure, *met* (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), in front of which was a large clam shell, *mi*, containing numerous small rounded or oval pebbles, *ubarau waiwai*, that is, 'testes of ubar'; a single row of large *Fusus* shells, *bu*, between a double row of coral, extended in front of this; flanking the *mi* and the *met*, and extending behind the latter, were numerous *Fusus* shells, the erect objects in Maino's drawing (fig. 70); behind the *met* are wooden hooks, *ngail*, surmounted by a tuft of the feathers of the white reef-heron. The

¹ *Zogo* is the term used for similar shrines by the Murray Islanders (Vol. vi.); the Kulkalaig employ several words that strictly belong to the Miriam language.

object of this shrine was to ensure a plentiful crop of *ubar* fruit; similar shrines in the Murray Islands will be described in Vol. VI.



FIG. 70. Sketch by Maino of the *ubarau zogo*, Yam.

Mawa Ceremony.

In most of the Western Islands a ceremony was performed when the *ubar* was ripe, the object of which was to ensure a good crop of fruit. This period is called *naigai*, or 'north-wind,' and corresponds roughly to our September; the season is heralded by the appearance of the *kek*, or *kerki*, star.

As we have most information about the ceremony as performed in Yam, I will begin with what occurred in that island. All the people looked on, but only one man performed. His costume (fig. 71) consisted of a conical head-dress composed of coco-nut leaves and produced into a forwardly-projecting peak to the end of which was attached a ring, *gaigaidan* (p. 249). On the front of the head-dress was a turtle-shell mask representing a human face, which was painted with transverse curved red, blue, and black lines, and covered with white spots. The mask was set in a circle of white cowry shells (*boboam*). Attached to the lower edge of the head-dress was a long full dress made of leaves.

It was important that the identity of the performer should be unknown. The masked man came into the village in the evening and disappeared at daybreak. He walked slowly and swayed his dress from side to side. When he came close to the people he ran after them, men and women alike, and the women cried. The people used to say, "a stone-fish spear him" (that is, "may he be pierced by the poisonous sting of the stone-fish"). Kebisu (16) was a *mawa*, and after him AUSA and Wēdai.

The Nagir ceremony was very similar to that in Yam, but there were two masked dancers, *kai* and *mugi*. The big one went first, followed by the little one; they could take food from anyone's house, the chasing of the men and women was also a prominent feature. The *mawa* ceremony took place in front of the *waus* (p. 366, Pl. XIX. fig. 2).



FIG. 71. Man dressed for the *mawa* ceremony, drawn by Maino.

At Paremar a custom similar to the Yam *mawa* occurred also at the fruit season. Only one man performed; he wore a leafy head-dress and a turtle-shell mask, the upper part of his body was covered with dodder (*nazaru*) and the lower part with *tu*; he held bushes in each hand (fig. 72). The masked figure was called *Kanga*. The same custom obtained at Waraber and Damut; in the former island the dancer represented *Kemuz* or *Kamus*, the wife of Mawa. The wooden mask, represented in Pl. XVIII. fig. 1 was said by Maino to represent *Kemuz* who had a big nose and white spots on her face. In Saibai I was informed this mask was made by Garmai of that island, but it was called *Idihwaku*¹.

A similar custom occurred in Saibai, where it took place when the food in the gardens was ripe. The *kek* star was the sign first for the *markai* ceremonies, and later for *mawa*. The mask figured in Pl. XVII. fig. 1 was made by Goidan of that island, and it belonged to the men of the *Sam* and *Karbai augud* (p. 155). Another mask (Pl. XVII. fig. 2) was made by Paneta, and it belonged to the *Umai* and *Daibau augud*.

Very little information is to hand from Mabuiag, but sufficient to show that the same custom obtained there. It appears there were two masked dancers as at Nagir, *kai mawa* and *mugi mawa*. Mr Cowling has forwarded to me a drawing by a native

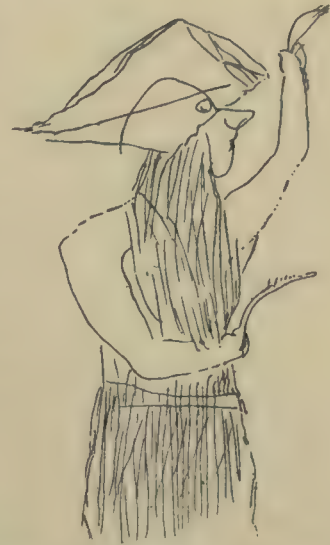


FIG. 72. *Kanga*, drawn by Maino.



FIG. 73. Man wearing a large *mawa* mask, drawn by Sunday.

(fig. 73), which shows a man bearing on his head a large *mawa* mask and who is entirely hidden within a fringed leafy covering. He says the ceremony took place at Panai and lasted four weeks, during which period no one was allowed to cohabit as it brought bad luck.

¹ Lit. 'oily mat.'

RAIN- AND WIND-MAKING.

The office of rain- and wind-making was hereditary in certain families and the same man performed both functions; presumably the accredited person was always an old man as my informant described him as bald-headed. The following were mentioned as rain- and wind-makers in Mabuiag, Pedia, *Dangal*, *Kodal* (1 A), Baia, *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, *Umai* (2), Kewia, *Umai*, *Surlal* (11), Bandu, *Tapimul* (13), and Nagu, *Dangal*, *Gapu* (8). The chief totem of each of these clans, with the partial exception of *Umai*, *Surlal*, belongs to the *Mugi augudau kazi*, or water animals (p. 172); but we have no definite statement to the effect that these men necessarily had to belong to this group or class, though it was probably the case as wind was essential for fishing.

A rain-maker was called *aripuilaig* and a wind-maker *gubaupulaig*, sometimes the term *gubaupigarka*¹ was used.

If a man wanted it to rain he went to the rain-maker and asked him to make some. The latter might reply, "You go and put some more thatch on your house and on mine too"; this was to keep out the forthcoming rain. The rain-maker painted himself black and white "all along same as clouds, black behind, white he go first," or he painted his body with black spots to make the clouds come, when they had congregated in one spot the rain would fall. The rain-maker put 'medicine' on his right hand and waved it towards his body and chanted this *wenewen*:

Ni ngatal ngau gamuka mitapataika ni wadogamuia ngurpaik
 You sorry my body taste you on other side understand
ngapun gital ngau gamuka mitapataika.
 of us two hands my body taste.

I was informed this meant "You no go dance another way, best thing you come taste my body." Then the rain came.

After a good deal of rain had fallen, everybody was hungry since they could not go out to get food as the ground was so wet, so the instigator of the rain requested the rain-maker to stop it. The latter might answer, "To-morrow rain small, next day sun he shine." To stop the rain the rain-maker put red paint on the crown of his head to represent the shining sun, and the face was painted with a broad median line of red that extended from the red poll to the bridge of the nose, a line then divaricated on each side of the nose, round the nostrils and met again at the apex of the chin. The body was ruddled all over. The rain-maker lay sideways on a mat on the ground with his legs doubled up and three mats over him, these mats were fastened so closely that no wind could penetrate them. He inserted a small ball of red paint into his anus, which he expelled shortly "like breaking a cloud, so that sun he may shine." Next he collected the sprouting leaves of the pandanus, and leaves of *uruqi* (*Uvaria* sp., near *U. purpurea*), *salili* (*Alycia spicata*), *urdi*, *sazar*, *ubar* (*Mimusops*, or perhaps *Morinda citrifolia*) and *mamedia*; these were burnt together on

¹ *Ari*, rain; *gubau*, of the wind (*gub*, wind); *pui*, 'medicine' (cf. footnote, p. 320); *laig*, some of a group of people; *garka*, person; cf. p. 2.

the sea-shore close to the water on a rising tide, and as the encroaching sea washed away the ashes so the clouds were scattered. The rain was likened to the arms of an octopus, the curling smoke represented the pulling out of the arms, and thus the rain clouds were dispersed; one informant said the smoke was like the clouds and as it was dissipated so they disappeared.

The following account was obtained in Mubuiag by Mr C. G. Seligmann. The rain-maker takes branches of leaves of *kubilgin* (*Diospyros* sp.), *kodadapui* (*Galactia tenuiflora*), *susulpui* (*Euphorbia serrulata*), *krabar* (*Polypodium quercifolium*), and *kemu*; these are put in the sea with a stone on top of them and are left to soak for about ten days. When there has been enough rain he takes the plants and dries them in a quiet place in the bush where the air is quite still, he then daubs himself all over with red paint when he stands up, and after placing his right hand in his left arm-pit for a few moments waves the former to all points of the horizon. The hand is carefully warmed and dried before the fire before being placed in the arm-pit, and when the bushes are quite dry they are burnt.

The following *wenewen* was said:

<i>Bagain</i>	<i>ni dak</i>	<i>ni nungu</i>	<i>paru</i>	<i>nuraingul</i>
(An expletive)	you	temples	you his	forehead wrapped round yesterday
<i>pa ngatal</i>	<i>paru</i>	<i>uti wati</i>	<i>za zilami</i>	<i>kidi ra zizilnga</i>
away	sorry	forehead enter	bad thing run	another way
<i>pa ngatal</i>	<i>Baduka</i>	<i>mika</i>	<i>pika</i>	<i>Badunu kabar</i>
away	sorry	to Badu for what?	to yonder	at Badu chest
<i>susunpogaik</i>	<i>pa ngatal</i>	<i>Kevir nika</i>	<i>kai aripui</i>	<i>garka.</i>
projecting breasts	away	sorry	to Kevir	big rain-blow man.

When men wished for wind in order that they might sail their canoes for the purpose of harpooning dugong they went to a wind-maker to proffer their request. Prepayment was necessary. The reply would be in some such manner as this, "To-morrow the wind will come in puffs, that means a big blow on the following day; so you all go and make fast your canoes with three or four ropes." The wind-maker painted himself red all over and took some 'bushes' (*wor*) and fixed them firmly at low tide at the edge of the reef in such a way that the flowing tide caused them to sway backwards and forwards. In due course the wind came with a steady blow, and the men went out and obtained their dugong. Should none of the meat be given to the wind-maker, he caused the wind to continue blowing so strongly that no canoes could venture out to sea. After a few days he strolled round to the *kwod* and jeered at the men, saying, "Why don't you go out and get some dugong? You will be hungry!" Then they knew why the wind was so strong and they gave him a present to stop the excess of wind, for only he who had raised the wind could allay it.

To stop the wind the wind-maker painted his head and face and reddened his body in the same manner as when making rain, and also painted the 'bushes' red and dried the latter either over a fire in his house or in a sheltered sunny spot and then the wind would die away. My informant, Gizu, added, "*augudau*, sacred, *sese parma*, red paint, *guaiiangu*, crown of head, *tadida*, repeatedly rubs."

When there were a strong wind and heavy seas the wind-maker said the following *wenewen* to still the waters:

Samu burumau iabu mugina iuka.
Cassowary pigs road little lies.

My informant said "small path belong cassowary and pig," and added it was like the path of a canoe. The idea being that the wake of a canoe was like the narrow paths made through the scrub by cassowaries and pigs and by mentioning the latter the magical formula enabled the canoe to make its similar track.

If a man who had been successful in fishing refused to give some of his turtle- or dugong-meat to a wind-maker, the latter would be "wild inside" and would punish the stingy hunter by driving away the wind in the following way. After blackening himself all over he stood up and waved his hands away from his head to drive away the wind, and shaking his head said the following *wenewen*, making it appear as if the words came from his stomach:

Psh psh pinakaduka Baduka ngowaka pinaka kabu susun pagaik
to up yonder to Badu sweetheart to yonder chest breast projects
Pinaka zapun patanekai pinaka garun patanekai augūdan
to yonder something will get to yonder sugar cane will collect of *augud*
sizi parma tidai kuruig mududun azaberan ni¹ purte.
there red ochre shall receive you eat.

I was informed this meant: "You go to Badu, you stay there and no come back, plenty of young, fine-looking girl there, you can stay there, this place no good for you; and the wind finish."

Mr Ray's translation of this is as follows: "Go up yonder to Badu, go yonder for a sweetheart with projecting breasts (that is a young girl), go yonder and you will get something, go yonder for you will gather sugar cane, there you will get the red-ochre of the *augud*, you shall be given a house and food to eat." Evidently these inducements were held out to the wind to leave Mabuig and to go to Badu. The same formula was employed to prevent rain from falling.

A "big man" in Moa could cause wind to blow by painting himself black all over and whirling a *wanes*, or small leaf-shaped bull-roarer (fig. 52 *E*). He could also "quench the wind," '*usimaipa gub*.'

In Muralug "a big man who savvy" could raise a wind by very rapidly whirling a very thin *wanes* attached to a long string. If more wind was required the man climbed to the top of a tree and performed there. The same man could make the sea advance upon the land by taking a block of coral from the edge of the fringing reef and putting it under a tree and in due time the water would come up to the block of coral. He also could cause the sea to return to its normal level.

Rain was made in Yam, according to Maino, in a manner so similar to that employed in Murray Island (Vol. VI.) that a description is superfluous. The stone image was called *maidam*.

¹ Mr Ray suggests *mud*, house, *aidun*, food, *a*, and, *zapul*, things, *a*, then, *ni*, you.

Kwoiam could get the wind he required simply by asking for it to blow, pp. 73, 75.

In the Pitt Rivers Museum at Farnham is a remarkable object (Pl. xvi. fig. 7) made of lead, engraved to represent a human figure and painted red. Unfortunately I cannot lay my hands on the full particulars of this specimen. It was obtained with very great difficulty by Mr Robert Bruce from one of the small islands between Yam and Murray Island. It was regarded as a most potent wind charm. Of course the lead had been obtained from a European.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.

Giants and Tailed-men.

Mr Wilkin states that giants have been reported from the mainland of New Guinea to whose knees we should hardly reach: "Saibai man he see him." Magala (4 B), a Mabuig mission teacher at Kunini, on the New Guinea coast, said on his return that he had seen "men fast back to back" (cf. pp. 29, 30, 33), also men with tails. Pinu (1 A), formerly a teacher at Boigu, who was killed by the Tugeri men, also claimed to have seen them. In 1888 I was informed by Mabuig natives of the existence in New Guinea of tailed men, who had to make a hole in the ground before they could sit down!

Dògai.

There was, and still is, throughout the western islands a belief in a class of powerful beings, or bogeys, termed *dògai*, who generally were on the look out to do mischief, but who were easily outwitted (p. 21) and often killed; some however were good.

A *dògai* was always female and had the general appearance of a woman (figs. 4, 5), wearing the same kind of petticoat and ornaments and doing things similar to those that are done by women. A typical *dògai* was a big-bodied woman, with long, skinny legs but small feet, hideous features (p. 13), and ears so large that she could sleep on the one while the other covered her, like a man sleeping between two mats (p. 21); all *dògai* were characterised by their large ears. Some *dògai* either had less repellent features or they could assume a seductive appearance. The carved human face with large ears that formed the figure-head of canoes (fig. 74, and Pl. xx. fig. 5) was called *dògai*.

According to the folk-tales some *dògai* desired men as husbands (pp. 16, 23), in one case so personifying a woman as to be accepted by the husband as his true wife. One *dògai* stole and killed a girl (p. 14), another killed and ate a number of boys (p. 93). One played a practical joke on six blind fishermen and stole their fish (p. 18). Some could transform themselves temporarily



FIG. 74. Bow of a canoe, Mabuig, with figure-head, *dògai*.

into animals (pp. 23, 94) or into a tree (p. 94). Very frequently the *dògai* were killed by those whom they had wronged (pp. 13, 16, 20, 21, 25, 93, 95) and strangely enough their slayers sometimes occasionally died also. Sometimes the *dògai* were transformed into constellations (pp. 13, 16), and one executioner became a star (p. 13); on two occasions the *dògai* were transformed into stones or rocks (pp. 20, 21) as did some men who killed one (p. 20). Naughty children were threatened that a *dògai* would come for them (p. 14) and adults sometimes pretended to be *dògai* (pp. 14, 39).

Mr Wilkin and I independently obtained the following information about a *dògai* named Uzu, who is believed still to reside at a point of land called Umai piti in Gebar. Although she is a friendly *dògai* the natives are much afraid of her, so much so that Bagai of Mabuiag who owns land on that island has altogether abandoned the attempt to live there and cultivate it. Uzu is credited at Mabuiag with having a thin body, very long legs; broad head, "head be flat straight up and down, before and behind; no nose—only hole; no see eye—only hole; mouth he all same hole"; large ears and long white hair. She wears a petticoat made of *tagur* leaves and eats the bones of fishes, making a loud noise when eating. Her house is made of great stones, the door of which opens at her command.

At one time Uzu wanted to marry Balus of Yam. The Mabuiag people said that in 1898 Maino of Tutu-Yam went to Gebar with his canoe. Uzu came down to the beach to meet him and expressed a desire to sleep on board. She was offered a pillow and a mat but declined both on the score that her ears and hair answered the purpose sufficiently well. Maino left hurriedly for fear of being detained by the *dògai*. This fate actually befell a shipwrecked Malay who was hospitably entertained by Uzu for a month. While at Gebar he became quite white "like paper" because she removed his skin (cf. p. 14), though she restored it to him as soon as a boat approached to take him away.

TRANSFORMATION.

The transformation of people into animals was believed in and there are numerous instances of this. Sometimes the transformation was temporary and repeated as in the cases of Sida (pp. 28, 31, 32), Sesere (p. 43), and Kwoiam (p. 77); but usually the transformation is final and the former human beings remain as animals (pp. 17, 27, 44, 45, 46, 54, 69, 90). Similar stories are told of rocks (pp. 3, 17, 20, 21, 27, 40) and of constellations or of individual stars (pp. 13, 16, 68), and it is rather difficult to decide whether the stars were not supposed still to retain their previous nature; the sun and moon at all events have human forms (p. 11). Bamurab's relatives were birds (p. 64) although she was a woman. Mariget of Badu informed me that the markings on the face of the moon represented Aukum (p. 56) between a coco-nut palm, *wrap*, and a pandanus tree, *kausar*, but he added there was "no story" about them.

Macgillivray (II. p. 29) found in Torres Straits the belief that was then widely spread in Australia, in the "transmigration of souls," and that "immediately after death they are changed into white people or Europeans," and as such pass the second and final

period of their existence....At Darnley Island, the Prince of Wales' Islands, and Cape York, the word used at each place to signify a white man also means a ghost. Frequently when the children were teasing Gi'om they would be gravely reproved by some elderly person telling them to leave her, as "Poor thing! she is *nothing*, only a ghost! (*igur! uri longa mata markai*)."
Mr Ray informs me this should read '*Igur! urilonga*, a thing belonging to the sea, *mata*, only, *markai*, ghost.'

Dr Walter Roth (North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5, 1903, p. 16) points out that in many of the North Queensland dialects the same word is found to do duty for a European and a deceased aboriginal's spirit, ghost, etc., and he is satisfied "that instead of a return of the deceased native's actual body after death in the form of a European, the meaning intended to be conveyed was that the vital principle (spirit, etc.) is re-incarnated in the white man." Macgillivray (II. p. 29) states that "the Cape York people even went so far as to recognise in several of our officers and others in the ship, the ghosts of departed friends to whom they might have borne some fancied resemblance, and, in consequence, under the new names of Tamu, Tarka, etc. they were claimed as relations and entitled to all the privileges of such." Piaquai recognised Mrs Thomson as "a long-lost daughter of the name of Gi(a)öm, and at once admitted her to the relationship which he thought had formerly subsisted between them; she was immediately acknowledged by the whole tribe as one of themselves, thus ensuring an extensive connection in relatives of all denominations" (I. p. 303).

SPIRITS AND THE FUTURE STATE.

It was extremely difficult, indeed practically impossible, to get any very definite information respecting the belief of the people as regards spirits generally.

There is no doubt that the soul, or ghost, *mari*, of a person (man, woman or child) left the body at death, but for several days it did not wander far from the corpse (pp. 88, 248, 249, 250), and the *mariget* kept their vigil in order that the *mari*, in some way or other, might give them information which would lead to the detection of the individual who had caused the death. In Nagir, at all events, it had to be frightened away from the corpse before the head could be readily removed from the body (pp. 250, 258); I certainly gathered that in this case a portion of the *mari* was actually in the corpse. Animals and plants do not possess a *mari*.

The *mari* were believed to go to Kibu, an unknown island that lies to the west, but they could come back and walk about at night time. The ghosts of the dead Murray Islanders are said to go to Boigu, the most westernly of the Torres Straits islands (Vol. VI.); it is interesting to note that in the folk-tale of Aukum and Tiai, the *mari* of Tiai went to Boigu (p. 61) where he married a woman, and subsequently he and his mother disappeared in the ground; but there is nothing in this tale to lead one to suppose that the Boigu people were spirits.

The word *mari* signifies the ghost, or soul, of a person after death, as well as shadow, reflection. *Markai* is considered by Mr Ray as derived from *mari-kai*, i.e. ghost-person, and as practically synonymous with *mari*, but applied to a 'ghost' of a dead

person rather than to a 'disembodied spirit'; Mr Ray draws attention to the circumstance that till the *mari* becomes a *markai* he is a very intangible sort of thing.

Kibu was always described to me as being to "leeward," that is to the north-west, *kibu* is sundown and also the back. In these latitudes a steady and strong south-east trade wind blows for seven or eight months in the year, and geographical relations are usually expressed in terms of this wind. Owing to the influence of sun-worship in so many countries, and the analogy of death and sunset, it is not surprising that the land of the dead should be so often placed in the west. I have ventured to suggest¹ that in this locality another reason may be worthy of consideration. A nautical people such as our islanders would naturally conceive of their ghosts as sailing with the prevailing wind, and would hardly be likely to locate the spirit-land in a quarter which would necessitate the ghosts beating to windward.

I have been able to gather very little concerning the condition of the *mari* in Kibu. Dr MacFarlane states in MS. that they are said to sit crying on the tops of the trees, wishing to return to their friends. Possibly this was suggested by the flying-foxes (*sapura*, Pteropus), and in the legend of Mutuk (p. 90) we find that he and his murdered friends were transformed into flying-foxes. The best men among them appear to have been better off as spirits in some undefined manner—'best' in this application has no moral significance, but solely applies to such characteristics as bravery, bloodthirstiness, and other savage virtues.

I was told in 1888 that when a *mari* arrived at Kibu, "by-and-by the 'devils' hit the *mari* with a stone club and killed him."

The following information was collected in 1898 mainly from Peter of Mabuiag, who either had more definite ideas on the subject than most of my informants, or he had less reticence in mentioning them.

Soon after a man dies his *mari* goes to Kibu, where on his arrival the *mari* of a previously deceased friend takes the new comer and hides him. At the first night of a new moon the *mari* is introduced by his friend to all the other *markai*, each of whom takes stone-headed clubs and hits him on the head and then he is a true *markai* (p. 88). Then they teach the new *markai* how they spear fish and how to do whatever they themselves do. They instruct him how to make a water-spout (p. 85) which they employ for spearing and sucking up turtle and dugong (figs. 75, 78). When the friends at home see a water-spout they weep and say "They are now teaching him, he is now a proper *markai* and he will forget us all." They also cry at a new moon as the *mari* is then killed and converted into a true *markai*.

When a funeral feast was made on Mabuiag the spirits, *markai*, frequented in large numbers the scrub in the islet of Iul (p. 255) which, Peter said, was not a fit place for men to walk about in, as the spirits made noises and threw stones. The men heard the noises and saw the stones thrown but the spirits did not kill the men. When the food was distributed at the *tai* after the death-dance (p. 255) some was given to the performers, *markai*, who personified the ghosts but at the same time the spiritual *markai* ate some of that food. Waria also said that the real *markai* of

¹ *Folk-Lore*, 1. 1890, p. 32.

the deceased acted precisely in the bush as its representative did at the *tai*, but no one could see it. There was a general agreement that *mari* or *markai* behaved in



FIG. 75. Drawing by Gizu of two waterspouts and rain falling from a dark cloud; numerous *mari* and one *kai mari* (big spirit) are associated with one waterspout.

every way as do men (p. 61) and they could marry mortals (pp. 61, 83—88). A *mari* had the same appearance as the dead person (p. 58) for whom it might be mistaken (p. 88), but in the latter case the man had his suspicions when he saw the *mari*



FIG. 76. Pictographs of canoes on rocks at Keriri. In the centre of the canoe is the gear-crate on which are inserted coco-nut leaf flags, *dadu*, and behind it a paddle projects; the stern is decorated with a fish's tail; the lines below represent a fringe of grass; in both the bow of the canoe is obliterated.

eating raw fish. The *markai* might be dressed up in a certain way (pp. 30, 83) which was similar to the costume of the performers of the death-dances (p. 253).

They had their own name for Mabuiag (p. 84). The spirits of dead relatives were invoked when help was needed, apparently independently of skull-divination (p. 362).

On certain rocks in Keriri, close by the crevices in which we found the skulls (p. 261) are various pictographs representing totem animals and two canoes (fig. 76). They were called *Moiaran gul*, or canoe from Moiar (Moi or Mui is the western name for Murray Island). The canoe was taken by the *markai* from the *sara*, sea-birds, who formed the crew of the canoe. The canoe is now at Tagaini, a hill in Muralug. On ordinary occasions the *markai* paddle the canoe in the open sea on calm nights to catch turtle, dugong or fish. When a man dies, the *markai* put on turtle-shell masks and dance.

A living man who is the friend of the *mari* and possesses the gift of spirit-divination is called in Mabuiag a *markaiwidaigarka* (spirit-touching-man). The *mari* talk either in a whistling manner or low down in their bodies and the *markaiwidai-garka* talks in the same manner. He consults the *mari* for various purposes, for example he may ask them, "Do you think anyone is coming from another island?" The *mari* may reply, "People from — are coming to fight," and it will turn out to be true. *Markaiwidaigarka* and other important men in this world are also important *markai* in Kibu.

Mariimaigarka ("ghost-seeing-man"), who was also described as the spirits' friend, was the name of a man to whom the *mari* of deceased persons appeared. For example Gi (8) once went into the bush and saw the *mari* of a dead man and that of the *maidelaig* who had killed him and told the people about it; my informant added, "*maidelaig* kill him." The *mariimaigarka* are constrained by the spirits to go at times into the bush on which occasions they become possessed, or as it was expressed "turn cranky, come like devil (i.e. spirit) now."

THE BOY WHO WAS SPIRITED AWAY. (*Told by Peter of Mabuiag.*)

There was once a boy who was taken by the *mari* and kept for the space of one month. The boy, whose name was Kāman, fell asleep after playing with some other boys and girls at Dabungai and was left behind when they returned home. On being missed his playmates went back with their parents to look for him, but he could not be found.

A *markaiwidaigarka* was sent into the bush to consult the *markai* and he received the reply, "We all took him, we will send him back at the new moon, we are teaching him something."

At the new moon Kāman was returned to Dabungai by the *markai* who left plenty of fish and the flesh of marine animals with him for food. A number of small birds, *mut*, which were chirping among the leaves of the coco-nut palms, flew down and took away all the food; they were spirits and not birds. The parents and friends wondered at first whether Kāman was the son of a white man or a spirit. When they ran up to the boy they found he had an unaccustomed odour which was very unpleasant, he stank like a shark or a spirit. They washed him over and over again

and rubbed him with scented bushes, then they took the petticoat of a woman who was expecting and rubbed him with it, for the spirits do not like the scent of a pregnant woman, and so the new odour drove away from the boy the spirit-scent with which he was tainted. Then they chewed the kernel of coco-nuts and spat on their hands and rubbed the boy all over with the greasy mixture, for they did not then know how otherwise to obtain coco-nut oil, and at last the boy had a sweet odour.

They then asked the boy what was the matter with him and where he came from, but he could not speak. His mother tried to give him some food, he looked at her and said nothing. Then he slept. Next morning the father tried to give him a little food and succeeded, then he had a little more food; after he had drunk some water he spoke and told them that he was asleep at the time and did not know that he had been spirited away. When he got up he could not see Mabuiag. Many of the *markai* wanted to kill him, but a *markai* whom he did not know, but who when he was on earth was a friend of his father's, protected him, and he stayed with that *markai*. When the *markai* moved from one place to another he went with them and they informed him that when there was a new moon they would take him back to his own place. They gave him plenty of food, dugong, turtle, porpoise, three kinds of sting-ray from deep water (*maibi*, *sursur* and *gwiar*) which have a disagreeable odour; they also gave him whale's flesh and that of corpses¹ as well as yams, sweet potatoes and other food—but the *mut* came and took it all away.

MŪRI.

The *mūri* were peculiar spirits that were definitely associated with waterspouts. Mr Ray thinks they may be the same as *mari*; but I have a note to the effect that, "*mari* = spirit belong man; *muri* = belong waterspout." Mr Cowling also sent me some drawings of "*murie*." Despite the similarity of the two names I think we may regard them as distinct beings. Some were spoken of as *tidai mūril*, or bending *mūri*.

The *mūri* (figs. 1—3, p. 5; figs. 77, 78) were boneless spirits and the only teeth they had were two upper and two lower incisors. Their main article of adornment appears to have been a plume of cassowary feathers that hung down behind their backs; but, according to Gizu's drawing, some have feather head-dresses. One pictograph represents a *mūri* wearing a turtle-shell mask in the form of an animal's head, *urui krar*, and another *mūri* is beating a drum.

The *mūri* ascend and descend waterspouts in the same way as sailors do on ropes. The waterspouts are their spears by means of which they catch dugong and turtle and other large marine animals; the *mūri* pass dugongs, turtles, sting-rays and other creatures up the waterspout.

The natives were, and still are, very frightened of spirits; so much so that they dislike going about at night, and when they do they almost invariably carry some kind

¹ *Markai* are attracted by the scent of corpses (p. 250) and from this statement it appears that they ate them, perhaps this is one reason why the *mariget* kept vigil.

of torch, but this is as much for showing the road and avoiding danger as for any other purpose.

Spirits, I understand, are supposed to frequent certain spots and these are passed with great trepidation, though I do not know what evil the spirits are able to do. All diseases, ailments and accidents were supposed to be the result of sorcery. I never heard that they were attributable to demoniacal influence or to spirits 'possessing' people, either nocturnally, as in nightmare, or more or less constantly, as in mania or delirium; there is thus no belief in obsession or possession. Mr Seligmann, however, was informed that temporary impotence was caused by a female "devil" (which he thinks is a kind of *dògai*); it could be cured by chewing a kind of ginger and spitting on the organ.



FIG. 77. Pictographs of *mūri* on the rocks at Pulu, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.



FIG. 78. Drawing by Gizu of *mūri* on a waterspout (*baiu*); the black cloud above is called *baib* and the spray below *sap*, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

Macgillivray (II. p. 30) says, "Among many superstitions held by the Prince of Wales Islanders, they are much afraid of shooting-stars, believing them to be ghosts which in breaking up produce young ones of their own kind."

OMENS.

Mishaps or unlucky events are regarded as warnings or omens that something has gone wrong elsewhere or shortly will do so. Examples of this belief are found in the folk-tales on pp. 38, 46, 58, 84, 87, 93. In 1888, Nomoa, the then chief of Mabuiag, who has perhaps killed more dugong than any other man, one day boasted to me that he was invariably successful. Very shortly after this he went out to harpoon dugong, and had the misfortune not only to fail in his attempts, but also to break the dart of his dugong harpoon. I think he made an unsuccessful trip the following day. Within three or four days, first a baby died in the village, and then two women. Nomoa at once told me that this accounted for his bad luck, and he was quite happy in the belief that it was not his fault he had missed his dugong.

Mr Seligmann was informed in Mabuiag that if a performer in a death-dance dropped a bow, arrow or the *gud* (p. 253), or if he lost an anklet, or if an accoutrement made of *tu* should burst, he would die soon.

Macgillivray (II. p. 30) says of the Kauralaig, "After sneezing they made violent gestures with the hands and arms; if a joint cracks, they imagine that someone is speaking of them or wishing them well in the direction in which the arm is pointing."

I did not hear of any omen animals.

The sensation of uneasiness which is termed a presentiment is recognised, of which examples are found on pp. 78, 86. The sensation experienced by the Moa men (p. 78) is described in Waria's MS. as *tana rido guitwaian*, 'they let go their bones.' A shiver is also considered as a sign, pp. 14, 30, 86. The phrase in the same MS. about Kwoiam's shivering (p. 77) is, *ngona*, me, *timeden*, a shiver, *maika*, brings.

DREAMS.

Unfortunately I have no notes on the subject of the belief of the natives as to what happens to them when they are dreaming. Spirits can communicate through dreams, *piki* (p. 362). So far as I am aware dreams were never induced by fasting or narcotics. I never heard of a case of ecstasy or of second-sight except in the cases mentioned on p. 358.

DIVINATION.

Various forms of divination were constantly employed, some of which were purely magical, while others had reference to spiritual influence. As examples of the former may be mentioned the divining of Kwoiam with his throwing-stick (pp. 74, 76) and the determination of the sex of an unborn child (p. 196). The six blind brothers in the folk-tale (pp. 18, 19) divined by means of two feathers stuck in the hair. Divination was also performed by means of lice (pp. 19, 20) and although not definitely stated it is

certain that head-lice are referred to and this may have something to do with their employment. Divination was had recourse to on many occasions, as for example before going to fight (p. 377), and it was also employed to account for a death (pp. 250, 257). There was no practice of casting lots.

Skull-divination was extremely common, and as the skulls of relatives were usually employed for this purpose (pp. 41, 42, 44) it was a powerful incentive for their preservation. On an emergency a stranger's skull would suffice (p. 47). The original preparation of the skull has already been described (pp. 251, 258). Whenever a skull was invoked it was cleaned, repainted, and anointed with certain plants or placed upon them, some of which were scented (Pl. xv. fig. 1). The inquirer would enjoin the skull to speak the truth, and, putting it by his pillow at night-time, would go to sleep. The skulls were supposed to speak to the sleeper with a chattering noise (described as being like the noise made by knocking one's teeth together). The dreams were the messages upon which action would be taken. Anyone can perform this kind of divination. When going on a voyage a divining-skull would be placed in the stern of a canoe. On two occasions in the folk-tales (pp. 20, 41), after the inquirer had finished speaking, the oracles were pushed away with the words, "Go away, you are not speaking the truth," then bringing them back he said, "Now speak the truth," but nothing further transpired and the oracles were duly accredited. Divination by means of viscera was not employed.

Certain individuals had the power of direct intercourse with spirits (p. 358) and thereby could foretell coming events.

The Rev. Dr MacFarlane gave me the following note: "A man anxious to know whether his distant friend is well, goes to the sorcerer, who pretends to swallow a crocodile's tooth, which passes along the arm and comes out of his hand. He then throws it in the direction of the place of battle, or wherever the man may be. After a time it returns, if it smells badly the person is dead, if it returns with some human hair he is well."

At Cape York the inheritance or ownership of land and the *ari* of an individual were determined by divination (p. 221), but the latter were also revealed by dreams (p. 193).

AUSTERITIES AND PURIFICATION.

The only austerities were those connected with initiation into manhood (pp. 215, 299) or into sorcery (p. 321). There was no penance, fasting, or performance of austerities to induce visions or religious exaltation.

The only acts of personal purification were the cleansing of the lads at their initiation (pp. 209, 212) and of the girls at the puberty ceremony (pp. 202—205). After a death occurred in a house, a fire was lit and the house closed for several days; indeed houses generally are temporarily or permanently abandoned after sickness or death.

SACRED STONES AND CARVED IMAGES.

Certain natural stones from their shape, or from the circumstances connected with their discovery, or from other causes, were regarded as potent and were employed for magical purposes. Around them myths arose as in the case of the war-stone mentioned on p. 23. Wyatt Gill says, "The Torres Straits Islanders worship round painted stones to give success in fishing, to change the wind, etc." (*l.c.* p. 217). The *wiwai* stone of Mabuiag (p. 334) and that of Yam (p. 335) are examples of this class of stone, and doubtless there are very many others the record of which has now been lost.

Stones rudely carved and painted were formerly frequent, but unfortunately very little information is to hand about them. Wyatt Gill, quoting from a letter from the Rev. A. W. Murray, the first missionary who visited these islands, says (p. 267), "While sitting among the Jervis [Mabuiag] islanders, in their gipsy-looking camp, a little ugly idol was produced, which is affirmed to be the principal god of the Mulgrave [Badu] and Jervis islanders. It is in the shape of an old man, rudely carved and ornamented, and wearing rather a dolorous expression of countenance. Whatever may have been the estimation in which the said god was held in former times, it is evident that he is at a discount now, as his owner parted with him for a knife. His name is Madusa." This was in 1872 or 1873. I made inquiries in Mabuiag about this image, the name *madusa* was not known to my friends and I could not get any satisfactory information about it. It may have been a stone *madub*, although we were informed that these were made of wood (p. 345). The *ubarau-zogo* of Yam (p. 347) was a stone image. A stone figure from Mabuiag is figured in Partington and Heape's "Ethnographical Album," First Series, Pl. 317, No. 9.

I obtained in Tutu in 1888 a large block of pumice, *mat*, on which was carved a rude representation of a human face, the eyes were outlined in white; it is now in the British Museum. It was employed in magic, the sorcerer placed it with magical leaves in the bush. When another man saw it he said *ni marimari ngai gam*, 'You ghostly, I substantial,' but Maino said it meant 'You (are) lean, I (am) fat,' apparently this was said to avert any evil consequences. It is figured in the "Album," First Series, Pl. 343, No. 1.

Small wooden or waxen figurines employed in magic were generally called *wauri* (pp. 197, 198). In the folk-tale (p. 56) Kari carved some *wauri* and turned them into men, as he felt lonely. There is in the British Museum a turtle-shell human figure from Mabuiag ("Album," 1. Pl. 329, No. 4) but without any history.

TOTEMISM.

The magical or mystical relations between a totem and the human members of that particular clan have been noted on pp. 164—169, 182 and the religious aspect of totemism on p. 184. The totem animals of a clan are sacred only to the members of that clan; but the idea of sacredness is very limited, merely implying a family con-

nection, a certain amount of magical affinity and the immunity of a totem animal from being killed by a member of that clan. No worship or reverence, so far as I know, was ever paid to a totem. Animals are not treated as rational beings or talked to more than with us, perhaps not so much so. The sucker-fish (pp. 44, 149, 154, 336) is supposed to have special knowledge.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

The ghosts of the dead were neither regarded as demons nor divinities, nor do I think it can be said that they were actually worshipped. W. Wyatt Gill says, "They delight to worship the *manes* of their deceased ancestors, as represented by male and female skulls. These are carefully treasured up in their huts, and carried with them on their voyages¹." The carrying of the skulls in canoes was for divining purposes. I was several times assured that the preservation of skulls of relatives in the houses was due to the sentiment of affection and to keep the dead in remembrance (p. 259). The people like to have photographs of their relatives, especially if the latter had died in the meantime; on one occasion Waria asked us to photograph his dead baby in order that he might not forget what it looked like. I was told that the white man had photographs of his dead friends, but all they could do was to preserve the skull and add artificial nose, eyes, and teeth, it was "all same photograph," as Waria said. The skulls were also preserved for purposes of divination.

Macgillivray (II. pp. 36, 37) says, "Not far from the village [in Nagir], under the shade of an aged mimusops tree on the outskirts of the wood, we observed a cleared oval space, where ten human skulls—of the former members of the tribe, as we were informed—were upon a plank raised on stones a foot or so from the ground. The skulls were mostly old and weather-worn, and some of them had pandanus seeds stuck in the orbits by way of eyes. In front was a large smooth stone painted red and black, and partially imbedded in the earth, and beside it were some painted human leg and arm bones, shells, and other ornaments. Behind, some thirty or forty skulls of turtle were arranged on the ground in several rows, forming a triangle."

The preservation and ruddling of bones of deceased relatives was (pp. 260, 261) probably also mainly due to the motive of affection (I. p. 155). It is uncertain how far the custom extended of keeping such bones actually in the dwelling-houses. Jukes says (I. p. 155) when Captain Blackwood landed on Nagir, "In the huts were found parcels of human bones, ornamented with red ochre." I was informed in Moa in 1888 that the skull, scapulæ, *kolab*, and fibulæ, *ngaraupila*, were put in a basket.

The unfinished food that was placed by the *sara* was for the use of the *mari* of the deceased person (p. 249), there was no conception of the *mari* feeding upon the spirit or essence of the food. No human beings or animals were put to death at the burial of a person. The massacre by Kwoiam "to pay" for his mother was of the nature of blood-price (pp. 71—75); Yadzebub killed people (p. 102) to comfort his wife (p. 298); in neither instance did the *mari* of the dead person benefit by the subsequent deaths.

¹ *Life in the Southern Isles*, p. 217.

The death-dances (pp. 252—259) appear to have been of the nature of a pantomime, which had for their object the assuring of the survivors that the deceased were still alive as *mari*. There was no suspicion of ancestor worship in the accounts I received of the ceremonies.

We know extremely little about the stones painted with representations of the faces of dead persons (p. 366) but there is no evidence to show that these were other than simple memorials.

The invocation of dead heroes (p. 377) is part of the hero-cult; they were prayed to solely as heroes and I did not find any indication that they had any existing human kin other than the totemic kinship. We cannot then regard the hero-cult as an ancestor-worship in the strict sense of the term.

THE KWOD IN RELIGION.

A *kwod* in the Western Islands was generally an open space which was definitely and permanently set apart for ceremonial purposes, but I was informed in Mabuiag that a *kwod* also could be made temporarily wherever there was a "camp." Jukes (I. p. 162) thus describes what was evidently the *kwod* of Damut, "Behind [the village] was the open place of meeting, on the other side of which, against an old tree, was a semi-circular pile or wall of dugongs' skulls about three feet high, many of which were quite fresh but others rotting with age; in the middle of this was a conical heap of turtles' skulls in a similar state." Occasionally the term *kwod* was applied to a house (p. 306 and fig. 46) which was allocated to male visitors and used as a club-house. The houses which contained the totem-shrines of Yam (p. 66) were called *waus*.

The ceremonies connected with the hero-cult in Yam took place in the *kwod* of that island and there is reason to believe that, besides the making of the sacred baskets in the *kwod* at Pulu, there were performances connected with the cult of Kwoiam about which we have no information. It was only natural that the religious rites connected with the hero-cult which largely supplemented the old totemism should take place in the sacred ground hallowed by various ancient ceremonies.

It has already been stated (p. 3) that the *kwod* of the Western Islands corresponds to the club-houses of Melanesia and New Guinea, and like them the *kwod* was the central spot in the social, political and religious life of the men, as will be seen from the Folk-tales (pp. 13, 15, 21, 43, 49, 52, 54, 55, 58, 61, 65, 87, 96, 97) and from the accounts of various ceremonies. No woman or girl of whatever age might visit a *kwod*, boy-children might go, but not when a ceremony was taking place. After initiation the young men could frequent the *kwod* and they habitually slept there and they had to look after the place, keep it in order, fetch water, collect firewood, attend to the fires, and, in fact, to do whatever the elder men required of them. If the elder men went out to fish or to harpoon dugong or turtle and had good luck, they would probably bring some fish or meat to the *kwod* and it was the duty of the young men to cook it. Grey-headed men talked and discussed about fighting, dancing, *tai*, *augud*, women

and other matters of interest. The young men sat still and learnt from the old men, as my informant said "it was like a school."

Associated with certain *kwod* was a single or double screen known in Nagir as a *waus*. The following are the only two accounts which we possess of these structures. Unfortunately neither observer had the good fortune to witness any ceremony connected therewith.

Dr J. Macgillivray (II. p. 37) gives the following description of what he saw in the Island of Nagir, in the year 1849 (?): "In a beautiful opening among the trees behind the village we saw an extraordinary screen, named *wows* [Pl. XIX. fig. 2], the purpose of which, so far as we could understand, had some connection with the memory of the dead. It extended fifty-six feet in length, with a slight outward curvature, and measured five-and-a-half feet in height. It was formed of a row of poles stuck in the ground, crossed in front by three horizontal strips of bamboo, and covered with cross lattice work¹. The bars of the screen were daubed over with red paint and hung with rows of spider shells, also painted red. Some poles, projecting above the others two to four feet, had painted jaws of the dugong and large conch shells (*Fusus proboscidiiferus*) fixed to the top, and numerous other dugong bones and shells were scattered along the front. On the ground along the foot of the screen was a row of stones painted with black and red in imitation of grotesque faces, and to several of these the old man who acted as cicerone attached names of persons who were dead. In some the painting was comparatively recent, and the stones appeared to have been placed there singly at different periods to commemorate the death of the heads of the families of the tribe. We saw another of these curious funeral screens,—like the first one it was situated in a little glade in the forest, but unlike it the front was covered or thatched with coco-nut leaves, and it had a small door-like opening in the centre."

In 1888, so far as I could learn, no *waus* remained in any of the islands; in Nagir the places where the screens stood were still to be recognised in confused lines of bleached and often broken shells of the large *Fusus*, *Cassis*, and Giant clam, but the formerly cleared spaces were overgrown with scrub. My informant, Kuduma of Nagir, stated that the flat stones (*kula*) on which faces were painted were prepared by the men and when the women saw them they would say, "That is my boy"—or "girl"—as the case might be, and the name of the child would be given to the stone.

In Nagir the death, initiation and *mawa* (p. 348) ceremonies took place in front of the *waus*, which was pointed out to me as having been composed of two screens with an opening between them. The spectators were on one side only, the performers occasionally retired behind the *waus* to rest. The second screen seen by Macgillivray was evidently a *kwod* somewhat similar to fig. 46, as I was informed that the men stopped in it and ate there; but it may also have been a sacred house like those in Yam (p. 66, Pl. XXII. fig. 2).

The second account is that by the Rev. Dr W. Wyatt Gill (p. 220), who, in the course of a visit to Torres Straits and the mainland of New Guinea, landed on Parama (Parem, or, as he terms it, Bāramā). Dr Gill writes: "A hundred yards farther on

¹ Made of coco-nut leaves, *doi*.

were two funereal screens, so arranged as to give one the idea of a passage between them [fig. 79]. They were five feet six inches in height, and consisted of a number of stakes driven into the ground, covered with lattice-work. At intervals along the top were hung wooden images of turtle, shark, alligators (teeth much exaggerated), dingoes, and cassowaries, all painted red, to the number of about thirty. At the base were placed in a row some round stones, *i.e.* gods, and until recently, human skulls."

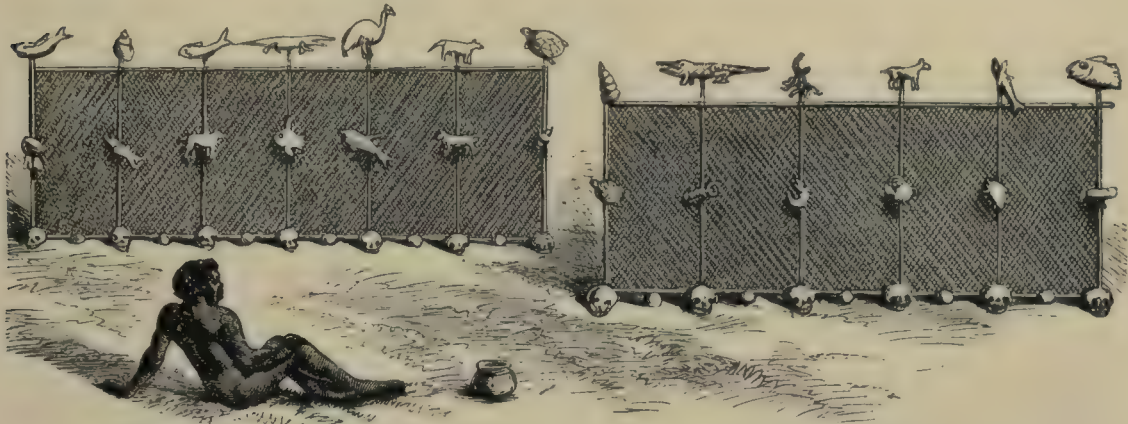


FIG. 79. *Waus* in Parama (from W. W. Gill). "Screens for the Memory and Worship of the Dead, Bampton Island" (Gill).

Although the inhabitants of Parama are a Daudai people, and not Torres Straits Islanders in the restricted sense of the term, they evidently had a similar screen in their *kwod*.

HERO CULTS.

The Cult of Kwoiam.

BY A. C. HADDON AND A. WILKIN.

Attention has already (pp. 80, 81, 154) been directed to the fact that the berserker Kwoiam was regarded as an *augud* by the Kauralaig (p. 2), and that though, so far as we could find out, he was not actually a totem in Mabuiag he was spoken of with the honorific title of *Adi*, and his two magical crescents (pp. 70, 71, 80) were called *augud*; very occasionally he was called *augud* in Mabuiag but there is no mention made of him or of his emblems in the genealogies. We were told in Mabuiag that *Kwoiam augud* belonged to all the islands, but there were variations in the cult, or as it was expressed "another kind of game." Although *Kwoiam* was given as the first totem of the clan in Table 17, for social and ceremonial purposes the real totem was *Unawa* (cf. pp. 154, 181, 185). This clearly indicates that the Kwoiam cult was later than totemism.

The origin of Kwoiam has been discussed (pp. 81, 82) and we have nothing further to add except the fact that, according to Waria's MS., Kwoiam spoke the Kauralaig dialect. Mr Ray is translating this interesting document and the reader is referred to the translation and the accompanying notes (Vol. III.) for further particulars. The islands of Mabuiag and Pulu contain numerous spots which are associated with the hero; these have already been described (pp. 3—5, 82, 83); we are not aware that anything is practised in connection with them; the only ceremonial places were the space in front of and under the *Augudalkula*, 'the stone having an *augud*,' and the *kwod*, both of them being in Pulu.

There seems little doubt that the southerly end of Mabuiag is part of the territory of the *Mugi auguduu kazi*. The land round Kwoiam's hill belongs to Gizu (2), Masi (2), Min (2 A), Mariget (2 A), all of whom belong to the *Kaigas, Surlal, Umai* clan, Wame (9 A), Tom (9 A), both of whom are *Sam, Dangal, Tabu*, and Peter (6), *Kaigas, Surlal, Tabu*? Masi and Min were the most important of the group proprietors, but the latter is now dead.

Kwoiam's cairn at present belongs to Mariget, and before him it belonged to Maku. Mariget is the only male representative of his generation now living belonging to this family. Kebesu (2 A) is the only surviving male descendant of the eldest son of Maku by that marriage, but he belongs to a later generation than Mariget. The fact that Kwoiam's cairn belongs to a *Kaigas, Surlal* family gives support to the statement that this was also the hero's clan. Since the folk-tales were printed off we have heard from Mr Cowling that he has investigated this cairn but found no remains of Kwoiam or any objects. He was informed that formerly they had a custom of erecting a memorial cairn independently of the grave.

The sacred island of Pulu, associated as it was with initiation and death ceremonies and with some of the exploits of Kwoiam, contained no more sacred spot than the cave of *Augudalkula* (Pl. XXI. fig. 1). No woman might approach the place; its custody was entrusted to the oldest and most influential men of Mabuiag, the *tumaiawai-mabaegal*, that is, 'the watching men,' or watchers. Here in the depths of the thickest bush that grows in Pulu, amidst rock scenery whose very grotesqueness is mysterious, were stored the heads of those who were slain in war—men, women, and children.

The island, like all the islets around Mabuiag, was the property of a definite family. The shrine belonged to the family of Yamakuni, *Dangal* (10), whose three sons Rusui, Naui¹ and Igerkuik¹, seem to have been the last of their race, to guard the site and contents of *Augudalkula*.

The cave can hardly be termed a cave now that the missionaries have filled it up to within a foot or two of the overhanging rock; while the sacred emblems and skulls that it formerly contained have been removed or burnt with kerosene².

¹ These two are not given in Table 10 as sons of Yamakuni. They were probably the sons of one of his brothers. Igerkuik (5 A) would be Yamakuni's *tukoia* and it is therefore a probable name for one of Yamakuni's children.

² All the sacred relics of Kwoiam were burned at the instigation of Hakin, a Lifu teacher, at the time when the Rev. S. MacFarlane was on Murray Island. The Mamoose gave his consent to their destruction, but only a South Sea man, Charley Mare, dared destroy the various *augud*; he burnt them on the spot. The natives say that when the Mission party started for home the water was quite smooth, there being no

Across the front was formed a wall of great *bu* (*Fusus*) shells. Within were the *pukar* baskets containing skulls, and at the back of all were more skulls piled in the two recesses of the cave, the greater corner *paipa korbad* and the lesser corner *paipun korbad*¹. The skulls that were regarded as well-favoured occupied posts of honour in the baskets, and were like everything else that the cave contained lavishly adorned with red paint and otherwise decorated. The ordinary skulls were piled according to the clans of the owners in the two corners and along the back wall. In front of the cave (Pl. XXI. fig. 2) were the *kai mat* and the *mugi mat*, the big and the little shrines, both were composed of heaps of *bu* shells (cf. p. 5).

The *pukar*, or sacred skull-baskets (fig. 80), were some 7 or 8 feet (220 to 250 cm.) in length, and about 15 inches (38 cm.) in height; they were made of the plaited stems of the climbing plant called *buz* (*Flagellaria indica*). They were open at the top, the margin had a serrated edge and was finished off with tufts of cassowary feathers, the whole structure being painted red. Lower jaws of old men, painted with red ochre and with some cassowary feathers tied on the symphysis and at the articular surfaces, were fastened round the baskets.



FIG. 80. Drawing by Gizu of a skull-basket, *pukar*, containing the *augud*, stone-headed club and numerous crania.

The more important basket was called *kuikuig pukar* (elder basket), and the less important and probably smaller basket was called *kutaig pukar* (younger basket).

Each basket contained a large number of skulls. These skulls were usually painted red, some were said to have beeswax noses and artificial eyes made of nautilus nacre, the jaws were tied on to the crania. A white cowry was tied on to each jaw at the symphysis and one at each articulation with the cranium. The preparation of these skulls has already been described (pp. 305, 314).

Also in each basket were placed *gad* (*Dolium*) shells, and in the centre of each was a *gworabatut*², or star-shaped stone-headed club, together with the emblems of Kwoiam; *kutibu* in the *kuiku pukar* and *giribu* in the *kutaig pukar*. According to the information obtained by one of us a dance *gud*, or crescentic object held in the mouth, was also deposited in the baskets (pp. 309, 311).

When the baskets showed signs of decay new ones were made at the next *kek* season. Certain men belonging to each phratry gathered the *buz* and placed some

wind whatever. As their boat rounded Sipungur point, on their return, a sudden gust of wind made the boat heel over and nearly capsize, and that same night Charley's body swelled up, and he was sick for a fortnight.

¹ Windward, or right-hand, corner, and leeward, or left-hand, corner.

² Mr Wilkin gives *mari* as an alternative name for the "*gworabatut*."

respectively on the *kai* and *mugi augudau kupar* in the *kwod* (p. 4), and after this dedication to its *augud* the one lot was transferred to the *kai mat* and the other to the *mugi mat*. A *waku* (plaited mat) was placed in front of each shrine, and once the men whose duty it was to make the baskets went on to their respective mats they might not go off till the baskets were finished, no matter how hot the sun and still the day. After the *buz* had been crushed it was plaited into the two baskets. At sun-down all the men felt happy, as they could then rest from working and might walk about.

The next day the head men of each *augud* took the baskets and went to Augudalkula and had a big feast, during which they transferred the various *augud* and the skulls and *gad* shells. The old baskets were thrown away.

The names of a large number of *tumaiawai mabaegal* were quoted, whose business it was to see that the baskets were kept in proper repair and to make new ones if necessary.

About thirty years ago Idauai, *Sam*, *Dangal*, *Tabu* (9), had the custody of *kutibu* and the *kuiku pukar*, and Gemini, *Kaigas*, *Surlal*, *Umai* (2), took charge of the lesser *augud* and basket. The latter was succeeded by his son-in-law Parsau¹, perhaps next to Kwoiam the most famous warrior that Mabuig boasted, and the leader in most of the later expeditions. It was also stated that Bagam or Anaii made the greater basket and Baueri, *Tabu*, the lesser. These were *maidelaig* and Baueri was the most powerful of all the sorcerers. The *kwod* at Pulu belonged to Rusui, *Dangal* (10), Nauwi, *Surlal*, *Womer*, *Sapor* (7), and Igerkuik, *Tabu*, *Dangal* (5 A).

One or two men constantly resided in Pulu. If a bush fire arose at Pulu the men always stamped it out with their feet, and not as they usually did by beating it out with branches—as the leaves on the trees signified the people of Mabuig, and if the leaves were burnt a number of men would be killed in the next fight.

As has previously been stated (p. 172) the Mabuig people were grouped into two phratries, each of which contained several clans. The more important phratry was called *Kai augudau kazi*, the other being the *Mugi augudau kazi*. In the cult of Kwoiam we have no longer to deal with the separate clans but with these two groups of clans. 'The people of the great *augud*' received this appellation because they belonged to the *kutibu* phratry, whereas "the people of the little *augud*" belonged to the *giribu* phratry. To the former belonged the 'elder basket,' and to the latter the 'younger basket'; there was an active rivalry between these two phratries concerning the acquisition of the greater number of skulls (pp. 305—307).

Similarly, of the shrines outside the cave, the *kai mat* belonged to the more important phratry, and the *mugi mat* to the lesser. The shell shrines were spoken of as the *mari* of the *augud*, and in this instance *mari* probably has the significance of 'shadow' or 'reflection' rather than 'spirit.'

The two *kupar* in the *kwod* (p. 4) belonged severally to the two *augud*, they were constructed to show that the *augud* were born there. When it is deemed necessary

¹ Parsau is probably Anaii or Parsau, *Surlal*, *Kodal*? *Tabu* (12), he married Nagi (2), sister of Gemini, and was therefore his brother-in-law, but he was also the son-in-law of Gemini, since Gemini would call Aitam, his second wife, *kazi*.

to fortify the efficacy of the *augud*, that is the magical crescents, they were placed on their respective *kupar*; "when want to make *augud* strong, put him on *kupar*" was the phrase employed by our informant. Their magical properties are referred to on pp. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 310, 311, 313.

At first sight it appears somewhat strange that the *Mugi augudau kazi* group of clans should have the less important *giribu* for its collective *augud*, as it would be supposed that the clan to which Kwoiam himself is reported to have belonged would be predominant and would necessarily belong to the more prominent phratry. One possible explanation of the anomaly is that the cult of Kwoiam is essentially a cult of war, and as the land animals are the totems of the fighting clans it is not surprising that this aggressive phratry should secure *kutibu*, the more important emblem, as its collective *augud*. Another possible explanation is that it may be connected with the change from maternal to paternal descent.

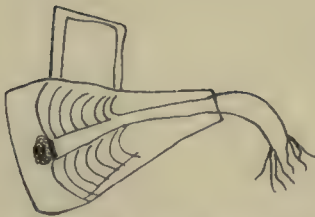


FIG. 81. Drawing by Gizu of one of the *boibu* doubled up within its case of *ti* bark (*ubu*, *Melaleuca*); the case has a handle; to the left are the strings for tying on the head-dress. In the middle of the *boibu* is some hair of a young man, this makes a young man come to be killed by the warriors.



FIG. 82. Drawing of Kwoiam by Waria; he wears the *augud* on his chest, on his head are the *boibu* and *zar*, he wears the dress and crossed shoulder-belts described on p. 70, he holds a throwing stick and a many-pronged javelin similar to the one with which he killed his mother.

Beside *kutibu* and *giribu* (fig. 9, p. 70)¹ there were other Kwoiam relics that had an equally magical potency, these were the two *boibu* and the two *zar*.

The *boibu* (*boip* or *baib*) was a head-dress made of cassowary feathers (figs. 81, 82), the band of which was painted with pulverised pearl-shell. Before going to fight it was customary to touch the white band with the points of the arrows in order that they

¹ Cf. pp. 70, 71, 79, 80, 153.

might not miss their mark. Mr J. Cowling informed us that "the man made the white paint poisonous [i.e. magical] by thinking hard while pounding the shell; they then dipped their arrows into this and that made the arrows poisonous."

The *zar* (fig. 82) was probably similar to the *boibu*, the feathers of which hung down over the head and face (p. 311). Neither of us could get any further information on this point.

When the elders visited Augudalkula, either to inspect or to take away the *augud* for some temporary purpose, such as war, the *kutibu* and *giribu*, it is said, on hearing the men approaching, were wont of themselves to break down the wall of *bu* shells so as to make an entrance to the cave, but as soon as the visitors came close they returned to their baskets and made a scraping noise like that produced by the *kat* (a stridulating instrument made of a grooved bamboo that is rubbed with a shell). The men never saw the *augud* move, they only saw them lying in their baskets.

The method of going on the war-path has been dealt with in the section on Warfare (p. 298); it will be remembered that the warriors formed two columns, each of which was led by a head-man belonging to different clans, and usually, we believe, to different phratries.

Each head-man wore the Kwoiam emblems to which he was entitled. One wore the *kutibu* above his mouth and the *boibu* and *zar* on his head, the other wore *giribu* on his chest and the other *boibu* and *zar* on his head. Before starting the crescentic *augud* were washed and decorated with red paint, flowers, and cassowary feathers (p. 310).

When on the war-path the two leaders ran very fast and might neither speak nor be spoken to. They were closely followed by two men "like mates," who touched the leaders with an arrow if they took the wrong road and indicated the right course by pointing with the arrow (p. 311).

In certain historical forays (p. 318) Gabai, *Dangal*, *Kodal* (1), had the big *augud* of Kwoiam as well as *boibu* and *zar*, and Wedai, *Sam*, *Dangal*, *Tabu* (9 A), had *giribu* and the appropriate *boibu* and *zar*. Belonging to a later generation (p. 311) were Ganair, *Dangal*, *Kodal* (1), and Wanekai, *Dangal*, *Kodal* (1 A), the chief men of the *augud* (p. 311). It was stated that any man could wear the *augud*; by this it was evidently meant that they were not confined to any one clan, but it is certain that they would be entrusted only to doughty warriors.

The moral value of the *augud* in war must have been very great and they themselves recognised it, as a man said, "'Spouse we no got *augud*, how we fight?" On p. 313 we find that the victorious Mabuiag men refused to fight the Moa men on account of the temporary absence of the two *augud*-men. The Moa men also had magical emblems belonging to Kwoiam, but a Mabuiag informant said they were not effective, the *augud* belonging to Mabuiag was much more powerful because Kwoiam belonged to Mabuiag and not to Moa.

The *augud* had to be treated with respect; Waba (p. 311) in his excess of zeal ran in front of the column of warriors, but he stumbled and almost broke his leg because he went in front of the relics, which should always go first, as Kwoiam himself was wont to do.

After success in war the *kawaladi* or *pibi* (an annular war dance, sometimes called Kwoiam's dance) was held and they "sang Kwoiam." (Cf. Warfare, p. 302.)

There was a *kwod* in Muralug, the *kwod duar*, which was associated with Kwoiam, the great *augud*, here was a shrine of *bu*, *alup*, and other shells which constituted the *augadau kupar*. The *augud* itself consisted of a *buia* (fig. 83), an emblem shaped like two united eyebrows and decorated with cassowary feathers. It was kept in a case made of *ti* bark.

The magical emblems of Kwoiam in some respects bear a remarkable resemblance to the *Churinga* of the Arunta tribe of Central Australia as recorded by Messrs Spencer and Gillen. "Each *Churinga* is so closely bound up with the spirit individual that it is regarded as its representative in the *Ertnatulunga* (the sacred storehouse which usually has the form of a small cave or crevice in some unfrequented spot amongst the rough hills. The entrance is carefully blocked up with stones so naturally arranged as not to arouse suspicion of the fact that they conceal from view the most sacred possessions of the tribe, p. 133), and those of dead men are supposed to be endowed with the attributes of their owner and to actually impart these to the person who, for the time being, may, as when a fight takes place, be fortunate enough to carry it about with him. The *Churinga* is supposed to endow the possessor with courage and accuracy of aim, and also to deprive his opponent of these qualities. So firm is their belief in this that if two men were fighting and one of them knew that the other carried a *Churinga* whilst he did not, he would certainly lose heart at once and without doubt be beaten." *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, p. 135.



FIG. 83. Drawing by Painauda (17) of Muralug of his *augud*, which was also the "Augud of Kwoiam"; below is the handled bark-case in which the *augud* was kept.

The Cult of Sigai and Maiau.

The *kwod* lies near the middle of the island of Yam, the open space being surrounded by rocks and trees, a few stones and groups of large shells alone mark the old sacred shrines. With the assistance of Maino and Jimmy Tutu in addition to notes made on the spot, I was enabled to make a restoration of all the essential features of the totem shrines.

There was in the *kwod* a low fence (*kai*) about 3 feet 6 inches (107 cm.) high surrounding an oblong area $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet (10.20 m.) long by 32 feet (9.76 m.) wide. The fence was made of stakes of mangrove wood placed closely together and decorated at intervals with reddened *Fusus* shells, at one end were two doorways about 2 feet (61 cm.) wide, placed respectively 4 feet (122 cm.) and 11 feet (335 cm.) from each corner. Within this enclosure were two long huts, consisting practically of a thatched roof made of coco-nut palm leaves with an opening at the end facing each doorway in the outer fence, the opening was protected by a fringe of coco-nut leaves, the gable ends were decorated with *Fusus* shells; each hut was about 25 feet (7.62 m.) long by about 4 feet

(122 cm.) wide, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet (137 cm.) high. On Plate xxii. I have represented the probable appearance of these erections, and on the same plate I have placed another restoration in which the huts are not drawn in order that their contents may be seen.

Each shrine (fig. 84) consisted of a turtle-shell effigy (*augud*) respectively of a crocodile (*Kodal*) and of a hammer-headed shark (*Kursi*), in front of the latter was a turtle-shell *Pukai* (a kind of ray¹); the tail of each large model was supported by a forked stake (*sara kag*), and on the back of each were a couple of crescentic objects made of turtle-shell and decorated with imitation eyes and a fringe of cassowary feathers which simulated eyebrows (*baib*), the eyes were termed *bui* or blazing². Several reddened rods decorated along their length with white feathers of the reef-heron and terminating in a tuft of the red plumes of the bird-of-paradise (*Paradisea raggiana*) projected vertically from the images. Festooned from these was a string decorated with upright

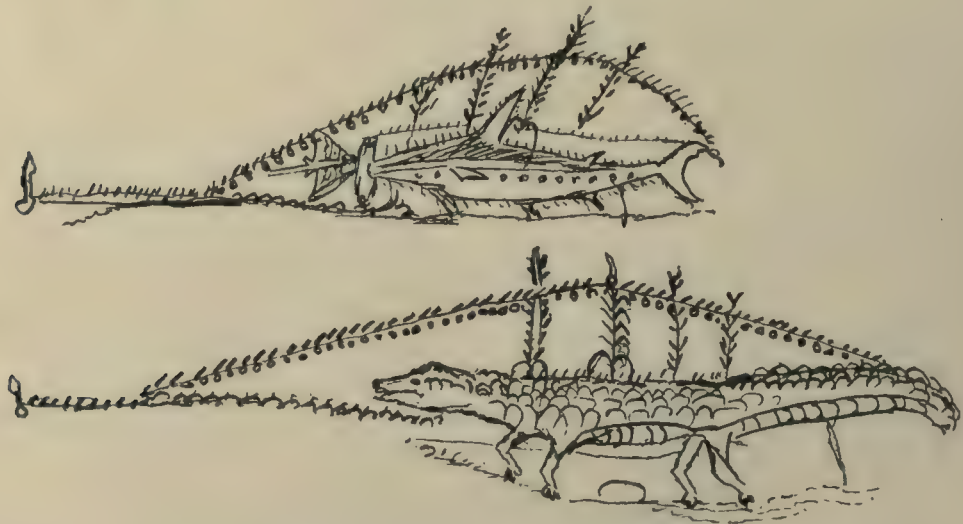


FIG. 84. Drawing by Maino of the two totem shrines in Yam.

tufts of bird-of-paradise plumes and with depending *Barbatia* shells (*tepe*), seed-rattles (*goa*, *Pangium edule*) and loops made of coco-nut leaflets (*gaigai dan*) (p. 249). Below each image was a stone (*waier*) in which resided the spirit of that particular *augud*. The crocodile figure was painted with yellow ochre and the various kinds of scales were indicated. The hammer-headed shark was painted black above and white below, along each side was a row of ring-markings with a central dot; these were alternately black and red; the body was further decorated with tufts of plumes of the

¹ There is a beautifully engraved bamboo tobacco-pipe in the Cambridge Museum (98.66) on which are outlined two figures of a hammer-headed shark with a ray in front of it (Pl. xxii. fig. 1); it is extremely probable that this represents the *Kursi augud* of Yam.

² It is probable that these *baib* were analogous to the crescentic magical emblems of Kwoiam and they may have been used in a similar manner (cf. fig. 81). An object held in the hand by Nagir men when dancing (*Internat. Arch. Ethnogr.* vi. fig. 1, p. 137) appears to be a modification of the same sort of thing.

bird-of-paradise. The hammer-snout was painted with transverse bars of red and black, the terminal eyes (like the eyes on the *baib*) had a black ring and a red pupil on a white ground. The *pukai* was black with white spots. In front of each *augud* was stretched a string (*augudau te*)¹ to which were fastened upright tufts of cassowary feathers and a double row of human lower jaw-bones, these were flanked by *Fusus* shells. At the other end of each string a ruddled skull (*padakuik*) rested on a stone and supported a *Fusus* shell. That in front of the crocodile was the skull of a Uga man, named Udum, who was killed by Kebisu (16); the other was the skull of Malu of Masig who was killed by Uruki, the father of Gididi. The shrines faced N.N.E.

Within the enclosure was a heap of *Fusus* shells about 5 feet (152 cm.) in length, this was the shrine of *ger* (p. 66); fig. 2, Pl. VI. is a drawing by Maino of this shrine on which was an image of the large sea-snake which was also described as the "crew of Sigai." There was a heap of *Fusus* shells outside each front corner of the fence, that nearest to the shrine of the hammer-headed shark was the *kupai*² (navel) of Sigai, and that nearest to the crocodile was the *kupai* of Maiau, the red paint (*parma*) was kept here; if anyone micturated on the *kupai* he was punished with retention of urine, or this could be done by proxy to punish another man. Each *kupai* was about 6 feet (183 cm.) long and 3 to 4 feet (92—122 cm.) wide. There were in the immediate neighbourhood some other almost obliterated relics associated with the legendary finding of the *augud*, but these were too obscure for me to work out in the very short time at my disposal; one of these was a small heap of *Fusus* shells which was called *daia* and was said to be the slide on which the *kodal* canoe was run up, this is about 17 yards (15, 50 m.) from the shrines and 100 yards (91, 50 m.) beyond is another. There were also *daia* for Sigai's canoe close by the others.

Since the Folk-tales were printed Mr Cowling has sent me the following version of the migration of the culture heroes of Torres Straits. Sagai [Sigai], Koga [Kulka], Malu, and Sau, all these brothers went from the mainland (Australia) to the island of Boydong Cay (Ianakau), thence they went to Pinaik, and Dugong Island, and later to Half-way Island, while there they had a big wind and sea; after a time they left and landed on Dove Island [Utui], where Malu and Sau had a quarrel and Malu speared Sau; Malu then said he would go to Murray Island and Sau said All right, he would go to Masig, and they agreed to wear the same style of fighting costume, white feathers in the hair and red seeds round the neck, *kusa* seeds in the rim of the ear and a finger of the cray-fish to be worn on the back, they agreed to fight by magic (*puri puri*); then they shook hands and each went to his island. Sagai and Koga had a talk and each asked the other where he was going to, Koga said he was going to Aurid and Sagai said all right, he would go to Yam. Sagai said to Koga You go first, my place is close to; Koga said "Well, we will take one fashion in clothes, when we fight we fight in day time." Koga went to Aurid, and Sogai with his mate Kodal went to Yam. Mr Cowling obtained the variant from Maino of Tutu through Waria and it agrees in the main with that given on p. 64, another version has previously been pub-

¹ Augud's mouth: *te* is a Miriam word.

² The word for navel was often pronounced *kupai* in Mabuiag, *kupai* was much more frequently used in Yam than *kupar*.

lished by me (*Folk-Lore*, I. 1890, p. 181; *Internat. Arch. Ethnogr.* VI. 1893, p. 142, and cf. *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXVIII. 1898, p. 13). In the next volume I shall have more to say about the legend, but I would here draw attention to the remarkable circumstance that these culture heroes, like Kwoiam, are said to have come indirectly from Australia or some of the islands off the Queensland coast. A Mabuiag man informed Mr Cowling that the Murray Island people told him that the four brothers were maternal uncles (i.e. *wadwam*) to Kwoiam, and that is why they followed him to Torres Straits, but this does not fit in with the statement on p. 80.

The totem legend (p. 64) of the Yam-Tutu people is unfortunately very obscure, but it records the arrival of the heroes Sigai and Maiau who could appear respectively as a hammer-headed shark and as a crocodile, and it was in the guise of these animals that they first appeared at Yam. The natives went to fetch Sigai and Maiau in two parallel columns and thenceforth each line of men adopted one of the heroes as its collective *augud*. The *augud* were taken ceremonially to the *kwod* where a double shrine was erected for them.

Maino distinctly stated that although Maiau was a crocodile, *Kodal*, he was always addressed and spoken of by his hero-name¹; similarly Sigai was a hammer-headed shark, *Kursi*, but he was always known by the former and not by his animal- or totem-name. Not only were the shrines in the *kwod* so sacred that no woman might visit them, but they did not know (or were supposed not to know) what the *augud* were like; they were aware of Sigai and Maiau, but they did not know what were these animal forms; this mystery was too sacred to be imparted to the uninitiated.

Unfortunately I could not obtain any information concerning the ceremonies that took place at the shrines in the *kwod*. Food was piled up in two heaps, one for *Kursi* and one for *Kodal*; and *augud* dances, when the lads were made '*augudau kernege*,' took place every north-west season; the dancing took place at evening, two or three times during the night, and at dawn.

The songs given on p. 66² were sung in the *kwod* by the men of the respective *augud*. They gave fine weather no matter whether it rained or blew. When performing this incantation the singers extended their arms, holding the palms outwards and moved their hands sideways.

The same songs were employed before going on the war-path³. The men, who were fully accoutred as if for fighting, danced in two long files, for *Kodal* and *Kursi* respectively; the corresponding men of both columns wore the same kind of head-dress, either the white-feathered *dri* or the black plumes of the cassowary. A few men danced in a third row for *Ger*. This was called by Maino the *waus kap*. If one of

¹ Maino described Maiau as the *kasa nel* (bare name, that is, just the name and nothing more) and *Kodal* as the *augudau nel* (totem-name).

² Mr Ray has furnished me with what he thinks is a possible rendering of the song of the Maiau men. "*Kwod kwod kai kwod*, big *kwod*; *Sigai Yamu*, at Yam, *iar*, stops; *Babade*, Father, *muia*, inside (or *moi iar*, stop at Murray Island), *dawam*, stop thou (imperative); *Yawa*, stop, *dawidariwam*, stop you three (imperative)." This is also a mixture of Eastern and Western languages. The other lines are unintelligible to him.

³ Kuduma of Nagir told me in 1888 that the men of his island, before going out to fight, "sang about *augud*," but they did not take the *augud* in the canoe with them, as the canoe would capsize.

the men began to fall asleep during this ceremony he was awakened by having water poured over him, for a man would be killed for every man who slept.

If these songs were sung the warriors would be able to go where they wanted. When going to attack an enemy they prayed as follows, "O *Augud* Sigai and *Augud* Maiau, both of you close the eyes of those men so that they cannot see us." Then the enemy were slaughtered without their being able to make a defence.

When the Yam warriors fought they also called upon the name of Kwoiam, who belonged to the islands to westward, and on Yadzebub (p. 100), a local warrior, in addition to Sigai and Maiau. Yadzebub was always described as 'a man,' whereas Kwoiam and Sigai and Maiau were relegated to a 'long time' back. From the folk-tales it is evident that Sigai and Maiau are more mythical and mysterious than Kwoiam, and all three were foreigners to the islands where their respective cults obtained. We have thus an instructive series: Yadzebub, the local famous man; Kwoiam, the hero, who was also a totem to the people; and Sigai and Maiau, the immigrant totem-heroes whose cult was visualised in turtle-shell images and the life of each of whom resided in a particular stone.

Outside the shrine were the same kind of shell-heaps that occurred at Pulu in connection with crescentic *augud* of Kwoiam; and in Yam also they were termed the 'navels of the *augud*.' In a different part of Yam was another *augudau kupai* (Pl. xv. fig. 2), which consisted of a heap of *Fusus* shells; beside it were five large *Fusus* shells in a row, two of which were associated with *Kodal*, two with Sigai, and the last one with *Ger*; they were called respectively *Kodalna bu*, Kodal's conch, *Sigaina bu*, Sigai's conch, and *Geren bu*, Ger's conch. The refrain "*Mosu amaipa a*," 'the ant crawls,' was repeatedly sung at the *augudau kupai*.

There was also a *kupai* of Sigai a short distance to one side of the *kwod* in Tutu; the spot is still strewn with giant clams, trumpet conchs, and other shells. Before going to fight the men stood round the *kupai* of either island and dug their bows and arrows into it so that they might not miss their aim. The following method of divination might also take place. The warriors took a coco-nut and broke it, repeating twice *Sērāsērā¹ birgesērā*. If the coco-nut broke evenly in two halves they would have a successful foray. If it should not break straight across they would kill only a few men. If a piece of the coco-nut shell broke off an immediate relative of the man who broke it would die soon. All the men ate a small piece of the kernel of the broken coco-nut and they took up the two halves of the shell and put "medicine" inside.

From the meagre evidence available it is clear that totemism was undergoing an interesting development in Yam. A syncretism of several *augud* appears to have been taking place and two main *augud* emerged. In the shrine a kind of ray, *Pukai*, and the sea-snake, *Ger*, were associated with Sigai and *Umai*, and *Sau* were the *mugi augud* of which *Kursi* (Sigai) was the *kai augud*. Similarly *Kodal* (Maiau) had absorbed *Buidam* (p. 174). But the unique features of the totem cult of Yam were the representation of the *augud* in a definite image, each of which was lodged in its own house, and the presence of a stone beneath each effigy in which resided the life of *augud*.

¹ This was described as a white sea-bird which hops when it eats.

I believe this materialisation of a totem has not been met with elsewhere and is so important a development of totemism as practically to place it beyond the realm of true totemism. The animal kindred are now replaced by a definite effigy, the soul of which is kept in an external receptacle, and the effigy is further associated with a hero. The two heroes apparently assisted the followers mainly in fighting, and therefore, as in the case of the relation of the Mabuig men to Kwoiam, the hero cult was in reality a war cult.

The Cult of Kulka.

In the tales of the wandering of the great culture-heroes of Torres Straits (p. 66) we find that Kulka (p. 375) remained on Aurid. The following is the whole of the information we have about this island. "There were no natives on it at the time we landed. During our search we saw some native dogs. After we had been on the island about half-an-hour, we discovered a kind of avenue, lined on both sides with shells painted red, at the top of which there was a hut rather in a dilapidated condition. On entering the hut, we found, to our great astonishment, several skulls fastened to a large tortoise-shell figure in the manner represented in the Plate [Pl. xx. fig. 1]. The boy said that the natives held a corrobory over the figure on feast days. Some of the skulls have marks of violence on them, and they are lashed to the figure with a piece of European rope¹."

"The body of the figure, it seems, was composed of tortoise-shell and smeared over with a red colour, and measured between four to five feet by about two-and-a-half. A semicircular projection stands out from the forehead, made also of tortoise-shell fancifully cut, and when taken from the island was ornamented with feathers. In the centre of the figure, from the projection upwards, is a small bundle of broken arrows bound together. [This may have been the tally of the number of people murdered.] The eyes are detached and formed with a silvery shell, something like what is called the mutton fish, and the face is surrounded with skulls arranged with method²."

I have little doubt that this was the representation of Kulka to whom were offered the skulls of the murdered passengers and crew of the 'Charles Eaton.'

Gods.

Macgillivray (II. p. 29) states, "Neither at Cape York, nor in any of the islands of Torres Straits, so far as I am aware, do the aborigines appear to have formed an idea of the existence of a Supreme Being; the absence of this belief may appear questionable but my informant, Gi'om, spoke quite decidedly on this point, having frequently made it the subject of conversation with the Kowrarega [Kauralaig] blacks."

Unless the above-mentioned heroes be regarded as gods, I think it can be definitely stated that the Western Islanders had no deities and certainly they had no conception of a Supreme God.

¹ BROCKETT, W. E., "Narrative of a Voyage from Sydney to Torres Straits in Search of the Survivors of the 'Charles Eaton,'" 1836, p. 33.

² WEMYSS, T., "Narrative of the Melancholy Shipwreck of the Ship 'Charles Eaton,'" 1837, p. 81.



FIG. 1. Part of the *kwod* at Pulu showing, by the men, the positions of the fireplaces of the five chief clans, *Kodal*, *Tabu*, *Sam*, *Kaigas* and *Dangal*, in order from left to right (p. 4).



FIG. 2. Diagrammatic sketch of the *kwod* at Pulu, much compressed (pp. 3-5).



FIG. 1. "The Stone that fell," Pulu (pp. 4, 22).



FIG. 2. *Sugu* at Pulu, showing the post on which heads were hung at the war dance after a successful foray (pp. 4, 84, 305, 313). The cleft stone in the foreground is that mentioned on p. 84; the footprints of Uga and Tabepa were imprinted on the smoothed sand in front of it.

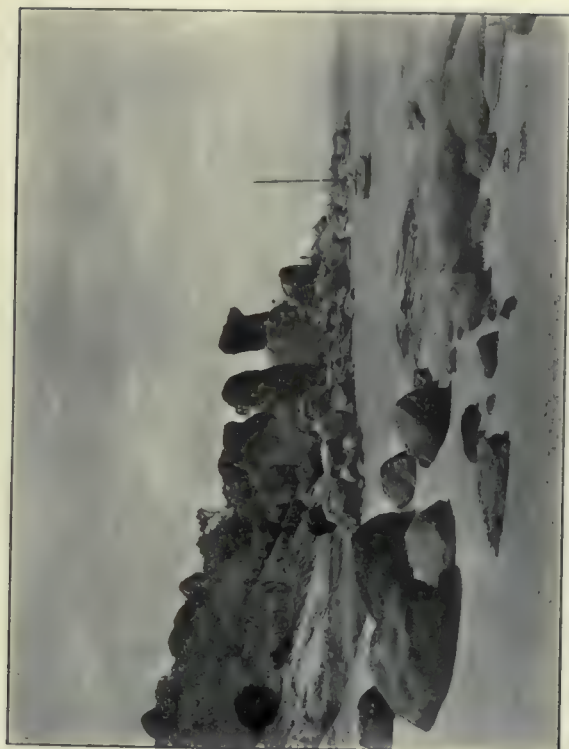


FIG. 1. Mumugrubut, Pulu; the T-shaped stone near the centre is known as Kwoiam's throwing-stick (p. 3); a man is seen standing by the side of the rock to the right of this.



FIG. 2. Slabs of rock in Pulu which represent the bodies of the Badu men killed and decapitated by Kwoiam (pp. 3, 76).

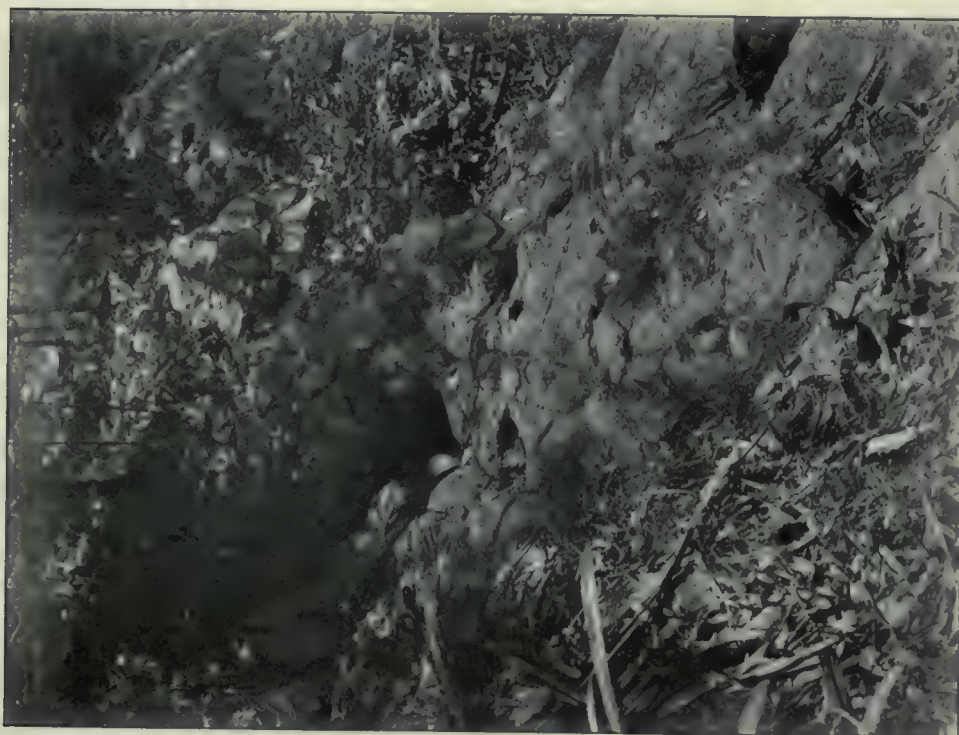


FIG. 3. Kwoiam's water-hole, Mabuing. To the right, on the slab of rock sloping down from the hole, is the place where Kwoiam sat down and close by are the grooves he made in the rock when straightening his javelins; beyond these can be seen the crevice down which the streamlet trickles (p. 82).

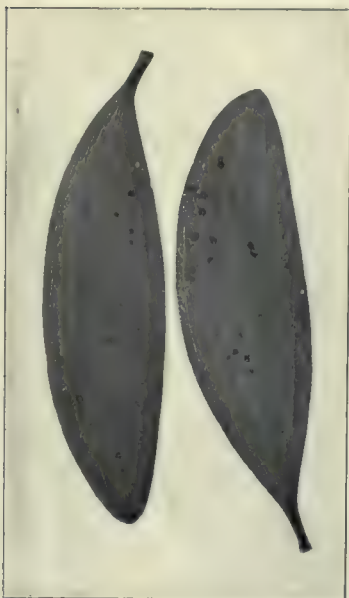


FIG. 1. Leaves from ubu bush (*Melaleuca leucodendron*) on Kwoiam's Hill, Mabuig, that still bear spots of his blood (p. 83).



FIG. 2. Man holding a javelin and throwing-stick (*kubai*) and crouching in the attitude of the dying Kwoiam. The photograph was taken on the exact spot where he died.



FIG. 3. Kwoiam's cairn, with three shell trumpets, Mabuig. In the middle distance to the right, part of the island of Pulu can be seen; it is on the fringing reef which also is visible.

PLATE V.

REPRESENTATIONS OF TOTEM ANIMALS BY NATIVES.

- FIG. 1. *Umai*, Dog, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{2}{3}$.
FIG. 2. *Dangal*, Dugong, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
FIG. 3. *Dangal*, engraved on a *warup* drum, with waves, fig. 13, p. 163, $\frac{1}{2}$.
FIG. 4. *Sapor*, Flying-fox, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
FIG. 5. *Womer*, Frigate bird, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
FIG. 6. *Sam*, Cassowary, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{3}$.
FIG. 7. *Karum*, Monitor lizard, *Varanus*, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
FIG. 8. *Kodal*, Crocodile, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
FIG. 9. *Waru*, Turtle, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{3}$.
FIG. 10. *Surlal*, Turtle, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{2}{3}$.

The fractions indicate the amount of the reduction of the copy from the original drawing or engraving.

(pp. 154, 155.)



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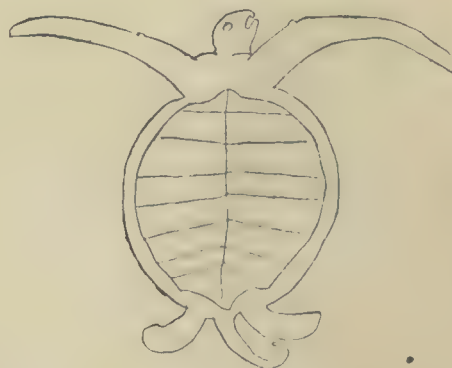
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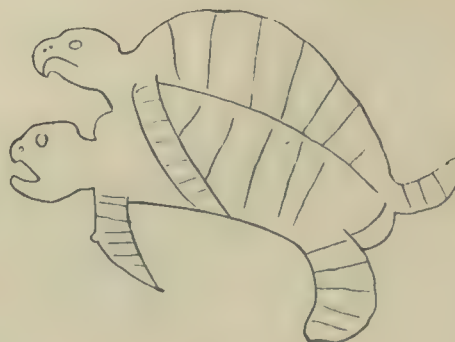
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PLATE VI.

REPRESENTATIONS OF TOTEM ANIMALS BY NATIVES.

- FIG. 1. *Tabu*, Snake, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{3}$.
- FIG. 2. *Ger*, Sea snake, totem shrine at Yam, drawn by Maino, $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 3. *Waru*, Turtle, and two *baidam*, Shark, etched on a pearl-shell, Berlin Museum (vi. 657), fig. 21, p. 169, $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 4. *Maiwa*, a kind of turtle, Muralug totem drawn by Wallaby, $\frac{2}{3}$.
- FIG. 5. *Tolipai*, a kind of ray, Muralug totem drawn by Wallaby, $\frac{2}{3}$.
- FIG. 6. *Kula*, stone, Muralug totem drawn by Wallaby, $\frac{2}{3}$.
- FIG. 7. *Saker*, a fish, Muralug totem drawn by Wallaby, $\frac{2}{3}$.
- FIG. 8. *Kursi*, Hammer-headed shark, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 9. *Kaigas*, Shovel-nosed skate, engraved on a tobacco-pipe, Exeter Museum, $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 10. *Kaigas*, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 11. *Gapu*, Sucker-fish, engraved on a pearl-shell, Berlin Museum (see above), $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 12. *Gapu*, Sucker-fish, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 13. *Wad*, kind of blenny, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{2}{3}$.
- FIG. 14. *Uzi*, *Synanceia* sp., Stone-fish, drawn by Gizu, $\frac{1}{2}$.
- FIG. 15. *Uzi*, ?*Pelor*, Stone-fish, drawn by Waria, $\frac{2}{3}$.
- FIG. 16. *Uzi*, Scorpionoid fish, Stone-fish, drawn by Waria, $\frac{2}{3}$.

The fractions indicate the amount of the reduction of the copy from the original drawing or engraving.

(pp. 154, 155.)

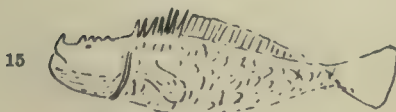
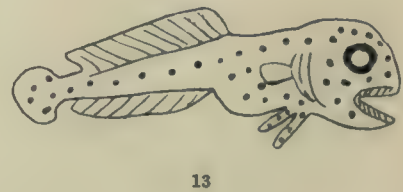
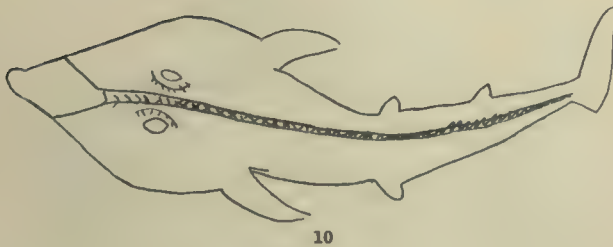
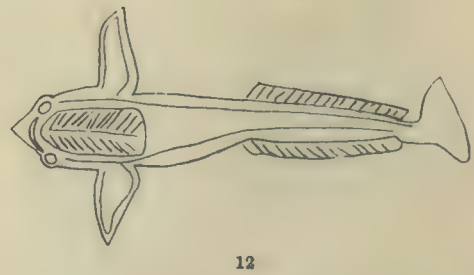
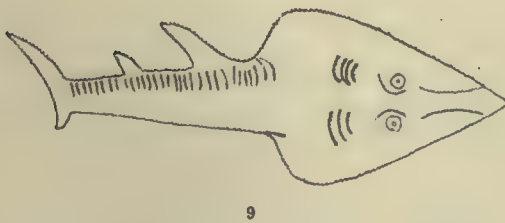
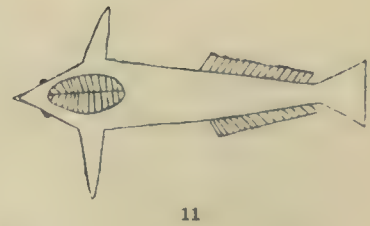
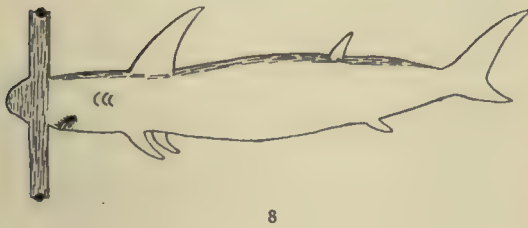
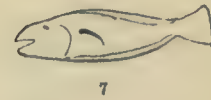
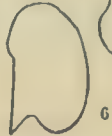
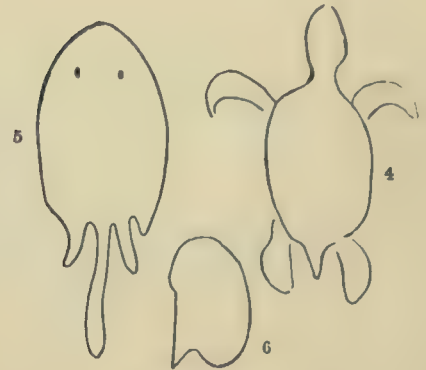
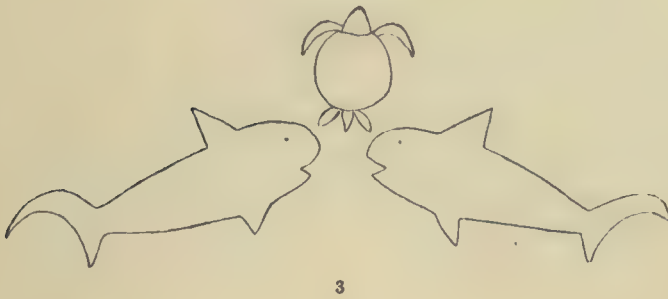
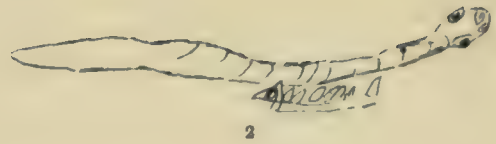
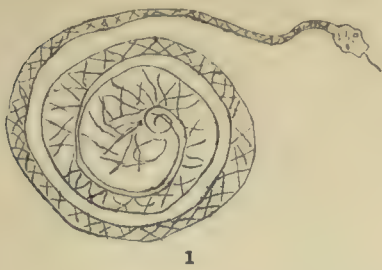




FIG. 1. *Waru*, Turtle, incised on a *warup* drum, Saibai; British Museum (3401).



FIG. 2. *Ngagalaig*, Fish-eagle, engraved on a tobacco-pipe, British Museum (6521), nat. size.

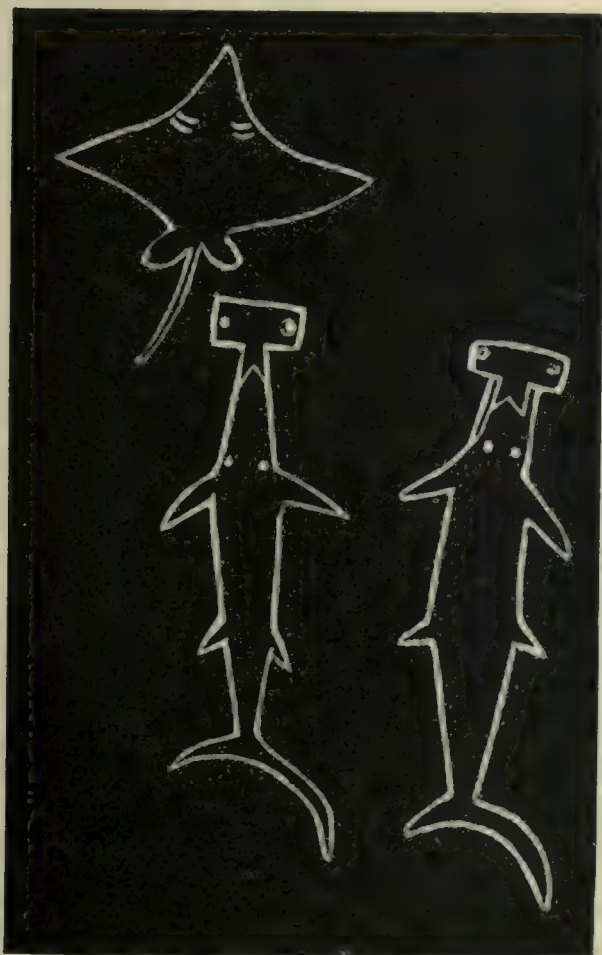


FIG. 3. Two *Kursi*, Hammer-headed sharks, and a ray, incised on a *buruburu* drum, Cambridge Museum (O. III. 92 A. F.), $\frac{1}{2}$.



FIG. 4. *Kodal*, Crocodile, with footprints, incised on a *warup* drum, Saibai; British Museum (3401), $\frac{1}{2}$.



FIG. 1. *Daibau* (p. 156) incised on a *buruburu* drum, identified at Saibai; Cambridge Museum (O. III. 86. 71), $\frac{1}{2}$. (pp. 155, 156, 171.)



FIG. 2. *Daibau* and two *Sam*, Cassowaries, incised on a *buruburu* drum, $\frac{1}{2}$.



FIG. 3. *Sam*, Cassowary, with footprints; above are the leaves of the *Waiakap* on the fruit of which the cassowary feeds, as it is here seen doing. Incised on a *buruburu* drum, Cambridge Museum (O. III. 86. 71), fig. 18, p. 167, $\frac{1}{2}$.



FIG. 1. Mēke of Tutu (p. 158).



FIG. 2. Patagam of Mabuiag; *Tabu*, *Dangal* clan, with a *Tabu* cut on her back (p. 158).



FIG. 3. Ado of Badu, with a *Dangal* cut on her back; the three lines above the head of the dugong represent the spouting, the triangular flap below is the paddle.

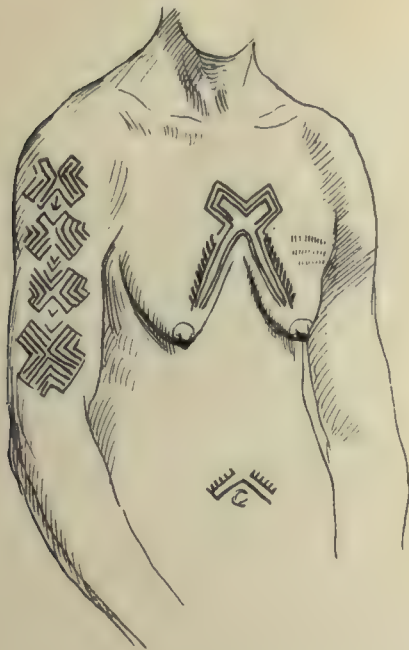


FIG. 4. Wagud, formerly of Mabuiag, later of Tutu, *Tabu*, *Dangal* clan, with a *Dangal* cut on her back (p. 158).

PLATE X.

SCARIFICATIONS ON WOMEN.

- FIG. 1. A native of Iasa, Kiwai Island, Fly River Delta. The *tuparara*, upper-arm mark, represents *Oi nurumara*, coco-nut palm totem (p. 157); the upper portion of the breast mark was called *amo iwi* and that above the navel, *bopuro iwi*. The rows of small lines on the left breast and others on the back were made at a time when the woman was sick. From a sketch made by A. C. H.
- FIG. 2. Kaubi of Sui, New Guinea, now living on Saibai. The arm scarification was called *ngata*, a shell-fish that is eaten and lives inside rocks. From a sketch and tracings made by Mr Robert Bruce.
- FIG. 3. Bonēl of Saibai. The thigh scars are called *awaiiantulab*, and represent pelicans (*awai*) flying or floating in a sinuous line. They are cut by the father on his daughter's right leg as a sign that she is marriageable. From a sketch and tracing made by Mr Robert Bruce.
- FIG. 4. Abaka of Boigu. Mr Robert Bruce, who drew the original from which this sketch was made, was informed that the scars on the abdomen represent "the leaf of a water-lily that grows in the fresh-water lakes of Boigu." On showing the sketch to people at Saibai I was informed that they indicated the scutes on the shoulder or on the tail of a crocodile and my informant called them *pata mina*.



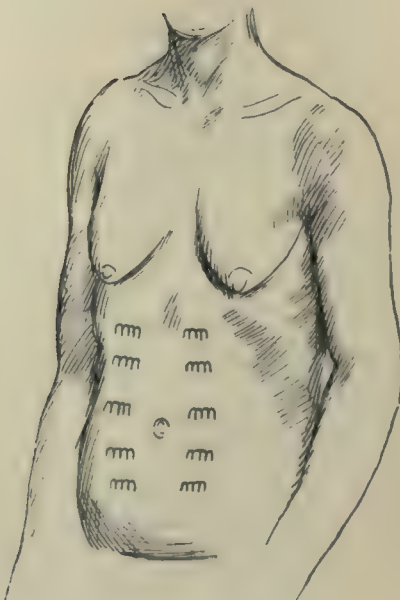
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FIG. 1. Pearl-shell utensil with engraving of two dugong (a trifle over $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size), Cambridge Museum (p. 164).



FIG. 2. Flying-fox, or Fruit-eating bat (*Pteropus*), carved in turtle-shell probably from the Paroa delta, B.N.G. Cambridge Museum (about $\frac{2}{3}$ nat. size, length 129 mm., across wings 152 mm.).



FIG. 3. *Kaegasi* carved in wood; mouth of Fly River. London Missionary Society's Museum, length 180 mm. (pp. 164, 219). Collected by the late Rev. James Chalmers.



FIGS. 4, 5. Upper and under-side of a Ray carved in wood. British Museum (pp. 94-136). Length 224 mm.



FIG. 6. *Tapi* or *Tapimul* carved in wood, Tutu. British Museum, 122 mm. (pp. 155, 169).



FIG. 7. Ray carved in turtle-shell, Mer, length 104 mm. Cambridge Museum.



Otati girl, North Queensland, decorated to show her appearance on her return from seclusion after arriving at puberty. The white lines and spots were painted with lime, the black lines in the figure were red in the original. The hair was cut short, but was otherwise normal despite its appearance in the plate. The petticoat properly should have been black, but this one was made of unravelled canvas for Mr Seligmann to photograph (p. 206).



FIG. 1. *Ubarau zogo*, Yam.



FIG. 2. Restoration of the *kwod* at Tutu during the Initiation period (p. 208).



FIG. 1. Men dressed up as *markai* for the Death-dance, Mabuiag (p. 253).



FIG. 2. Men dressed up as *markai* for the Death-dance, Mabuiag (p. 253).



FIG. 1. Decorated skull of Magau, Nagir. British Museum (pp. 258, 362).



FIG. 2. *Augudau kupai*, Yam (p. 377).



FIG. 3. *Sara* and cemetery, Moa (pp. 248, 260, 262).



FIG. 1. Dugong charm, Moa. British Museum. Length 406 mm. (p. 338).



FIG. 4. Sucker-fish charm, Nagir. British Museum (6920). Length 154 mm. (p. 336).



FIG. 7. Wind charm, Pitt Rivers Museum, Farnham (p. 353).



FIGS. 2, 3. Dugong charm, lateral and ventral views, Mabuag. Cambridge Museum. Length 470 mm. (p. 338).

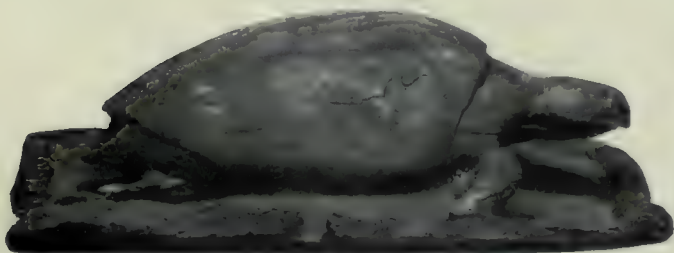


FIG. 5. Turtle charm, Tutu. British Museum. Length 190 mm. (p. 333).

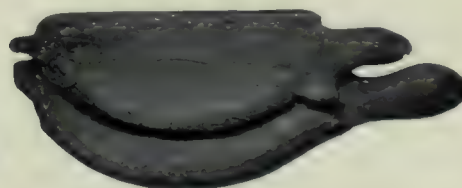


FIG. 6. Turtle charm, British Museum (+3282). Length 270 mm. (p. 333).

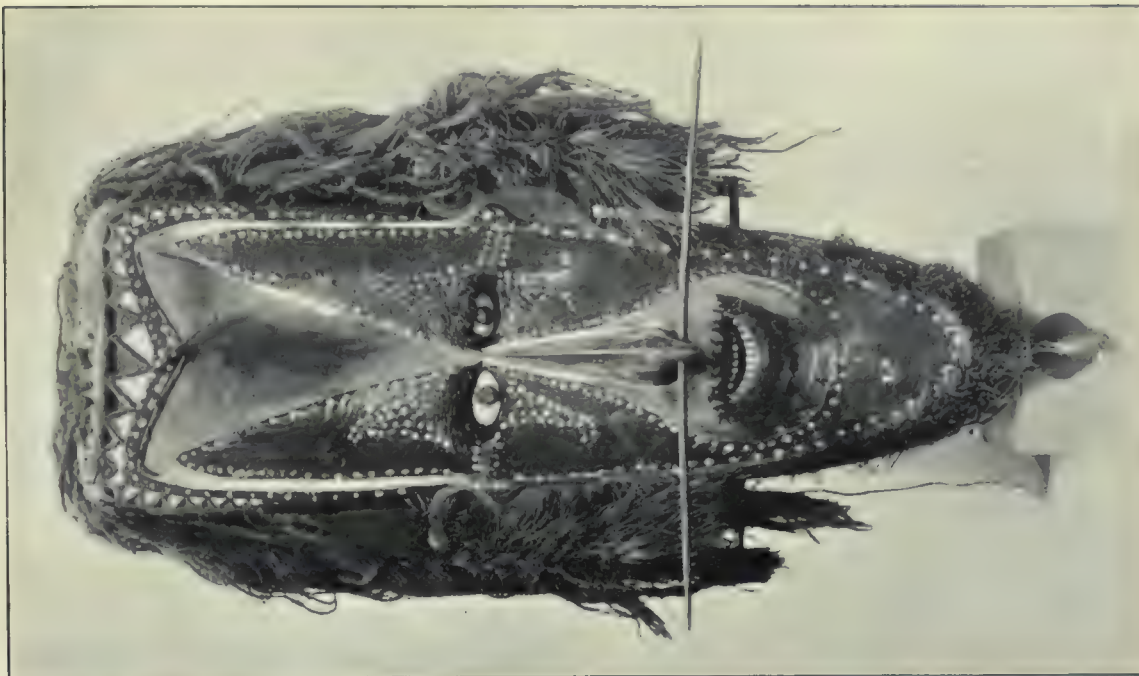


FIG. 2. Wooden *marea* mask belonging to the *Umai* and *Dailau augud*; Saibai. British Museum (C.C. 2491). Length 635 mm. (p. 349).

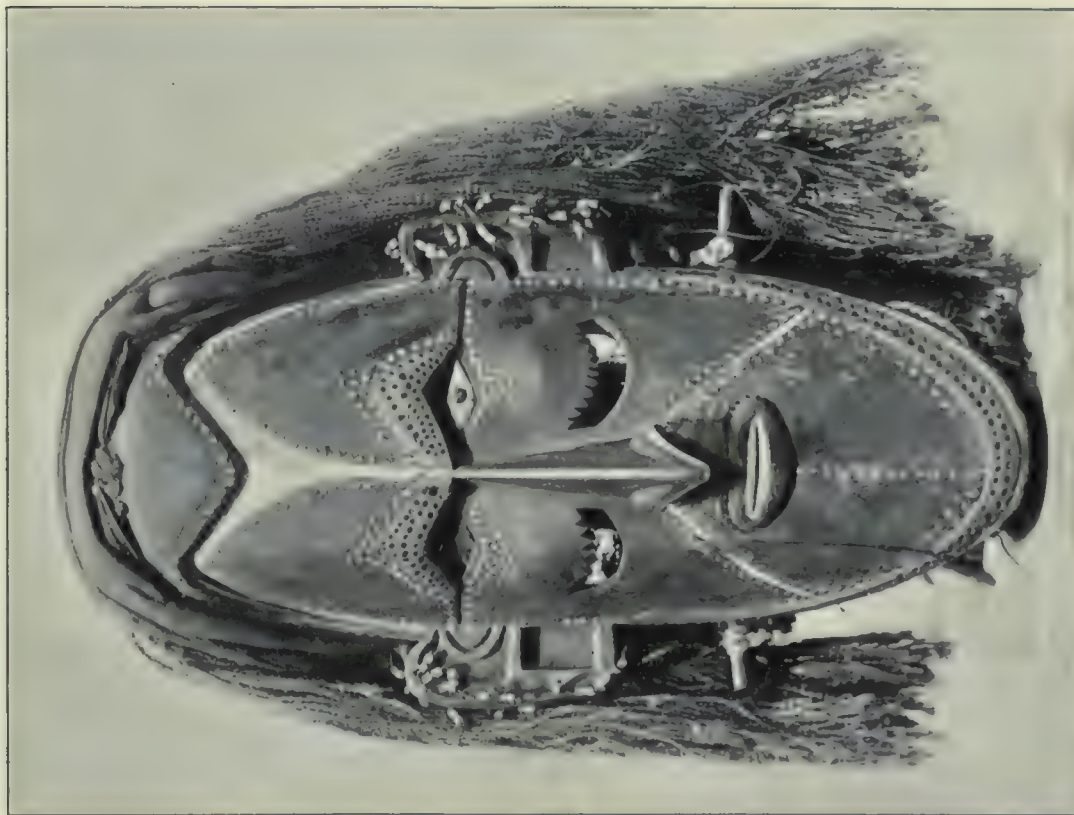


FIG. 1. Wooden *marea* mask, belonging to the *Sam* and *Karbai augud*; Saibai. British Museum. Length 460 mm. (p. 349).

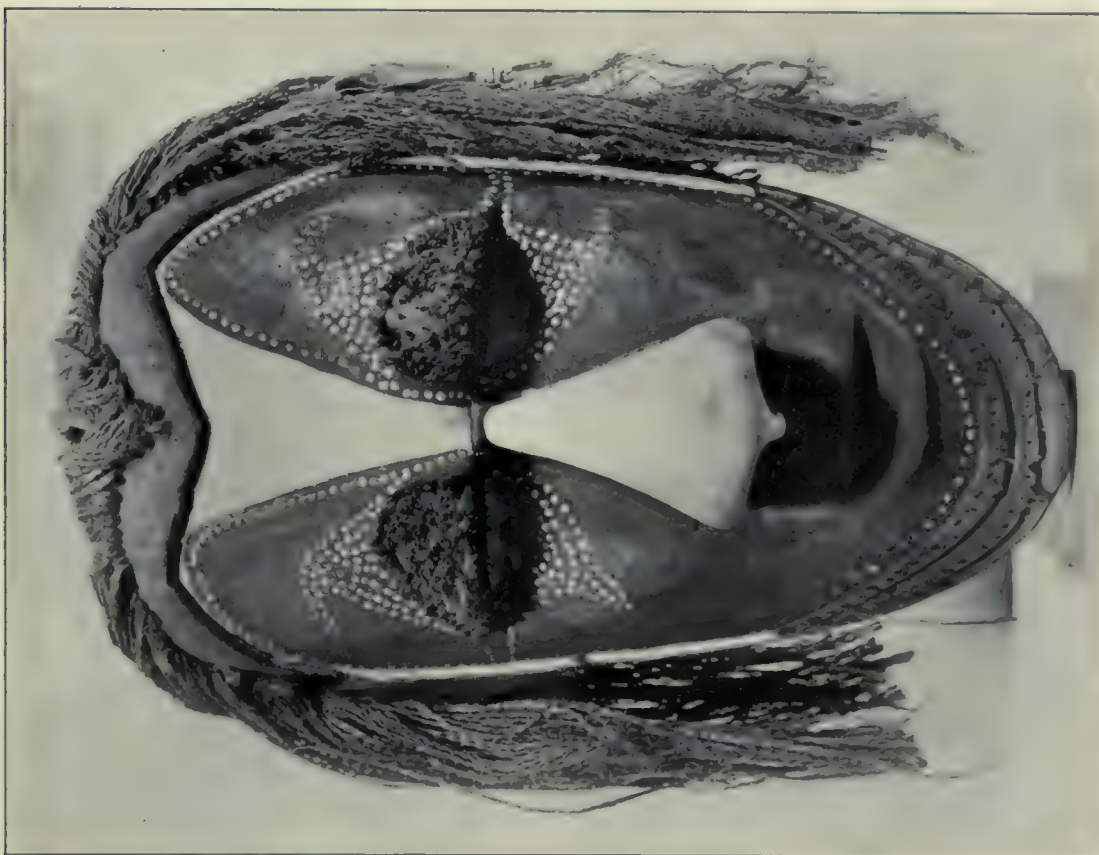


FIG. 1. Wooden kemuz mask; Saibai. British Museum (p. 349).



FIG. 2. Performer at the Saw-fish Dance; Waiben (p. 342).



FIG. 1. Saw-fish Dance; Waiben (p. 342).



FIG. 2. *Waus* at Nagir, Dec. 1849. Drawn by T. H. Huxley; from Macgillivray, *Voyage of Rattlesnake*, II, p. 36. (p. 366.)



FIG. 1. Turtle-shell mask surrounded with skulls, Aurid (from Brockett) (p. 378).

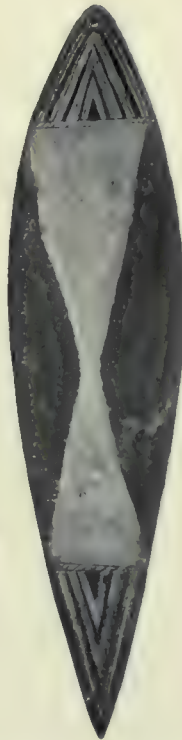


FIG. 2. Model of a bull-roarer (*bigu*) as used in turtle ceremonies, Mabuig. British Museum. Length 401 mm. (p. 331).

FIG. 3. Model of a bull-roarer (*wanes*) as used at initiation, Muralug. British Museum. Length 165 mm. (p. 217).



FIG. 4. Wooden model of a *madub*, Mabuig. Cambridge Museum. Height, 760 mm. (p. 346).



FIG. 5. Figure-head (*dogai*) of a canoe, Saibai. Cambridge Museum. Length 415 mm. (p. 353).



FIG. 1. Augudalkula, Palu (pp. 5, 368).



FIG. 2. *W'icai*, at Gumu, Mabuiag (p. 334).

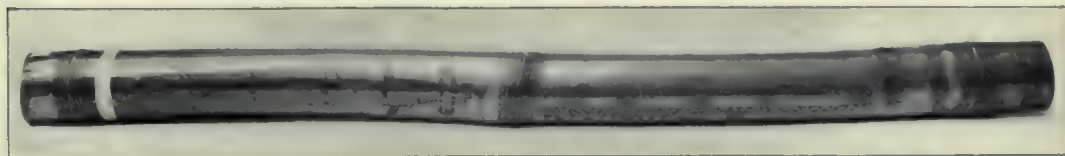


FIG. 1. Bamboo tobacco-pipe with an engraving of the *Kursi* (Sigai) *augud*. Cambridge Museum (98.66) (footnote, p. 373).



FIG. 2. Restoration of *augud* shrines in the *kwod* at Yam (p. 373).

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